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CRS REPORT FOR CONGRESS

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY: SELECTED REFERENCES

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ABSTRACT

This reading list presents literature on the role of Congress in the conduct of foreign relations. Citations include such topics as the relationship between Congress and the executive, role of committees, and the impact of foreign policy decisions. The focus is on the current literature, but older materials are included to provide historical background on this topic. This report supersedes L0753.

The author wishes to thank Martha Lederer for the production of this bibliography.

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY: SELECTED REFERENCES

Abshire, David M.

Foreign policy makers: President vs. Congress. Beverly Hills Calif., Sage Publications [1979] 80 p. (The Washington papers, 66) LRS79-9479

Contents.--In the beginning, congressional government.--The emergence of Presidential government.--The powers of the Commander in Chief.--Neo-congressional government.--Prospects for the future.

"Examines the historical background to the American predilection for congressional government, and the subsequent alternating periods of congressional and presidential domination in foreign policy."

Barnes, Michael D.

The Constitution and foreign policy: the role of Congress. In *Renewing the dream: National Archives Bicentennial '87 lectures on contemporary constitutional issues*. Edited by Ralph S. Pollock. Landham, Md., University Press of America, copublished by arrangement with the National Archives Volunteers Constitution Study Group, c1986. p. 67-72. LRS86-13648

Lecture given in Nov. 1984 discusses the War Powers Resolution, its application to Reagan administration policy in Central America, and the pocket veto case pertaining to Salvadoran military assistance.

Bax, Frans R.

The legislative-executive relationship in foreign policy: new partnership or new competition. *Orbis*, v. 20, winter 1977: 881-904. LRS77-1179

"Neither branch of government is the fount of all, or even most, wisdom.... The new era in legislative-executive relations in foreign policy must not be another form of closed politics, and it need not be a new partnership. It must mean a new style of legislative-executive competition," concludes the author.

Bell, Griffin B. Foy, H. Miles.

The President, the Congress, and the Panama Canal: an essay on the powers of the Executive legislative branches in the field of foreign affairs. *Georgia journal of international and comparative law*, v. 16, 1986: 607-654. LRS86-13669

"The Framers of the Constitution . . . established in the first four articles of the Constitution an elaborate structure that gave the executive and legislative branches specific roles to fulfill Even today, the peculiar shape of United States government influences foreign and domestic policy."

Bennet, Douglas J., Jr.

Congress in foreign policy: who needs it? *Foreign affairs*, v. 57, fall 1978: 40-50. LRS78-11654

The author's thesis is that active congressional participation in foreign policy is "both desirable and unavoidable, and that the executive and Congress share responsibility for making it constructive."

Bergner, Jeffrey T.

Organizing the Congress for national security. Comparative strategy, v. 6, no. 3, 1987: 281-304. LRS87-6437

"The foreign policy struggle between the legislative and executive branches, however, has not occurred simply over enumerated powers. In Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s words, 'The struggle began in the silences of the Constitution The historical relationship between the two branches has been one of both harmony and turmoil.'"

Bestor, Arthur.

Respective roles of Senate and President in the making and abrogation of treaties--the original intent of the framers of the Constitution historically examined. Washington law review, v. 55, no. 1, 1979-1980: 4-135. LRS79-17416

Bundy, William P.

The national security process. International security, v. 7, winter 1982-83: 94-109. LRS82-16685

The author, who served under five Presidents, reflects on foreign and national security decision making processes of each administration since World War II. He considers executive-congressional relations regarding foreign policy and suggests "there is a great deal that can be done within the executive branch, and between the executive and Congress, that would make American foreign policy less uncertain and more effective."

Carroll, Holbert N.

The House of Representatives and foreign affairs. Wesport, Conn., Greenwood Press [1984] c1958. 365 p. JK1319.C3 1984

Carter, Ralph G.

Congressional foreign policy behavior: persistent patterns of the postwar period. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 16, spring 1986: 329-359. LRS86-5354

"The conventional view of the congressional role in American foreign policymaking has long been that Congress is a minor actor at best. The congressional role is to follow the President's lead. If that pattern has changed at all, it is presumed to have changed only recently as a result of the unpopularity of the Vietnam War."

Christian, Shirley.

Foreign danger. Atlantic monthly, v. 252, Oct. 1983: 36, 38-40. LRS83-13735

Shows how in questions of foreign policy, Members of Congress can get into political difficulties with their constituents, "in some cases because of positions taken, in others because of the perception that time spent on trying to develop foreign policy is time that could be better spent on less exotic matters." The author looks at examples involving relations with Nicaragua and ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty.

