

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP REPORT

Congressional Fellowship Program Foreign Affairs Seminar

Twenty years after the founding of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, a significant innovation was introduced with the two-month (September–October) “Foreign Affairs Seminar” at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). As recounted by the late SAIS Professor Fred Holborn, this idea was born over a lunch between SAIS Dean Francis Wilcox and progressive Republican Representative Brad Morse of Massachusetts. Both men had an abiding interest in both foreign affairs and the Fellowship, which, prior to the State Department Pearson (named for Republican Senator James Pearson of Kansas) fellowship or the Brookings “Legis” fellowship, was the only vehicle then introducing foreign service officers to the Hill. Wilcox had been a former chief of staff for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and went on to become Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations. Morse, after leaving Congress, went on to become president of the Salzburg Seminar. Both men felt that foreign service officers needed a better “political touch” and firmer grounding in the legislative role in foreign policy formulation. At that point in time, foreign service officers tended to serve as long as 10 years overseas before a Washington, DC, assignment, and a certain amount of “re-Americanization” of returning FSOs was necessary. Wilcox and Morse approached the APSA and forged an agreement for the creation of a two-month seminar at SAIS geared toward entering Congressional Fellows from the broader foreign affairs community. Professor Horn was the clear consensus choice to direct the seminar, and in September 1972, he began teaching with eight fellows (five from the Department of State, one from the United States Information Agency, and two from the Central Intelligence Agency). Up until the mid-1980s, government agencies and departments held a more progressive attitude with respect to mid-career training, and the Fellowship received a regular cadre of highly talented foreign affairs

fellows. These were strong Fellows who moved on to strong careers. In just about any year from the mid-80s on, a dozen or so sitting ambassadors could identify as former Congressional Fellows. After 30 years at the helm, honorary Congressional Fellow Fred Holborn retired. He was succeeded by Charles Stevenson, a Harvard Ph.D. veteran of some 20 years working on Senate national security and foreign affairs issues, as well as a member of the National War College faculty.

In recent years, the fellowship has sought to broaden its appeal beyond the traditional Americanists with a specialty in legislative affairs to those political scientists with a focus on international relations or comparative politics—a group particularly well suited for participation in the SAIS Foreign Affairs Seminar. Among the first new participants in the seminar were the senior Fulbright Scholar Fellows from countries such as Poland, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and the Czech Republic; Asia Foundation Fellows from countries such as Thailand and Indonesia; and a few German Marshall Fund of the United States Fellows. In the first decade after 2000, the Fellowship has also included journalists with an international focus and political scientists. Examples include Kathryn Lavelle, a political scientist with a specialty in international economic issues, who, because of a conflict, could not participate in the seminar, but whose experience reflects the Fellowship’s broader appeal among political scientists; Plowshares Professor of Peace Studies and Pericles Professor of Civic Engagement B. Welling Hall of Earlham College; associate professor Frances Marquez of Gallaudet University; and American Australian Association Fellow James Sullivan.

2006–07 Congressional Fellow Katie Lavelle recounts the impact of her fellowship:

As with all of the Congressional Fellowship participants, my own experience proved to be transformative in my career. It allowed me to connect theoretical studies of international relations and U.S. foreign policy in the financial area with the practical world of politics through my placement on the

House Committee on Financial Services. As a committee staffer, I focused on the work of what was then the Domestic and International Monetary Policy subcommittee. Our issues ranged from oversight of the Federal Reserve, to oversight of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, divestment sanctions on Iran and Sudan, [and] legislation codifying the Committee on Foreign Investments in the United States. . . . As a result of this inside exposure, I was awarded a residential fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, where I drafted a manuscript that is currently in process at Oxford University Press. *Legislating International Organization: the U.S. Congress, IMF, and World Bank* examines the history of Congressional efforts to influence policy outcomes in the Bretton Woods financial institutions. As a result of my direct exposure to the Washington policy process in the issue-area of finance, I was awarded a Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Global Issues at the University of Toronto’s Munk Center.

Katie currently has an article in the forthcoming March 2011 International Studies Association journal *International Studies Quarterly* entitled “Multilateral Cooperation and Congress: The Legislative Process of Securing Funding for the World Bank.” As she notes, the article “draws on studies of American politics I was exposed to during the fellowship year.”

