

GOV1521
Bureaucratic Politics:
Government, Military,
Social and Economic Organizations

Daniel Carpenter
Freed Professor of Government
Harvard University

Lecture 02

Announcements

Office Hours: Wednesday 2-5PM, in Knafel 430. Always check announcements, e-mail for updates.

Course Home Page [syllabus, lecture notes]:
<http://people.hmdc.harvard.edu/~dcarpent/burpols/burpols.html>

Undergraduate research opportunities [paid] for this summer; see me after lecture today or Tues

Puzzles

- When R. S. McNamara was SOD in 1960s, he raised budget but was disliked by military brass. When Melvin Laird was SOD in 1970s, he cut budget but was liked by the brass. Why?
- The USAF jealously guards its command of ICBMs. But when ICBM was first proposed, Air Force was indifferent and hostile. Why?
- When the TVA was created in the 1930s, it was attacked by conservatives because it threatened the well-being of private electric utilities. Within a few decades it was being criticized by liberals because it behaved just like a private utility. Why?
- When local police chief is appointed to improve quality, crime rate rarely goes down but number of traffic tickets issued and arrest rate go up. Why?

Halperin: The Case of Skybolt

Skybolt is air-to-surface missile developed in 1950s and 1960s, with nuclear capability.

“Each of the main bureaucracies engaged in foreign policy in Washington became involved, but every separate organization saw the issue from its own perspective. Having different interests and perceptions, different bureaucrats took a different stand on what should be done.”

The Players and the Interests

- Charles Hitch [DOD Comptroller]:
- USAF:
- SOD [McNamara]:
- State Department:
- Secretary of State Dean Rusk:
- President [JFK/LBJ]:

The Players and the Interests

- Charles Hitch [DOD Comptroller]: Budgetary matter
- USAF: How does this influence our mission, our essence, our budget?
- SOD [McNamara]: can I *demonstrate* cost-effective budgeting?
- State Department: officials not thrilled about independent nuke capacity for UK [why should we be funding it as opposed to strengthening our own?]
- Secretary of State Dean Rusk: cancellation threat to US-UK relations [his audience is different]
- President [JFK/LBJ]: Worried about UK relations, but also about his own relations with DOD.

Why Bureaucratic Politics Matters

Bureaucrats Often Value Autonomy More than Money/Resources

1961: SOD Robert S. McNamara hikes budget but limits control; backlash

1969: SOD Melvin Laird reduces budget but increases lower-level control; improved morale

Organizational Morale

- An ill-defined concept, seems to capture motivation, esteem, culture, even ethical dimensions.
- Yet seems to be a common referent among org leaders and members, perhaps with explanatory utility.
- Example: Army's resistance to extending tours of duty for senior Cos in Vietnam. Worried about erosion of morale for longer tours of duty.

Focus on Essence [Identity]

- Modern buzzphrase: "What are our core competencies?"
- USAF: Combat flying (**not airlift**)
- Army: ground combat (not air defense, advisory/peacekeeping, or special units)
- Navy: naval combat (**not sealift**)
 - Flyers (brown shoe)
 - Others (black shoe)
 - Submariners
 - Missile-firing submarines
- Foreign Service: representation and diplomacy, not policy analysis
- CIA: split btw analysis and intelligence

Implications: Turf Battles

- USAF and Navy want primacy in air combat and tactical/strategic bombing.
 - USAF willing to kill new technologies so that Navy doesn't get further inroads.
 - Vietnam: Navy makes major inroads to strategic bombing campaigns.
- Army wants say in, control over, air support for combat missions.
- CIA and Army fight over control of U-2 spy plane operations.

Implications: Turf Battles

- Sometimes new technology promotes bureaucratic conflict. MRBMs: Who will get to control and deploy these toys? USAF or Army?
- Intelligence: how independent should Army intelligence be?
- Combat: how intensively should U.S. rely on airstrikes versus ground troop operations?
- Not just "self-interest," but national interest understood [visualized, felt] in terms of organizational identity and interest. Participants can't see it any other way. Organizational identities and interests frame the issue for them. ORG COGNITION.

