

## GRANT FINAL REPORT

### **1 . Project's Goal**

After the 9/11 incident, American Foreign Policy showed drastic changes. In Japan, many books have been published on the foreign and national security policy of the George W. Bush administration. However, there was no profound study to explain the shift of structural changes of U.S. foreign policy decision making.

Most of the existing Japanese language books on U.S. foreign policy deal with diplomatic history, and few books deal with decision making. It was, therefore, important to create a new book especially oriented for Japanese students, businessmen and the policymakers rather than simply translating the existing English-language materials. Furthermore, this new book needed to be written by scholars who understood the knowledge level and interest of the Japanese readers and who could occasionally point out contrasts with the Japanese political system for deeper understanding.

### **2. Activities**

During the one-year period between December 2007 and November 2008, we held four meetings in Tokyo. In the first meeting in December 2007, the participants discussed the directions of the book project and the schedule for the project. The participants agreed that the targeted readers were not only university students, but a general audience, including businessmen, Diet members and government officials. Therefore, each chapter should be readable, not too technical.

In the second to fourth meetings in 2008, the participants discussed the outline of the book, and the content of each chapter. The book has three parts. The first part has two chapters on history: Chapter One on the prewar history up to WWII, and Chapter

Two on the postwar history. Chapters Three to Six examine different institutions, the presidency, the executive offices, Congress, and non-government actors (media, interest groups, and public opinion). The third part has three chapters on different types of policies: national security; economic; and Asian policies. This part focuses on the post-Cold War period. With the three parts, the book is the first Japanese-language book which provides a very comprehensive analysis on U.S. foreign policy.

While the participants prepared their respected chapters, the American presidential race was going on. As the November election approached, it became obvious that Barack Obama was very likely to win. The media forecasted that there would be substantial changes in American Foreign Policy. The participants of this project wanted to include not only the result of the election as originally planned, but also the first phase of the Obama administration's foreign policy. Otherwise, this book would already be dated when it was published. Fortunately, the U.S.-Japan Foundation generously agreed to extend the project duration to the end of March 2010. This allowed the participants to include substantial information on the first year of the Obama administration's foreign policy with constant updates through the final draft of the book. The lesson that we learned here was that it is important to have a long enough duration of the project especially when covering current issues which can change drastically with a major political events, such as an American presidential election.

While the project deadline was extended, we found another problem. One of the participants, who was covering the current Asian policy, refused to submit an interim report on his chapter. Meanwhile, another participant volunteered to write a chapter on global issues and multilateral diplomacy. As we were uncertain about the Asian policy

chapter, it was great to have a new addition which was missing from the original plan.

Unfortunately, the draft chapter on American foreign policy toward Asia, which was submitted five months after the original deadline, focused on the Cold War period, not on the post-Cold War period as we discussed at several planning meetings. We still do not understand why the author changed his subject without telling us beforehand. But his draft was unacceptable to the project. Luckily, the new chapter on global issues and multilateral diplomacy was completed by the deadline, and we ended up with three chapters in Part Three on policy areas.

This change caused another problem. The scholar, whose draft was rejected, was supposed to host a public conference in Osaka, covering the topics of the book. As he in return refused to host the conference, we needed to find another host in the Kansai area. Fortunately, the Japan Association of International Relations, the largest academic association on international relations in Japan, accepted our proposal to host a section meeting on our book project in the November 2009 Annual Convention at the Kobe International Conference Center.

The session was titled “Foreign Policymaking Process under the Obama Administration,” and sponsored by the Decision Making Section of the Association. Among the authors of the book, Tomohito Shinoda, Junko Hirose and Kazuhiro Maeshima presented the most updated section of their respective chapters on the presidency, Congress and non-governmental actors. Another project participant, Sugio Takahashi served as a discussant. Nearly 50 scholars attended the meeting. Interesting technical questions were raised, and heated discussion on the subjects was exchanged. As the academic conference had a more focused audience, it may have been better for our book’s publicity than the originally planned conference in Osaka.

The book, titled *American Foreign Policy: History, Actors and Mechanism*, finally came out in January 2010. In order to celebrate the publication, we held a public conference at the International House of Japan on January 22. Fortunately, two special guest speakers participated in the conference and made important remarks on the current U.S.-Japan relations. Mr. Kazuyoshi Umemoto, Director General of North American Bureau, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained the bilateral relations under the new Hatoyama administration. Mr. Robert S. Luke, Minister for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy, offered the Obama administration's policy toward Asia. Their lively comments were a great addition to the conference and were highly appreciated by the audience.