2010–11 Fellow Frances Marquez notes:

Professor Charles Stevenson’s American foreign policy course led me and my colleagues to examine and participate in the politics behind U.S. foreign policy, something I had never done as an Americanist. Through roleplaying, we served as policy advisors and debated one another, which has led me to a greater interest in examining foreign policy in my research on Latino political appointees. As I work on a book on this topic, I plan to interview Latino appointees who are at the forefront of policymaking in U.S. foreign affairs. Because of Professor Stevenson’s outstanding course,

I will have a greater understanding of the experiences of these public servants while interviewing them and writing about their service to our nation. Furthermore, the brown bag lunches had speakers ranging from congressional staff to bureaucrats and lobbyists, who provided us with a fascinating perspective that one would not find in a book or classroom on the politics, policies, and procedures of lawmaking in Washington. Taking Professor Stevenson's course was an invaluable experience for me.

2010–11 Fellow Menna Demassie reports:

Dr. Stevenson's course is excellent preparation for the APSA fellowship because of its ability to strike the perfect balance between our theoretical understanding of Congress and foreign policy with knowledge of real-time, real-world application of such theories as it happens on the ground. The inclusion of presentations and discussions with legislative staff, combined with the course readings and invaluable policy exercises help fellows better understand the legislative process and better assimilate into the world of politics, procedures, and policy on Capitol Hill.

As a final testament, 2009–10 Fellow B. Welling Hall recounts, "I secured a position working in Keith Ellison's office, where I quickly became part of the team. The Foreign Affairs Seminar, together with participating in a district staff retreat during the first week of my placement, prepared me for realities of constituent work. Ultimately, the SAIS seminar will really pay off as I explore ways of translating what I learned as a Fellow into my own teaching."

The following 2010–11 syllabus and reading list for the Fellowship's Foreign Affairs Seminar is intended to provide the association's readership with a sense of how the Fellowship has evolved to include the broader reaches of the discipline in international relations and comparative politics.

—Jeffrey Biggs, *American Political Science Association*

COURSE 200.700: CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Dr. Charles A. Stevenson
Fall 2010; Wednesdays 2:15–4:30 PM

This class is taught jointly for SAIS students and APSA Congressional Fellows. In addition to the regular class sessions, there will be a series of brownbag talks with special guests at noon on Wednesday during September and October. SAIS students are

strongly encouraged, but not required, to attend these sessions.

This class examines the way Congress functions, and the interactions of politics, processes, and personalities. We draw upon scholarly works, case studies, guest speakers, and role-playing exercises. After studying the Constitutional authorities for legislative action and the general organization of Congress, we place special focus on the congressional role in foreign policy, trade, defense, and intelligence. SAIS students are required to participate in class discussions and exercises, to do a few short papers and presentations as assigned, and to write a 5,000–6,000 word [20–25 pp.] research paper on a topic approved by the professor. Since this is an election year, students should follow at least one campaign of interest to them and be prepared to give short reports before and after the November 2 elections.

For SAIS students, the final grade will be based on the following: 5,000–6,000 word research paper [20–25 pp.], 50%; additional short papers and presentations, 20%; attendance and class participation, 30%.

Topic Outline

- 1: Wed, Sept 1—Introduction: Congress and the Constitution
- 2: Wed, Sept 8—Congressional campaigns and elections
- 3: Wed, Sept 15—Congressional offices and staff
- 4: Wed, Sept 22—Committees and the legislative process
- 5: Wed, Sept 29—The role of interest groups
- 6: Wed, Oct 6—The budget process
- 7: Wed, Oct 13—Foreign policy and trade
- 8: Wed, Oct 20—Defense and war powers
- 9: Wed, Oct 27—Intelligence oversight
- 10: Wed, Nov 3*—Election review and president and Congress
- 11: Wed, Nov 10*—Senate role on treaties and nominations
- 12: Wed, Nov 17*—Congressional oversight
- 13: Wed, Dec 1*—Finale: Congressional reform; papers due

*For SAIS students only; special sessions will be scheduled for APSA

Readings

Students are encouraged to buy one book from which substantial readings are assigned: Roger Davidson and Walter Oleszek, *Congress and its Members*, 12th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2009)

An excellent basic reference book on the legislative process is: Walter J. Oleszek, *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*, 8th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2010)

Several chapters are also assigned in Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, *Congress Reconsidered*, 9th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2009).