Christopher, Warren.

Ceasefire between the branches: a compact in foreign affairs. Foreign affairs, v. 60, summer 1982: 989-1005. LRS82-10124

The author, who was Deputy Secretary of State from 1977 to 1981, examines the ways the courts and the Congress have recently interacted with the

Executive branch on international matters, and proposes a new compact between the Executive branch and Congress on foreign policy decision-making, based on mutually reinforcing commitments and mutually accepted restraints.

Collier, Ellen C.

Foreign policy by reporting requirement. Washington quarterly, v. 11, winter 1988: 75-84. LRS88-111

"Reporting requirements are provisions in law requiring the executive branch to submit specified information to Congress or committees of Congress. Their basic purpose is to provide data and analysis Congress needs to oversee the implementation of legislation and foreign policy by the executive branch. When used effectively, they also can be important congressional instruments for sharing the making of foreign policy. ... For Congress, the reports can provide not only information for oversight but also a handle for action. Congress participates in making foreign policy through the requirements it levies and its responses to submitted reports. It has imposed roughly 600 such requirements in current legislation.

Foreign policy roles of the President and Congress. Sept. 16, 1986. 31 p. 86-163 F

The President and Congress share the making of U.S. foreign policy. The Constitution divides the foreign policy powers between the executive and legislative branches in such a fashion that each branch plays an important but different role. This report identifies and illustrates 12 major patterns of interaction between the two branches in formulating and changing U.S. foreign policy.

The power of the purse in foreign policy. Congressional Research Service review, v. 7, Jan. 1986: 2-4. LRS86-360

"The power of the purse has become the most potent tool of Congress for shaping foreign policy. This was vividly illustrated when Congress prohibited the use of funds to finance combat activities by U.S. military forces 'in or over or from off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia' after August 15, 1973. In innumerable other budget actions, many of which are little noted, Congress also shapes, constrains, and redirects foreign policy."

U.S. Senate rejection of treaties: a brief survey of past instances. Revised Mar. 30, 1987. 24 p. 87-305 F

Seventeen treaties have been brought to a vote by the full Senate but failed to receive the required two-thirds majority. More than 40 treaties received the required two-third vote but never entered into force because the reservations or amendments included in the resolution of ratification were not acceptable to the President or to the other countries involved. Most often, however, the Senate has simply not voted on treaties that did not seem to have sufficient support within the Senate for approval.

Revision of Report no. 79-149 F.

Congress and foreign policy. In Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Symposium on the U.S. Congress (1981 : Boston College). The United States Congress. Edited by Dennis Hale. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books 1983 p. 247-271.

LRS83-9011

Contents.--Congress and foreign policy, by R. Drinan.--The War Powers Resolution, by R. Scigliano.

Congress and foreign policy--1984. Prepared by the Congressional Research Service. Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division. Washington, G.P.O., 1985. 156 p.

LRS85-7529

At head of title: [House] Committee on Foreign Affairs.

This committee print, prepared for the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, is the twelfth and most recent in a series of annual reports reviewing the role of Congress in foreign policy during the previous year. Since 1979, the reports have included analyses of the congressional role regarding pertinent topics for the year considered. In this twelfth report, a review of the role of Congress regarding foreign policy during 1985-86 is followed by eight chapters which "provide case studies of legislative-executive relations in the two years on key foreign policy issues," including: South Africa sanctions; aid to the Nicaraguan contras; arms control; trade; foreign aid; the Philippines; African economic crisis; and international terrorism.

Congress, the Presidency and American foreign policy. Edited by John Spanier, and Joseph Noguee. New York, Pergamon Press [1981] 211 p.

KF4651.A5C58 1981

(Pergamon policy studies on international politics)

The authors argue for a strong Presidential role in foreign policy-making and greater congressional restraint in that area. They analyze several post-Vietnam policy issues, including SALT II, the Panama Canal Treaty, and the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

Congress: past, present, & future: panel discussions on issues confronting the 100th Congress. A joint project of: the House Republican Research Committee, the Commission on the Bicentennial [sic] of the House and the Center for Strategic & International Studies, published in cooperation with Ameritech & the United States Capitol Historical Society. Edited by Kelly Marcavage and Doc Syers. Washington, The Committee, 1987. 75 p.

