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THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICYMAKING PROCESS

Monday 1:30-4:00 pm

Fall 2016

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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 Obama administration has pursued a consistently active foreign policy and an increasingly engaged trade policy, both in the context of a sluggish US economy dragged down by both domestic and international forces. But in security and economic matters alike, officials and institutions in the Obama administration and Congress are being driven, like their predecessors, to compete for influence at home even as they seek it abroad, and their decision making processes are being shaped at least as much by personalities and political/societal trends as by institutional and constitutional prerogatives. Recent examples include the administration's struggle last year to win Congressional acceptance of the Iran Deal on nuclear matters, and current resistance in both parties to approval of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) on trade completed early this year.

To encourage specific understanding about the actual practice of US 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 specific 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 of what actually happens. Readings will include contemporary documents, retrospective accounts by participants, and academic analyses.

To encourage focus on the people and processes involved, students will assume the vantage points of particular officials (e.g. President's national security adviser, secretary of the treasury) and be prepared to discuss successive issues and administrations from their perspectives.

The full syllabus, course readings and notices, and other relevant materials will be posted on CANVAS (elms.umd.edu), *Modules* page, a web interface open to all students taking the course.

REQUIREMENTS

(1) *Writing Assignments:*

Students will write *two* 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 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** (due September 30th) is an *information memo*: it should provide the necessary background concerning the issue, including all the relevant factors needed to arrive at a decision. It may be addressed to your “boss” or to a decision group (eg, 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** (due November 4th) 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 the instructor 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

** The *third* writing assignment (due December 9th) will a short analytic paper (about 5 pages, double-spaced, NTE 1700 words) that relates the chosen issue and the decision process thereon to at least one theoretical proposition drawn from course readings. Further instructions will be provided.

Students are welcome to discuss these and other matters during my office hours or at other times when my door is open.

(2) ***Roles and Policy Exercises.*** To enhance insight into the reality of policy making, students will take on roles of senior US officials and maintain them for several weeks: one role, beginning September 19th, for the national security section of the course, and a different role, beginning November 2nd, for the international economic section. Specific exercises built around these roles will be defined for specific classes—additional information on these exercises will be distributed by the second class, September 12th. Overall, students should do their reading with their specific roles in mind—e.g., what was the perspective of the JCS chairman, or the Under Secretary of the Treasury, during a particular administration and the issues important to it? Consistent, effective, informed participation in the exercises—and in the overall discussion—will be important to a student’s success in the course.

(3) ***Final Exam?*** Based on the overall quality of the discussions and exercises, the professor will decide—by the end of November—whether or not to give a final examination.

(4) ***Grading.*** If there is no final exam, the instructor will construct a base grade based on a weighted average for memos and papers submitted (assuming improvement, the second memo assignment will count double the weight of the first). This base grade will then be adjusted, upward or downward, based on a student’s seminar participation. If there is a final, its weight will be 25 percent of the final grade.

READINGS

The following two 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: From JFK to George W. Bush* (Simon and Schuster, 2009).

Richard Haass, *War if Necessity; War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars* (Simon and Schuster, 2009).

The bulk of the remaining readings will be available via **CANVAS**. Some will be on electronic reserves; others will be available through links to documents or the web. Two case studies (at casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu) must be ordered directly due to copyright restrictions.

PART ONE: POLICY MAKING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

August 29: *Two Wars*

Reading: Haass, *War of Necessity; War of Choice*. **Book for purchase**

September 12: *National Security: Models and Organization*

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

Alexander George, "The Case for Multiple Advocacy in Making Foreign Policy," *American Political Science Review*, June 1972, pp. 751-85. For additional punishment, read pp. 786-95.

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

September 19: *President, Congress, and Public*

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

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

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 Course Reserves**

Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, *It's Even Worse Than It Looks* (Basic Books, 2012), Introduction and Part I. **Canvas link.**

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

Case: Vincent Auger, "The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon" (ISD Case 184—purchase on web: www.casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu)

September 26: ***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 Course Reserves**
 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

October 3: ***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. (<http://cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/nixon.pdf>)
 Henry A. Kissinger, *White House Years*, Little, Brown, 1979, pp. 17-53. **Canvas link.** (Chapter 1, optional reading, is both amusing and illuminating.)
 Harold H. Saunders, "What Really Happened in Bangladesh," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2014, pp. 36-42. **Canvas link**
 Selected Nixon Documents **Canvas link**
 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]

October 10: ***Reagan Administration***

- Readings:** Daalder and Destler, chap. 5.
 Report of the President's Special Review Board (The Tower Commission), February 26, 1987, Parts I through V. **Canvas CR**
 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**

NSDD 2: “National Security Council Structure,” January 12, 1982. NSDD 2.pdf
 NSDD 276: “National Security Council Interagency Process,” June 9, 1987.