In addition to the readings listed for each topic, additional materials may be provided in advance of class.

Readings by Topic

1. Introduction: Congress and the Constitution

Required Reading: The Constitution of the United States; additional bibliographic materials and resources on Congress will be distributed in class.

Supplementary Readings: Akhil Reed Amar, *America's Constitution* (New York: Random House, 2005), especially chapters 2 and 3; Richard Beeman, *Plain, Honest, Men: The Making of the American Constitution* (New York: Random House, 2009)

2. Congressional Campaigns and Elections

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapters 3 and 4; Robert G. Kaiser, *So Damn Much Money* (New York: Knopf, 2009, 290–301). Also browse <http://www.campaignline.com> and www.opensecrets.org.

Supplementary Readings: Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapters 4, 5, 18; R. Sam Garrett, "Campaign Finance: Potential Legislative and Policy Issues for the 111th Congress," CRS, January 29, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/116715.pdf>; Contribution Limits 2009–10, <http://www.fec.gov/info/contriblimits0910.pdf>.

3. Congressional Offices and Staff

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapter 5; Ida A. Brudnick, "Congressional Salaries and Allowances," CRS Report for Congress, October 1, 2008, <http://wikileaks.org/leak/crs/RL30064.pdf>.

Supplementary Readings: David E. Price, *The Congressional Experience*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview, 2004); Mildred Amer et al., "Membership of the 111th Congress: A Profile," CRS, December 31, 2008, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R40086_20081231.pdf.

4. Committees and the Legislative Process

Required Readings: Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapter 10; Oleszek, chapters 3 and 9; Davidson and Oleszek, chapters 6, 7, 8;

Alan K. Ota, "Caucuses Bring New Muscle to Legislative Battlefield," *Congressional Quarterly*, Sept 27, 2003, 2,334–41.

Supplementary Readings: Background on caucuses: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congressional_caucus; Christopher J. Deering and Steven S. Smith, *Committees in Congress*, 3rd ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 1997).

5. The Role of Interest Groups

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapter 13; articles by Lee Drutman from *The Monkey Cage* blog, October 2009; John Newhouse, "Diplomacy, Inc." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2009; Paul Burstein, "Is Congress really for Sale?" *Contexts*, Summer 2003, 19–25; John Pomfret, "China's Lobbying Efforts Yield New Influence, Openness on Capitol Hill," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2010.

Supplementary Readings: Yolande Knell, "How Congress Responded to Lobbying during the 2006 War between Israel and Hezbollah: What Did Pro-Israeli Groups Do which Pro-Lebanese Groups Could Not or Did Not Do? Why Was Support for Lebanon So Meagre?" Paper for SAIS, December 2006; Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000), 85–129; Ken Silverstein, "Their Men in Washington," *Harper's*, July 2007, 53–61; Jonathan Broder, "Standing Up to Goliath," *CQ Weekly*, August 10, 2009, 1,898–1,904; also browse AIPAC homepage, <http://www.aipac.org>, and the American League of Lobbyists homepage, <http://www.alldc.org>.

6. The Budget Process

Required Readings: Oleszek, chapter 2; Gordon Adams and Cindy Williams, *Buying National Security*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), chapter 9; Davidson and Oleszek, chapter 14; David Baumann, "Does a Budget Really Matter?" *National Journal*, April 15, 2006; "How Government Plays the Budget Game," *National Journal*, September 30, 2002.

Supplementary Readings: See articles on appropriations committees at *CQ Weekly*, May 18, 2009, 1,142–1,157; Robert Keith, "Federal Budget Process Reform in the 111th Congress: A Brief Overview," CRS, January 16, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/116718.pdf>; Sandy Streeter, "The Congressional Appropriations Process: An Introduction," CRS, December 2, 2008, <http://fpc.state.gov/doc->

www.house.gov/rules/crs_reports.htm.
uments/organization/116567.pdf; browse other CRS reports on budget process at www.house.gov/rules/crs_reports.htm.