LRS87-4129

Edited version of a conference held in May 1986 focusing on four issues: congressional leadership; Congress and foreign policy; congressional budget reform; and Congress and the media.

Congress, information and foreign affairs. Prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1978. 103 p.

LRS78-13375

At head of title: 95th Cong., 2d sess. Committee print.

Congressional Research Service. Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division. The Senate role in foreign affairs appointments; prepared for the use of Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 119 p.

LRS82-8664

At head of title: 97th Cong., 2d sess. Committee print.

Crabb, Cecil V., Jr. Holt, Pat M.

Invitation to struggle: Congress, the President and foreign policy. 2nd edition. Washington, Congressional Quarterly, 1984. 267 p. LRS84-6216

Contents.--Part I. The process of foreign policymaking.--The executive branch and foreign affairs: locus of decisionmaking.--Congress and foreign affairs: traditional and contemporary roles.--Part II. Congress confronts the issues.--The Panama Canal treaties.--The Arab-Israeli conflict and the AWACS controversy.--The armed forces.--The intelligence community.--The human rights issue.--Part III. Conclusion.--Congressional assertiveness and foreign affairs: a balance sheet.

Dahl, Robert A.

Congress and foreign policy. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1983, c1950. 305 p. JK1081.D32 1983

Reprint of this standard reference work in the field which was originally published in New York by Harcourt, Brace, 1950.

Destler, I. M.

Executive-congressional conflict in foreign policy: explaining it, coping with it. In Congress reconsidered. Edited by Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. 3d ed. Washington, Congressional Quarterly Press, c1985. p. 343-363. LRS85-2067

"The foreign policy problem is not to avoid executive-congressional conflict, but to manage it. Certain general remedies--institutionalizing consultation, strengthening staff expertise on Capitol Hill--are difficult to implement or have mixed effects. Others--strengthening leadership institutions--go against recent congressional reform trends."

Emerson, J. Terry.

The legislative role in treaty abrogation. Journal of legislation, v. 5, 1978: 46-80. LRS78-23040

"It is the premise of this article that Congress as a corporate entity, or at least the Senate, should reaffirm its long-standing role in the treaty termination process at least by declaring its understanding of the method which the Constitution requires for the abrogation of treaties and calling upon the Executive for prompt information of each Presidential action purporting to remove our nation from a treaty obligation."

Falk, Richard.

Lifting the curse of bipartisanship. World policy journal, v. 1, fall 1983: 127-157. LRS83-18196

"American foreign policy remains compulsively bipartisan on the most basic issues of principle and practice. ... Underlying assumptions are rarely questioned, and genuine alternatives of policy are almost never advocated when representatives of the two main political parties debate foreign policy. As a result, U.S. foreign policy is essentially frozen at a time when the pressures for fundamental adjustments are becoming ever more intense," argues the author.

Fascell, Dante B.

Congress and foreign policy. Congressional studies, v. 7, winter 1980: 5-9. LRS80-10846

"The role of Congress in the development of our foreign policy is in a state of great flux. The guidelines to the formulation of foreign policy initiatives are neither stationary nor moving in a single clear direction."

Feigin, Michael M.

The conduct of United States foreign policy after Chadha: upsetting a critical balance of power. Brooklyn journal of international law, v. 11, winter 1985: 79-101. LRS85-13154

"The purpose of this Note is to examine the effect of the Chadha decision on the administration of United States foreign policy. The usefulness and the importance of the legislative veto will be evaluated by analyzing the effect that Chadha has had on three statutes which delegate foreign power to the executive. This Note will then explore the ramifications of Chadha decision in the context of the president's recent military missions in Lebanon and Grenada. Finally, this Note will discuss the impact of Chadha on the future of the separation of American foreign power between the president and Congress."

Feld, Werner J. and John K. Wildgen.

Congress and national defense: the politics of the unthinkable. New York, Praeger, 1985. 126 p. UA23.F39 1985

Fisher, Louis.

Evolution of Presidential and congressional powers in foreign affairs. In Congress, the Presidency and the Taiwan Relations Act. Edited by Louis W. Koenig, James C. Hsiung, and King-yuh Chang. New York, Praeger, 1985. p. 15-35. LRS85-14829

"The President must reach an accommodation with Congress in foreign policy and national defense. Even in exceptional cases . . . unilateral actions by the President eventually become counterproductive. To sustain a successful policy, at some point the executive branch must secure the support and cooperation of Congress."

Forging bipartisanship. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 35 p. LRS84-10151

At head of title: Washington Quarterly. White paper 1984.