October 17: ***Clinton Administration***

Readings: Daalder and Destler, chap. 7.

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

George and Stern, “Presidential Management Styles, pp. 241-61. **Canvas CR**

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

Samantha Power, “Bystanders to Genocide,” *The Atlantic*, September 2001, 30pp. **Canvas link.**

October 24: ***Bush (41) and Bush (43) Administrations: National Security***

Readings: Daalder and Destler, chaps. 6 and 8

Haass, *War of Necessity, War of Choice*, chaps 1 & 9.

NSD-1, “Organization of the National Security Council System,” January 30, 1989. **Canvas link**

NSPD-1: “Organization of the National Security Council System,” February 13, 2001. **Canvas link**

AND EITHER (to be negotiated with instructor):

The Bush Administration National Security Council, Brookings/CISSM Oral History Roundtable, April 29, 1999, 61 pp. **Canvas link.**

George and Stern, pp. 234-41 and **Canvas link**

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

OR:

Public Law 107-40, September 18, 2001. To Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States. **Canvas link**

Public Law 107-243, October 16, 2002. To Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq. **Canvas link**

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 link.**

Also review appropriate chapters of Richard Haass, *War of Necessity; War of Choice*.

PART II: POLICY MAKING FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES

October 31: ***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," *Handbook of American Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 217-30, . **Canvas link**

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. **Canvas CR**

November 7: ***Nixon Administration***

Readings: Steve Dryden, "Nixon's Trade Wars," "Typhoon Eberle," and "Semi-Tough," pp. 129-85 in *Trade Warriors: USTR and the American Crusade for Free Trade*, (Oxford University Press, 1995). **Canvas Course Reserves**

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**

November 14: ***Carter Administration***

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

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

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" Volcker 136-51.pdf), and pp. 163-74 ("Taking On Inflation") **Canvas CR**

OPTIONAL: Daalder and Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office*, chap. 4.

November 21: ***Reagan and Bush (41) Administrations***

Readings: Dryden, "A New Heaven and a New Earth" and "The Turning Point" (pp. 279-329) and "Superwoman Meets Her Match" (pp. 355-80), in *Trade Warriors*. **Canvas Course Reserves**

Volcker and Gyohten, "Taking On Inflation" (pp. 174-84) and "Bringing Down Superdollar" in *Changing Fortunes*. **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**

November 28: ***Clinton Administration***

Readings: Presidential Executive Order 12835 and PDD/NEC-2 **Canvas Course Reserves**
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 link**

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

Case: Vincent A. Auger, *Human Rights and Trade: The Clinton Administration and China*, Pew

PART III: CONCLUSION

December 5: *Obama Security and Economic*

Readings [subject to change]:

Daalder and Destler, chap. 9.

I. M. Destler, "First, Do No Harm: Foreign Economic Policy Making Under Barack Obama," in *U.S. Foreign Policy Today: American Renewal?* (CQ Press, 2011). CR

I. M. Destler, "Susan Rice's Playbook: The Road Ahead for Obama's Next National Security Adviser," *Foreignaffairs.com*, June 5, 2013

and choose two of the following:

Ralph G. Carter and James M. Scott, "Hitting the Reset Button: Changing the Direction of U.S.-Russian Relations," pp. 167- 99 in Carter, *Contemporary Cases Course Reserves*

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War Within the War for Afghanistan*, chap. 12. Chandrasekaran Chap 12.pdf

Michael Gordon Jackson, "A Dramatically Different NSC? President Obama's Use of the National Security Council," Paper Presented at Western Political Science Association, March 2012.

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

Stephen J. Wayne, "Presidential Character and Judgment: Obama's Afghanistan and Health Care Decisions," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June 2011, pp. 291-306. CR

One additional article of your choice.

December 12: *The Future*