7. Foreign Policy and Trade

Required Readings: Charles Flickner, "Removing Impediments to an Effective Partnership with Congress," in Lael Brainard (ed.), *Security by Other Means* (Washington: Brookings, 2007), 225–53; I. M. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, 4th ed. (Washington: Institute for International Economics, 2005) chapters 2 and 11; James M. Lindsay, *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Supplementary Readings: Joseph J. Schatz, "Drawing a Fine Line on Trade," *CQ Weekly*, December 8, 2008, 3,230–38; Raymond J. Ahearn et al., "Trade Primer: Qs and As on Trade Concepts, Performance, and Policy," CRS Report for Congress, March 27, 2007, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/82979.pdf>; William H. Cooper, "The Future of U.S. Trade Policy: An Analysis of Issues and Options for the 111th Congress," CRS Reports, March 24, 2010, available at <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/140769.pdf>; Greg Hitt, "Last-Minute Deals Put Cafta over the Top," *Wall Street Journal*, July 29, 2005; Curt Tarnoff et al., "Foreign Aid: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy," CRS, February 10, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/117759.pdf>; Susan B. Epstein et al., "Foreign Aid Reform: Studies and Recommendations," CRS, December 17, 2008, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/116586.pdf>.

8. Defense Policy and War Powers

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapter 15; Charles A. Stevenson, *Congress at War: The Politics of Conflict since 1789* (Washington: Potomac Books/NDU Press, 2007); Christopher M. Jones, "Roles, Politics, and the Survival of the V-22 Osprey," in Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, 5th ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008); Kaiser, *Too Damn Much Money*, 226–49.

Supplementary Readings: Harvey M. Sapolsky et al, *U.S. Defense Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Charles A. Stevenson, *Warriors and Politicians: U.S. Civil-Military Relations under Stress* (London: Routledge, 2006), chapters 1 and 12; Pat Towell et al., "Defense: FY2009 Authorization and Appropriations," CRS Report for Congress,

February 25, 2009, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL34473_20090225.pdf.

9. Congress and Intelligence Oversight

Required Readings: Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, 4th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2009), chapters 3, 8, and 10; Frederick M. Kaiser, "Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Current Structure and Alternatives," CRS Report for Congress RL32525, March 29, 2010, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL32525_20100329.pdf; Denis McDonough, Peter Rundlet, and Mara Rudman, *No Mere Oversight*, Center for American Progress, June 13, 2006, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2006/09/no_mere_oversight.pdf.

Supplementary Readings: Alfred Cumming, "Congress as a Consumer of Intelligence Information," CRS, January 15, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/115867.pdf>; Kate Martin, "Congressional Access to Classified National Security Information," Center for American Progress, March 2007; Alfred Cumming, "Statutory Procedures under which Congress Is to Be Informed of U.S. Intelligence Activities, Including Covert Actions," CRS Memorandum, January 18, 2006; Richard A. Best, Jr., "Intelligence Issues for Congress," CRS Report for Congress, January 9, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/116608>.

10. The President and Congress

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapters 10 and 11; Andrew Rudalevige, *Managing the President's Program* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), chapter 6.

Supplementary Readings: Louis Fisher, *Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President*, 5th ed., (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2007); David R. Mayhew, "Actions in the Public Sphere," in Paul J. Quirk and Sarah A. Binder (eds.), *The Legislative Branch* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 63–105; David E. Lewis, *The Politics of Presidential Appointments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 30–43, 202–19.

11. Senate Role in Treaties and Nominations

Required Readings: Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapters 1 and 10; Betsy Palmer, "Evolution of the Senate's Role in the Nomination and Confirmation Process: A Brief History," CRS Report for Congress

RL31948, July 2, 2008, <http://wikileaks.org/leak/crs/RL31948.pdf>; Steven S. Smith, "Parties and Leadership in the Senate," in Quirk and Binder, 255–78; Jennifer Stone, "Mr. Woebegone Goes to Washington," *New York Magazine*, April 4, 2010; Joseph J. Schatz, "Looking for Room to Maneuver: Can the Senate Be Fixed?" *CQ Weekly*, April 19, 2010, 952–62.

Supplementary Readings: Terry Deibel, "Death of a Treaty," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2002, 142–61; David W. Allvin, "Senator Takes Hostages—Film at Eleven"—An Examination of Senate Holds on Nominations," Paper for National War College, January 2004.