Contents.--Introduction, by A. Armstrong, S. Nunn, and A. Jordan, Jr.--Bipartisan foreign policy, by R. Reagan.--The three requirements for a bipartisan foreign policy, by Z. Brzezinski.--Forging a bipartisan foreign policy, by H. Kissinger.--Bipartisan foreign policy, by J. Schlesinger.--A commitment to law as a condition of bipartisanship, by D. Moynihan.

Franck, Thomas M. Weisband, Edward.

Foreign policy by Congress. New York, Oxford University Press, 1979. 357 p. JK573 1979.F7

Partial contents.--The legislated peace: Congress ends U.S. involvement in Indochina.--The cutoff complex: Congress reverses Presidential policies toward Turkey and Angola.--Codetermination: Congress recaptures the war power.--The new oversight: codetermining human rights, military aid, and nuclear export policy.--Treaties, agreements, and commitments: putting "advice" back into advice and consent.--A foreign policy of laws, not men?--The national interest and the special interests: Congress and the foreign relations lobbies.--Up the hill, sideways: Congress in search of a delivery system.--Expertise powering the congressional delivery system.

Frye, Alton.

Congress and President: the balance wheels of American foreign policy. Yale review, v. 69, autumn 1979: 1-16. LRS79-21197

Discusses the legislative-executive relation in the making of foreign policy, and a proposal for a Foreign Policy Monitor.

Fulbright, J. William.

The legislator as educator. Foreign affairs, v. 57, spring 1979: 719-732.

LRS79-2563

Former U.S. Senator discusses his perceptions of the role of the Congress in foreign relations. States that his "own belief, built upon 32 years in public life, is that the basic issues of foreign policy--as distinguished from its details and technicalities--are well within the grasp of ordinary citizens, provided these issues are explained, clearly and accurately, by competent and responsible leaders."

Furlong, William L. Scranton, Margaret E.

The dynamics of foreign policymaking: the President, the Congress, and the Panama Canal treaties. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, c1984. 263 p.

LRS84-14219

Contents.--Introduction and analysis.--From conception and construction to the new treaties.--Why change Panama Canal policy?--Assessing executive impact: Presidents, their administrations, and the treaties.--Congress and the treaties.--Implementation legislation and impacts.--Explanations, costs, and conclusions.

Galey, Margaret E.

Congress, foreign policy and human rights ten years after Helsinki. Human rights quarterly, v. 7, Aug. 1985: 334-372.

LRS85-14998

Discusses congressional activities regarding human rights policy.

Gallagher, Hugh Gregory.

Advise and obstruct; the role of the United States Senate in foreign policy decisions. New York, Delacorte Press [1969] 338 p.

KF4651.G3

Glennon, Michael J.

The Senate role in treaty ratification. American journal of international law, v. 77, Apr. 1983: 257-280.

LRS83-19153

"The recent revival of congressional involvement in international agreement making generated principally by Watergate and Vietnam, the reassertion by Congress of its foreign policy prerogatives and has raised new questions concerning the respective scope of legislative and executive powers in the making of international agreements."

Goldberg, Arthur J.

A constitutional American foreign policy. Hastings constitutional law quarterly, v. 3, summer 1976: 631-636.

LRS76-20995

Former Supreme Court Justice Goldberg in this article argues that "American foreign policy for the seventies and beyond must comport with our constitutional goals of liberty and the consent of the governed. The secret diplomacy of state necessity should be replaced by a form of statecraft which once again reflects the will of the majority."

Goldwater, Barry M.

Treaty termination is a shared power. Policy review, no. 8, spring 1979: 115-124.

LRS79-6188

Senator Goldwater challenges "the validity of the President's attempted termination of the treaty without any supporting legislative authority."

Graebner, Norman A.

Foreign policy under the Constitution: should the President's power be curbed? University of Virginia news letter, v. 62, Mar. 1986: whole issue (45-52 p.) LRS86-12706

Reviews Presidential assertions of primacy in external relations vis-a-vis Congress in the twentieth century, particularly during the Vietnam era. "In any executive-congressional contest over a specific foreign policy issue, public opinion, the ultimate source of power in a democratic order, determines the winner."

Gregorian, Hrach.