Among the project participants, Tomohito Shinoda, Junko Hirose, Kazuhiro Maeshima, Sugio Takahashi and Katsuhiko Furukawa presented the most updated section of their respective chapters on the presidency, Congress and non-governmental actors, national security and global issues. With the assistance of the International House of Japan's program section, more than a hundred and twenty people signed up for the conference, and nearly a hundred people actually attended the meeting. Many interesting questions were raised and lively discussion was exchanged between the speakers and the audience.

### **3. Achievements**

The book presents three aspects of American Foreign Policy: history, actors and policy areas. The first part has two chapters on history: Chapter One to cover the prewar history up to W.W.II, and Chapter Two on the postwar history. Chapter One was also designed to introduce the important concepts of American Foreign Policy, such as realism, internationalism, isolationism, exceptionalism and unilateralism. The post war

history is analyzed in the frame work of these important concepts.

The second part explains major actors in the foreign policy process: the president, executive offices, Congress and non-government actors. Each chapter includes the most recently available information on the developments under the Obama administration. Chapter Three on presidency explains the changes in Obama's national security council. Chapter Four introduces the major organizational changes among different departments in the executive. Chapter Five includes the new political situation in the U.S. Congress and its power balance with the White House. Chapter Six on the non-governmental actors, including public opinion, the media and think tanks, introduces the new tactics that the Obama campaign team used and the current active foreign policy think tanks. The addition of this information, which was made possible by the deadline extension, made this book the most updated and a more comprehensive sources of information for the Japanese readers.

The third part deals with different policy areas: national security, economic foreign policy and global issues. These three chapters focus on the developments in the post-Cold War period. Chapter Seven on national security discusses the drastic changes after the 9-11 incidents and presents challenges that the Obama administration faces. Chapter Eight on foreign economic policy explores the changing role of the United States in the World economy, and the new developments after the recent financial crisis. Chapter Nine presents the expanding nature of "global issues" and stresses the significance of a multilateral approach to tackle many problems.

We strongly believe that this book is not only an important text book for university students, but also an essential reference for the Japanese policy makers and businessmen as well as for the scholars in this field.

## **APPENDIX. Program of the Two Public Conferences on the book**

### **Program of Sectional Meetings, JAIR Annual Convention 2009**

◆ November 6 (Friday)(15:45~17:15) at Kobe International Conference Center  
A – 5. Decision-Making

《Foreign Policymaking Process under the Obama Administration》

Chair: GABE Masaaki (University of the Ryukyus)

Speakers:

SHINODA Tomohito (International University of Japan)

“The Changing Role of the National Security Council”

HIROSE Junko (National Diet Library)

“Congress and the Obama Administration in Foreign Policy Making”

MAESHIMA Kazuhiro (Bunkyo University)

“The Role of Non-Governmental Actors in Foreign Policy Process under the Obama Administration”

Discussant: TAKAHASHI Sugio (National Institute for Defense Studies)

---

### **A Symposium: Foreign Policy under the Obama Administration**

As almost one year has passed since Barack Obama took the U.S. presidency, his administration is experiencing a sharp drop of approval rating largely due to his domestic policies, while facing many foreign policy challenges, such as antiterrorism measures in Afghanistan. In this symposium, commemorating the publication of *U.S. Foreign Policy*, the authors will discuss different aspects of Obama's foreign policy.

**[Dates & Time]** Friday, January 22, 2010, 6:00 -8:30 pm

**[Venue]** Lecture hall, International House of Japan

**[Admission]** Free (reservation required / first come, first served up to 100) \* No more reservations available

**[Language]** Japanese / English (with simultaneous translation)

**Presented by** International University of Japan

**In cooperation with** the US-Japan Foundation

**Supported by** the International House of Japan

**[Registration & Inquiries]**

International University of Japan

Tel: 025-779-1112 / Fax: 025-779-1187 / E-mail: ori@iuj.ac.jp

**[Remarks by guests]** **Umemoto Kazuyoshi**, Bureau Chief, North American Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs / **Robert S. Luke**, Minister for Political Affairs, U.S. Embassy

**[Speakers]**

**Shinoda Tomohito**, International University of Japan

"The National Security Council under Obama"

**Hirose Junko**, National Diet Library

"The Obama Administration and Congress"

**Maeshima Kazuhiro**, Bunkyo University

"Non-Governmental Actors and Foreign Policy Process"

**Takahashi Sugio**, National Institute for Defense Studies

"National Security Policies under Obama"

**Furukawa Katsuhisa**, Japan Science and Technology Agency

"Obama's Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Issue"