12. Congressional Oversight

Required Readings: Walter J. Oleszek, "Congressional Oversight: An Overview," CRS Report for Congress, February 22, 2010, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/138766.pdf>; Louis Fisher, "Committee Controls on Agency Decisions," CRS Report for Congress RL33151, November 16, 2005, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL33151_20051116.pdf; Christopher J. Deering and Matthew A. Steele, "The Contours of Foreign and Defense Oversight in the Post-World War II Era," Paper for the Project on National Security Reform, July 2008.

Supplementary Readings: Project on National Security Reform, Working Group on Congress, "Congressional and Other Oversight: Analysis of Current System," June 2008; Frederick M. Kaiser et al., "Congressional Oversight Manual," CRS Report for Congress RL30240, May 1, 2007; Henry Waxman, *The Waxman Report: How Congress Really Works* (New York: Twelve, 2009), 145–224.

13. Congressional Reform

Required Readings: Reform Institute, *Restoring Order: Practical Solutions to Congressional Dysfunction* (Washington, DC: Reform Institute, 2006), <http://www.reforminstitute.org/DetailPublications.aspx?pid=60&cid=2>; Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapter 3; Scott Lilly, "From Deliberation to Dysfunction: It's Time

for Procedural Reform in the U.S. Senate," Center for American Progress, March 2010, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/03/filibuster_report.html.

Supplementary Readings: Colleen J. Shogan, ed., "Symposium: The Future of Congress," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, April 2010, 221–38; Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, *The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); CSIS, *A Steep Hill: Congress and U.S. Efforts to Strengthen Fragile States* (Washington: CSIS, 2008); E. Scott Adler, *Why Congressional Reforms Fail: Reelection and the House Committee System* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Tentative Brownbag Schedule

- 1: Wed, Sept 1—Orientation: Biggs, Kornell & Stevenson
- 2: Wed, Sept 8—Political polling [TBD]
- 3: Wed, Sept 15—Office organization [House chief of staff Bergreen]
- 4: Wed, Sept 22—Legislative liaison [Davis]
- 5: Wed, Sept 29—Lobbying [Hays]
- 6: Wed, Oct 6—Budget process [Adams]
- 7: Wed, Oct 13—Trade policy [Miller]
- 8: Wed, Oct 20—Appropriations staff [HAC staff Ashford]
- 9: Wed, Oct 27—Defense issues [HASC staff Fenner]

Supplementary Sessions for APSA Congressional Fellows

These will be held on Thursdays, 10AM–12 noon.

Thursday, September 9: Congress Then and Now

Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapters 1 and 2; Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapters 2, 3, and 16.

Supplementary Readings: Julian E. Zelizer, ed., *The American Congress* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004); Robert V. Remini, *The House* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2006); Lewis L. Gould, *The Most Exclusive Club* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Robert A. Caro, *Master of the Senate* (New York: Knopf, 2002), especially

chapters 1–3.

Thursday, September 16: Senate Role on Treaties and Nominations (Topic 11) readings

Thursday, September 23: Legislative Strategy
Required Readings: Davidson and Oleszek, chapter 9; Dodd and Oppenheimer, chapters 9 and 15; Oleszek, chapters 4–8. (basic overview of legislative process); Jonathan Rauch, "Earmarks Are a Model, Not a Menace," *National Journal*, March 20, 2009.

Supplementary Readings: Clinton T. Brass et al., "Bush Administration Policy Regarding Congressionally Originated Earmarks: An Overview," CRS Report for Congress, September 4, 2008, 1–9, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/110375.pdf>; Megan Suzanne Lynch, "Earmark Disclosure Rules in the House: Member and Committee Requirements," CRS, January 16, 2009, <http://wikileaks.org/leak/crs/RS22866.pdf>; Paul J. Quirk, "Deliberation and Decision-Making," in Paul J. Quirk and Sarah A. Binder (eds.), *The Legislative Branch* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 314–48.

Thursday, September 30: President and Congress (Topic 10) readings

Thursday, October 7: Budget process exercise (materials distributed in advance of class)

Thursday, October 13: Congressional oversight (Topic 12) readings

Thursday, October 21: War powers exercise
Required Readings: Review Stevenson, *Congress at War*; Richard F. Grimmett, "War Powers Resolution: Presidential Compliance," CRS, February 2, 2009, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/120578.pdf>; Richard F. Grimmett, "The War Powers Resolution: After Thirty-Six Years," CRS Report, April 22, 2010, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/141572.pdf>.

Thursday, October 28: Congressional reform (Topic 13) readings ■