Assessing congressional involvement in foreign policy: lessons of the post-Vietnam period. Review of politics, v. 46, Jan. 1984: 91-112. LRS84-1461

"With the post-Vietnam era serving as the immediate backdrop, certain 'lessons' are drawn regarding postwar congressional ascendancy, both in terms of procedural manifestations and policy outcomes. A central conclusion is that Congress will always remain an essential component in the decision-making process, becoming involved in substantive policy on a selective basis. Some sixteen variables affecting the degree of involvement and likelihood of success are identified and rank ordered. The entire process of congressional-executive relations in foreign policymaking is ultimately viewed as highly untidy but fairly effective in maintaining some semblance of institutional balance throughout history."

Griffith, William E.

Congress is wrecking our foreign policy. Reader's digest, v. 108, Feb. 1976: 71-76. LRS76-323

In crucial areas around the globe, the 94th Congress has been interfering with the President's conduct of foreign policy--with disastrous results," claims the author.

Haass, Richard.

Congressional power: implications for American security policy. London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1979. 39 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 153) LRS79-13488

The study seeks "to explain how Congress exercises its influence, and to assess its implications for American security policy. More specifically, the evolution of the role of Congress will be traced from its inception, through its recovery of traditional powers, to the legislation of new and additional ones. The changing shape and machinery of the institution will also be examined. In all cases, the central concern is scope and impact: to what extent, and in what way, will Congress affect the foreign and defence policies of the United States in the years ahead?"

Hackett, Clifford P.

The Congressional foreign policy role. Muscatine, Iowa Stanley Foundation, 1979. 28 p. (Stanley Foundation. Occasional paper 21) LRS79-21860

"Presents the function of Congress as a foreign policy instrument from the executive and legislative viewpoints and with a historical perspective."

Hamilton, Lee H.

Congress and foreign policy. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 12, spring 1982: 133-137. LRS82-5619

The author, a U.S. Congressman from Indiana, reviews the role of Congress in foreign policy in recent years and assesses the strengths and weaknesses of Congress regarding foreign policy.

Hecht, Jonathan. Papachristou, Alex.

Foreign policy and the 'Imperial' Congress. Washington post, Aug. 11, 1987: A15. LRS87-5937

"In order to advance his foreign policy agenda, a president must depend on his leadership qualities and political skills, rather than on any ill-founded notion of an exclusive 'constitutional mandate.' For the better part of six years, President Reagan held Congress and the public enthralled by his artful use of just such talents."

Heginbotham, Stanley J.

Dateline Washington: the rules of the games. Foreign policy, no. 53, winter 1983-1984: 157-172. LRS83-14457

Examines "the dynamics of congressional-executive interaction on foreign policy," and concludes that "progress in congressional-executive consultation on foreign policy requires realism and perspective. No other country's political system demands a comparable effort to reconcile such divergent games as those played in the U.S. Congress and in the U.S. foreign-policy establishment."

Foreign policy information for Congress: patterns of fragmentation and advocacy. Washington quarterly, v. 10, summer 1987: 149-162. LRS87-4951

"This article examines the distinctions between Congress and bureaucratic structures, discusses the peculiar functions that Congress plays in the foreign policy process, reflects on the evolution of those functions over the past 20 years, and then shows how these various considerations shape the informational and analytic needs of, and resources available to Congress."

Hodgson, Godfrey.

Congress and American foreign policy. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1979. 57 p. JX1706.Z4A2

Ikle, Fred Charles.

Beyond the water's edge: responsible partisanship in foreign policy. Commonsense, v. 1, summer 1978: 34-38. LRS78-12505

"Vigorous partisan airing of issues can be healthy and a dose of responsible partisanship can be the best medicine with which to cure on ailing foreign policy. Without it, citizens are denied the opportunity to express a choice and make a commitment."

Kaiser, Fred M.

Congressional change and foreign policy: the House Committee on International Relations. In Legislative reform: the policy impact, edited by Leroy N. Rieselbach. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1980, c1978. p. 61-71. (Policy Studies Organization Series, 16) JK1061.L34

Using the example of the House Committee on International Relations, this examination "focuses on three dimensions of structural change: committee authority, jurisdiction, and internal organization."

 Oversight of foreign policy: the U.S. House Committee on International Relations. Legislative studies quarterly, v. 2, Aug. 1977: 255-279.

LRS77-11323

Concludes from examination of relevant committee hearings, committee field investigations, input from congressional support agencies, and comparison with other House committee activities "that the Committee is one of the most prolific overseers in the chamber and that these endeavors have escalated recently."

Kessler, Frank.

Presidential-congressional battles: toward a truce on the foreign policy front. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 8, spring 1978: 115-127.