Implications: Differences in Position by Hierarchy

- Extension of duty: civilian versus military careerists.
- New weapons system: military officials might want it. SOD might worry about another audience he must face: Congress/President, and budgetary efficiency mandate.

Robert McNamara on budget pressure in nuclear weapons development

There is a kind of mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all new nuclear weaponry. If a weapon system works—and works well—there is strong pressure from many directions to procure and deploy the weapon out of all proportion to the prudent level required.

The danger in deploying this relatively light and reliable Chinese-oriented ABM system is going to be that pressures will develop to expand it into a heavy Soviet-oriented ABM system.

We must resist that temptation firmly—not because we can for a moment afford to relax our vigilance against a possible Soviet first-strike—but precisely because our greatest deterrent against such a strike is not a massive, costly, but highly penetrable ABM shield, but rather a fully credible offensive assured destruction capability.

The so-called heavy ABM shield—at the present state of technology—would in effect be no adequate shield at all against a Soviet attack, but rather a strong inducement for the Soviets to vastly increase their own offensive forces. That, as I have pointed out, would make it necessary for us to respond in turn—and so the arms race would rush hopelessly on to no sensible purpose on either side.³

Wilson: Puzzles

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Halperin/Wilson: Principles

1. **People are functions of their roles.** Simon: “If organization is inessential, if all we need is the man, why do we insist on creating a position for the man?”
2. **Preferences depend on position.**
 - Rank-and-file: behavior contingent on context and belief/culture
 - Managers: resource constraints, and type of agency
 - Executives: turf

Some Org History

Professionalization from clubs to teams in late 19th century. Clubs get property rights over players, including right of sale, transfer, reassignment.

1894: Western League to oppose National League

1901: becomes American League. Leagues operate first WS

General Org Structure

Game Manager backed up by Coaches

- the *first base coach*;
- the *third base coach*;
- the *bench coach*;
- the *pitching coach*;
- the *hitting coach*;
- the *bullpen coach*.

Player-managers and player-coaches until early 20th century; then full-time coaches, beginning with base coaches

Team Hierarchy (above playing manager)

Partial inversion of Weberian principles. Greatest differentiation and hierarchy occurs among owners/managers

Team President (e.g., Thomas A. Yawkey, 1933-1976)

VP and General Manager (e.g., Eddie Collins, 1933-; hired from Philadelphia) – nemesis in NY, Edward Barrow

Young Tom Yawkey, Irritated by His Critics, Has No Regrets for His \$4,000,000 Red Sox

Baseball Investment Probably Smallest In Financial World

By Steve O'Leary

Associated Press Staff Writer

Collins Still Seeks Red Sox Manager

Scanning Market for New Pilot With Yawkey.

Boston, Oct. 19 (AP)—Eddie Collins, general manager of the Boston Red Sox, still is scanning the market with President Tom Yawkey for the club's 1934 manager.

He was asked today if he was withholding the appointment of Stanley Harris as Harry McKim's successor until after the football season.

"I'll hold back nothing," was his definite response. "Because real baseball news, I have learned, can not be held up, and the fans have a right to know the real facts."

"We have not selected, even tentatively, the new manager of the Boston Red Sox for 1934. All the stories you hear can be discarded. Tom and I do not know who's going to be the next manager."

Separation of Management and Coaching

Division of Labor: General Manager versus Playing Manager

Continual Question: (1) how much discretion will owner/prez give GM? (2) How much discretion will GM give game manager?

Back in 1923 when he slicked a couple of million-dollar notes at his home bankroll, bought the Red Sox franchise and installed Eddie Collins as general manager. Tom Yawkey apparently was convinced that little Eddie was a smart baseball man. Which made it troublesome because Collins, in 18 years in the big league, had always left that impression with the folks who saw him play.

