"The Politics of Security Issues - Presidential Elections vs. Constitutional Confrontations," at conference on national security policy, Yale University

David R Mayhew

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Quinnipiac Club
221 Church Street
New Haven, CT 06510

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“NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY: PROBLEMS OF MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE”

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1984

Quinnipiac Club
New Haven, Connecticut

sponsored by
THE YALE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES
AND
THE INSTITUTION FOR SOCIAL AND POLICY STUDIES

YALE UNIVERSITY

The Yale Center for International and Area Studies
85 Trumbull Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06520
(203) 436-3416

One of a series of joint Yale Center/ISPS KEMPF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ON HUMAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
Financed in part by the Edward J. and Dorothy Clarke Kempf Memorial Fund
"NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY: PROBLEMS OF MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE"

8:30
REGISTRATION—Coffee and Doughnuts

9:00
INTEGRATING SECURITY POLICY WITH THE REST OF POLICY
Chairman: William J. Foltz, Director, Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Professor of Political Science, Yale University

"Recurrent Dilemmas of National Security Policy"—Gaddis Smith, Larned Professor of History, Yale University

"Management of the Defense Department"—Sidney Winter, Professor of Economics, Yale University

"National Security, Intelligence and Covert Action"—H. Bradford Westerfield, Professor of Political Science, Yale University

10:45
THE MANAGEMENT OF SECURITY POLICY: TWO CASE STUDIES
Chairman: Ambassador Robert Paganelli, Diplomat in Residence, Yale University

"The Pershing II Deployment in Europe"—Paul Bracken, Associate Professor of Organization and Management and Political Science, Yale University

"The Deployment of the Marines in Lebanon"—Michael Hudson, Director, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University; and Robert Pelletreau, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs

12:45
LUNCHEON—Speaker: Leslie Gelb, National Security Correspondent, New York Times

2:15
GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY POLICY IN A DEMOCRACY
Chairman: Joseph LaPalombara, Arnold Wolters Professor of Political Science, Yale University

"U.S. Public Opinion and Security Issues"—Donald DeLuca, Director, Office for Teaching and Research, The Roper Center, ISPS, Yale University

"The Politics of Security Issues"—David Mayhew, Alfred Cowles Professor of Government, Yale University

"Security Issues, Congress and the Presidency"—Alton Frye, Senior Fellow and Director of the Washington Office, Council on Foreign Relations

3:45
SUMMING UP

"Reflections on Management"—Garry Brewer, Frederick K. Weyerhaeuser Professor of Resource Policy and Management, Yale University

"Reflections on Governance"—Robert A. Dahl, Sterling Professor of Political Science, Yale University
To: Participants in the YCIAS-ISPS Conference on National Security Policy, October 20, 1984

From: Bill Foltz

Re: The show goes on.

We have been able to make arrangements to hold the entire conference off campus in the event the strike continues (which as of today seems highly probable).

Dinner for participants will be held Friday evening at Mory's in the Captain's Room at 6:30. The purpose will be a) quickly to coordinate the next day's presentations and b) at leisure to enjoy some good conversation and wine, and at least passable food. Please let Kathleen Rossetti (ext. 6-3416) know if you for some reason cannot come.

Saturday, if the strike continues, we shall convene at the Quinnipiac Club, 221 Church Street, between Elm and Wall. I'll confirm the venue with you next week.

Two changes are to be noted in the accompanying program. Joe LaPalombara will replace Dick Nelson as chairman of the Governance panel (Dick will be in China), and Robert Pelletreau, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, will replace Peter Rodman in the Management panel.
National Security Policy: Congress Speech, 10/20/84

1984

The Politics of Security Issues:

This is a new approach to the leadership of the executive branch, as it works more closely with the Congress on issues involving foreign policy, defense, and national security matters.

- The President has close daily interaction with his cabinet.
- Congress plays a role in shaping policy decisions.
- Political events (such as elections) can influence policy decisions.

There are:
- Presidential elections
- Constitutional amendments
- Popular movements

Presidential elections:

- Clearly important in that they determine who gets厥, what they're like, and what they may or may not do.
- Still not sure if a candidate's own weight matters. They would or could.
- What happens in 2024 is being plotted

- Existing parties:
  a. Gw + H6 (one side anyway)
  - losses, gains, relative, etc.
  b. More effective
- US still favors more on defense - JFK + LR
- But not pick of clearly opposing positions in 1940, 1952, 1968

Why?
- a) Congress at center
- 4 ranges of goals: GC + GC
- choose, set, reprivatize, etc.
- inputs: politics, economics, etc.
- 2 numbers
- 3 numbers, 20/20 hindsight vs. 20/20 hindsight
- blurry future, blurry role
- 4 ranges at that point
- Press reaction: "ridiculous" >> (president) >> (policy changes)
- gains, fills in
- Terrace (or Constitution) - she makes a mistake: clear up heart
- Are you: typical - other prominent

2) Constitutional and legal relations - Cold War, World War II -

- Constitutional: in fact:
  a) between institutions (or units of men) creates in Constitution
  b) serving processes set out in (or implied by) the Constitution

  - An 18th Amendment phenomenon

  Invent to say: too much court involvement for World War II, each Congress second year

  - Similar in some relevant respects, though I'm not claiming similarity in
  - Characteristic trends of their protagonists, or
  - The good sense of their careers.

- a) 1973-74
  - HRAC - Nixon
    - Nixon - Watergate, Ehrlichman, McCord, Clark, Haldeman

- b) 1975-76
  - Richard F. Dole, 1969-71
  - Nixon, Watergate, establishing a consensus that his foreign policy strategy was
    bad, and the entire system of it
  - Investigation (apparatus) of Intelligence Community in 1974
    - The Church Committee

  - 2 periods of fairly separate + followed (1975+) by in conflict,
    - Decision coming in not too distant

- Characteristics:

  - Intense disarray in the country (on real security affairs)
    - Responded by (interventions with) changes in domestic matters
      - Civil rights, space
    - Crisis, income, etc.
    - Imperialism, war, etc.
    - Dividing line of civil institutions Vs. the space
    - Congress, committees, bureau, etc.
    - Did not exist, again as a forum, decision point
    - In each case, lasting three years, advance of both parties

- Strauss - a peculiarly American form of decision making
  - Feeling - change of mood, partly (or mostly) unprecedented
  - Aggressive - partly to US Court immediately, separate era, with
    - High stakes
  - Rightly or wrongly, not maintained - propósito
3) Poplar movement — more potential than France outside.
   — nuclear power in particular
   — Jimmy/John
   — US part: a considerable movement, history.
   — anti-slavery
   — civil rights
   — same
   — not 2 much yet, but potential.
   — may be decreasing geographic distance between US & Soviet
   — see TV coverage