LRS78-7228

"After examining recent White House/Capitol Hill imbroglios over executive agreements, executive privilege, executive deceptions of Congress, and conflicts over the war powers, this study points out the problem of the 'information gap' in inter-branch relations concerning foreign policy. Next, it posits typologies aimed at permitting systematic evaluation of the numerous proposals suggested for bringing Congress into a more viable position with respect to the President in foreign affairs. Finally, this study suggests that a partnership should evolve without drastic legal surgery on the relations between the branches lest formal changes create ills which might require future, more sweeping applications of statutory or constitutional scalpels."

Kolodziej, Edward A.

Formulating foreign policy. In The power to govern: assessing reform in the United States. New York, Academy of Political Science, 1981. (Proceedings, v. 34, no. 2, 1981) p. 174-189.

JK21.P734

Surveys incentives which led Congress to take a larger role in foreign policy formulation, and examines the way Congress has reorganized and staffed itself to fill tht role.

Kozlov, V.

US Congress and American foreign policy. International affairs (Moscow), no. 2, Feb. 1979: 114-118.

LRS79-2443

The "Congress factor" in American foreign policy--a Soviet view.

Legislating foreign policy. Edited by Hoyt Purvis and Steven J. Baker.

Boulder, Westview Press, 1984. 229 p.

JK1081.L44 1984

Leyton-Brown, David.

The role of Congress in the making of foreign policy. International journal, v. 38, winter 1982-1983: 59-76.

LRS82-18535

"During the 1970s, congress acted on a number of fronts to reverse publicly the decisions of the president and the foreign policy experts of the executive branch, to impose prohibitions and restrictions on future actions, and to mandate new policy behaviour. The many areas of congressional activism included military activity, arms sales, intelligence operations, trade, aid, nuclear proliferation, human rights, and surveillance of executive agreements."

Lovell, John P.

The challenge of American foreign policy: purpose and adaptation. New York, Macmillan, c1985. 333 p. LRS85-7881

Contents.--The study of foreign policy.--The structure and process of foreign policy in the computer age: imaginary ideals and real requirements.--Guiding assumptions, images, and goals: the early American foreign policy experience.--Adapting to Post-World War II challenges.--The modern quest for unifying goals: the politics of consensus building.--The Presidency and the bureaucracy.--The structure and process of foreign policy decision making.--The President and Congress in the formulation of foreign policy.--Meeting the challenges of the 1980s and 1990s: purpose and adaptation.

Morrison, David C.

Trauma over treaties. National journal, v. 19, June 27, 1987: 1644-1699.

LRS87-4475

"Like the Iran-contra affair, the dispute over interpreting the ABM Treaty raises the question of how much power Congress has--and should have--in the foreign policy arena."

Maynes, Charles William. Ullman, Richard H.

Ten years of foreign policy. Foreign policy, no. 40, fall 1980: 3-17.

LRS80-20980

"Surveys shifts in the international balance of power since the beginning of the 1970s. Also examines domestic constraints on the development of consistent and coherent U.S. foreign policies."

McCormick, James M.

The changing role of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in the 1970s and 1980s. Congress & the Presidency, v. 12, spring 1985: 1-20. LRS85-6006

"Examines the extent to which the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has changed in orientation from a committee that is 'executive-led' to one that makes a more independent judgment of foreign policy matters."

Muravchik, Joshua.

The Senate and national security: a new mood. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1980. 88 p. (The Washington papers, 80) LRS80-16577

Documents the Senate's change in attitude on national security issues during the 1970s. Traces the Senate's change from "the most dovish body in the U.S. government" to the "most hawkish."

Olson, William C.

President, Congress and American foreign policy: confrontation or collaboration? International affairs (London), v. 52, Oct. 1976: 565-581.

LRS76-16425

Osterlund, Peter.

Coping with constitutional ambiguity. Christian Science monitor, Aug. 12, 1987: 6. LRS87-5939

"The US Constitution's division of foreign policy responsibility between president and Congress created a delicate balance that has been severely tested by the Iran-contra affair. Yet politicians and historians tend to agree that the system is wise and workable."

Percy, Charles H.

The partisan gap. Foreign policy, no. 45, winter 1981-1982: 3-15.

LRS81-15063

"Without a joint approach to U.S. foreign policy, which both branches of government backed by substantial elements of both parties must work to forge, the United States is likely to fall short of its foreign policy objectives."