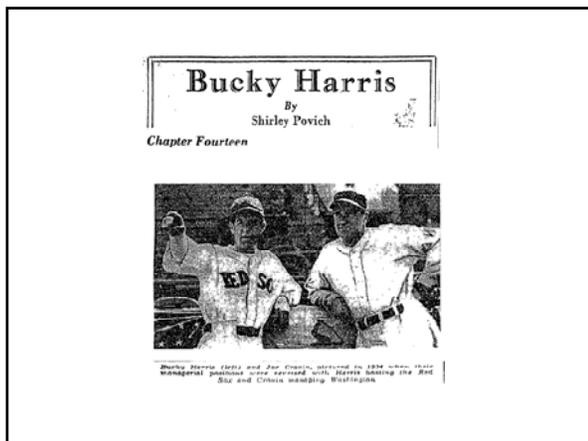
But all has not been a path of roses for Collins in an executive capacity with the rich-Boston club. With Yawkey's unlimited check-book at his command, Collins has been able to buy talent almost all will, but none of his Red Sox competitors during the past few years has been even a serious personnel threat and Collins is disappointed.

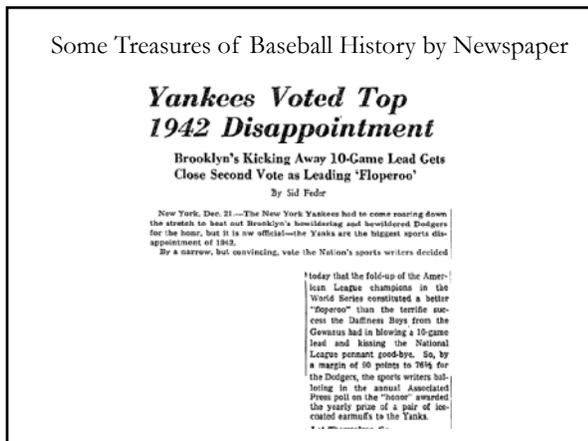
He feels keenly, too, the spread of the belief that he has hampered the Red Sox managers—Bucky Harris and Joe Judge—and that, more than anything else, hurts Eddie Collins. He was surprised so today and sharing the charge in a manner that was as forthright and apparently genuine that one willingly believed him, especially since Tom Yawkey in New York the other day had also made plain that the charges against Collins were false.

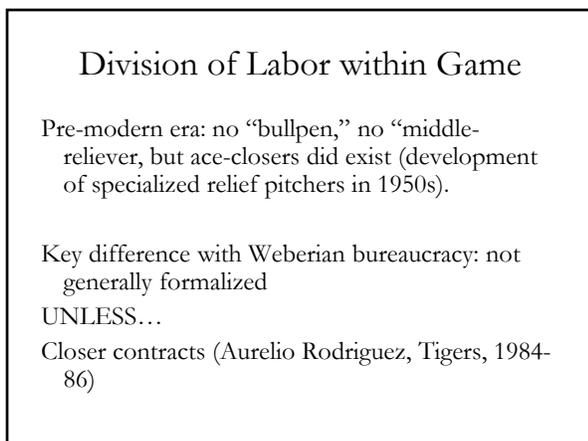
When Tom Yawkey bought the bankrupt Red Sox in 1923, Eddie Collins popped up as the club's general manager, and when Powell Crosley bought the Cincinnati Reds two years ago, Larry McPhail turned up as general manager.

In each case, the club's general manager has had difficulties with the playing manager. Both managers Roger Peckinpaugh and Walter Johnson were occasionally at odds with Evans preceding their release; at Boston Manager Bucky Harris and Eddie Collins were at loggerheads, and at Cincinnati Manager Bob O'Farrell found happiness only when he had sweet company with Johnson and the Reds. Bradley says his club will never have another general manager. The job does seem dangerous for all concerned.

Shirley Povich, "This Morning: An Interview with Eddie Collins," *Washington Post*, August 22, 1937.







Emergence of Minor League System

Implicit hierarchies before 1963. “Minors” date to 1880s.

Formal organization: National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues (1901 agreement with MLB).

Important development of farm “system” within St. Louis Cardinals org in 1950s.

TABLE 1.1. Minor League Classifications, 2002

Classification	Definition	Years in Use
AAA	The highest level in the minor leagues	1946 to present
AA	An intermediate level	1912 to present
A	Entry level	1902 to present
Rookie	Primarily for first-year players	1963 to present
Independent	Leagues not affiliated with the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues or Major League Baseball	

Source: Lloyd Johnson and Miles Wolff, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, Second Edition (Durham, NC: Baseball America, Inc., 1997), p. 11.