The President, the Congress and foreign policy. Forward by Edmund S. Muskie, Kenneth Rush; Kenneth W. Thompson, rapporteur. Lanham, University Press of America, c1986. 311 p.

JX1706.P74 1986

Rodman, Peter W.

The imperial Congress. National interest, no. 1, fall 1985: 26-35.

LRS85-14318

"Strong presidents in this era will find the Congress an opposition force challenging them, for the most part, from the left. What all of this amounts to is a rebellion against an active foreign policy of containment and world leadership. The rebellion truly deserves the label 'isolationist.'"

Rourke, John.

Congress and the Presidency in U.S. foreign policymaking: a study of interaction and influence, 1945-1982. Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1983. 441 p. (Westview replica edition)

LRS83-18888

Contents.--Truman . . . Vandenberg . . . Byrnes: the early Cold War triumvirate.--Early postwar policy.--The declaration of the Cold War.--Consensus, dissent and foreign policy.--Congressional means and Presidential values: Europe, Asia and the Middle East policy.--Congressional means and Presidential values: trade, aid and personnel.--Congressional values and the scope of congressional influence.--The old order changes--a little.--The future is history.

Rourke, John T.

The future is history: Congress and foreign policy. Presidential studies quarterly, v. 9, summer 1979: 275-283.

LRS79-12254

"It may be that Congress can and will continue to assert itself in the foreign policy process, but it is more probable that decision-making will revert to the pattern which the War Powers Resolution and other kindred acts have attempted to alter. The long standing arguments which have traditionally lent strength to presidential primacy in foreign affairs and the post World War II factors which have augmented that power all continue to exist. As the acuteness of the images of Vietnam and Watergate recede, and as new crises intervene, the historic considerations which long determined the respective executive and legislative roles will once again influence the process in favor of presidential power."

Rovine, Arthur W.

Congressional-executive relations and United States foreign policy. Willamette law review, v. 17, winter 1980: 41-55.

LRS80-19817

"The executive branch must accept a more comprehensive role for Congress in the formulation of foreign policy. At the same time, Congress must understand its own limits and avoid intrusions into the day-to-day

management and conduct of policy. It is extremely important in this regard that congressional relations offices in the Departments of State and Defense, and in the White House be staffed with the best qualified people, and utilized continuously."

Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.

Foreign policy and the American character. Foreign affairs, v. 62, fall 1983: 1-16. LRS83-10499

"The manner in which a state practices foreign policy is greatly affected by national peculiarities. The United States is not exempt from these unimpeachable generalities Two strains have competed for the control of American foreign policy: one empirical, the other dogmatic; one viewing the world in the perspective of history, the other in the perspective of ideology The present Administration represents a mighty comeback of the messianic approach to foreign policy." The author cites sections in U.S. foreign policy where ideology still holds sway.

Schwartz, Bernard.

Congressional veto in the conduct of foreign policy. In The tethered Presidency: congressional restraints on executive power. Edited by Thomas M. Franck. New York, New York University Press, 1981. p. 77-102.

LRS81-20963

Traces "the development of the legislative veto, as well as its recent use in statutes dealing with the conduct of foreign policy."

Smith, Gaddis.

Foreign policy in perilous times; who's in charge? Vital issues, v. 29, Apr. 1980: whole issue. LRS80-3504

The author discusses the "proper balance" between Congress and the Executive in the conduct of foreign policy, and concludes with some "guidelines for the allocation of responsibility and control."

Spiro, Herbert J.

A new foreign policy consensus? Beverly Hills Calif., Sage Publications, [c1979] 72 p. (The Washington papers, no. 64) LRS79-6094

Contents.--The old consensus.--The transformation of the establishment.--The American consensus.--A new foreign policy consensus?

Stennis, John C. Fulbright, J. William.

The role of Congress in foreign policy. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1971] 139 p. KF4651.S74

Szamuely, George.

The Imperial Congress. Commentary, v. 84, Sept. 1987: 27-32. LRS87-6546

"A revisionist version of American history is in the process of being written to account for and to justify the newly assertive role of Congress in the conduct of foreign policy It is based on a tendentious misreading of both the distant and the recent past It aims at replacing an allegedly 'imperial Presidency' with the rationale for an imperial Congress."

Tower, John G.

Congress versus the President: the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy. Foreign affairs, v. 60, winter 1981-1982: 229-246. LRS81-15064

"In addition to the constitutional, judicial and historical arguments

against Congressional intervention in foreign policy, there is an even more clear-cut issue of the efficacy of Congressional involvement in foreign policy. To the extent that Congress often represents competing regional and parochial interests, it is almost impossible for it to forge a unified national foreign policy strategy and to speak with one voice in negotiating with foreign powers."

Treaties and other international agreements: the role of the United States Senate; a study prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. Washington, G.P.O., 1984. 318 p. (Print, Senate, 98th Congress, 2nd session, committee print S. Prt. 98-205) LRS84-6524

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Congress and foreign policy series [on congressional-executive relations in foreign policy making] Prepared for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs by the Congressional Research Service. Washington, G.P.O., 1980-1983. 8 v. LRS82-3240, LRS83-12815, LRS82-1437, LRS81-4832, LRS80-6462, LRS81-5818, LRS82-16372, LRS82-10609

At head of title: [House] Foreign Affairs Committee print.

Content.--No. 1. Executive-legislative consultation on foreign policy: strengthening executive branch procedures.--No. 3. Congressional-executive relations and the Turkish arms embargo.--No. 4. Executive-legislative consultation on foreign policy: strengthening foreign policy information sources for Congress.--No. 5. Executive-legislative consultations on foreign policy: strengthening the legislative side.--No. 6. Executive-legislative consultation on foreign policy: sanctions against Rhodesia.--No. 7. Executive-legislative consultation on foreign policy [summary, analyses, and bibliography]

The "Congress factor" in superpower relations: Soviet views of the U.S. Congress; report of a staff study mission to the Soviet Union, May 25-June 6, 1987 to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, G.P.O., 1987. 33 p. LRS87-10376
At head of title: 100th Congress, 1st session. Committee print.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. Special Subcommittee on Investigations. Congress and foreign policy; report. Washington, G.P.O., 1976. 26 p. At head of title: 94th Congress, 2nd session. Committee print. LRS76-19110

This report examines characteristics and problems of executive-legislative relations, and offers some "suggestions on how these problems can be addressed and how Congress' appropriate role in foreign policymaking formulation can be best insured."

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. 170th anniversary 1816-1986. Washington, G.P.O., 1986. 91 p. (Document, Senate, 99th Congress, 2nd session, no. 99-21) LRS86-270

Whalen, Charles W., Jr. The House and foreign policy: the irony of congressional reform. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1982] 207 p. LRS82-8595
Contents.--A reassertive House.--Shared constitutional prerogatives.--The "new" House.--The reforms take effect.--The House makes foreign policy.--Getting elected to the new House.--The new House in a new decade.

Wheeler, Nicholas. Williams, Phil.

United States foreign policy-making chaos or design? *International relations*, v. 8, May 1985: 226-244. LRS85-15447

"The United States bureaucratic machine has become increasingly cumbersome, parochial and insensitive to the needs of both domestic and international constituencies. After elaborating upon these structural problems, this article considers some of the consequences not only for the policy-making process but also for the substance of the policies which emerge."

Wilcox, Francis O.

Cooperation vs. confrontation: Congress and foreign policy since Vietnam. *Atlantic community quarterly*, v. 22, fall 1984: 267-283. LRS84-16802

"In some ways our Constitution is an invitation to disunity, for it divides the power in foreign policy between two branches so as to give effect to our checks and balances system. In short, the relationship between the President and Congress is not supposed to be one of peace and harmony. It is a relationship in which friction, within proper limits, can be a creative factor. On the other hand, it is not a reassuring spectacle for most Americans to see the President and Congress seriously at odds when the nation's vital interests are at stake. Clearly a reasonable degree of cooperation and teamwork between the two branches is essential if our government is to function effectively."

Yankelovich, Daniel.

Farewell to "President knows best". *Foreign affairs*, v. 57, no. 3, 1979: 670-693. LRS79-779

"Under the conditions that now prevail, not only has automatic support for presidential policymaking dwindled, but public opinion data have indicated that the American people are eager to have more say--both directly and through their surrogates in Congress--in the formation of foreign policy."

Zeidenstein, Harvey G.

The two presidencies thesis is alive and well and has been living in the U.S. Senate since 1973. *Presidential studies quarterly*, v. 11, fall 1981: 511-525. LRS81-16897

Using key votes for the House and Senate and in Congress as a whole, from 1957-1980, the author analyzes Aaron Wildavsky's thesis that Presidents "exercise greater control over foreign and defense policy than domestic policy," and finds that "it appears intermittently under conditions that promote low domestic support, as when a president faces a Congress controlled by the opposition party, and by institutional differences between the House and Senate."