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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International  
Relations

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Fall 2019

## **The Washington Experience: Actors, Institutions and the Policy Process**

Ray Walser

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The Washington Experience:  
Actors, Institutions and the Policy Process  
DIPL 3115/7115

Seton Hall University School of Diplomacy  
and International Affairs  
Washington Program

Fall 2019  
Friday 9:30 am - 12:00 pm  
Ray Walser Ph.D.

This seminar-like course is focused on the Washington policy process in several dimensions: key actors, institutions and principles that influence the formation of US foreign policy and, more broadly, the conduct of U.S. foreign and domestic policy. With Washington as its laboratory, the course will explore the growing number of players engaged in policymaking; the ever-expanding range of challenges to policymakers from a changing world order to a constrained and conflictive national budget; the overlap of international and national agencies in the nation's capital; and the interplay of government and non-governmental actors.

The course to the extent possible will be conducted in seminar form based on discussions, reflections, debates and interactions between the seminar leader and the students.

Where possible and pertinent, lectures, readings and seminar discussion will be supplemented with in-class discussion with policy practitioners and when possible with visits to centers of decision-making and influence that will include government offices, the Congress, think tanks, NGOs and foreign embassies.

One caveat: No syllabus that sufficiently is dynamic and seeks to capture the tempo of change can be fixed in stone, especially in a period of rapid developments on the domestic and international scenes. The seminar leader reserves the right to alter readings and assignments and discussion topics in response to emerging policy challenges.

All readings will be available online or distributed in class.

### **Course Objectives**

This course is intended to help students:

- Understand both the concepts and the processes that drive U.S. foreign policy, and discern the times and places in which these may converge or conflict;
- Note the objectives and agendas of different actors in the policy process and the dynamics among them;
- Be able to track foreign policy issues through the policy process, provide scenarios for their outcome and formulate policy recommendations;
- Prepare cogent policy analysis - written and verbal -presented in ways that support the policymaking process.

By semester's end, students should demonstrate improved proficiency in collecting, sorting, and evaluating information; analyzing complex situations and synthesizing information; integrating a spectrum of advice and opinion in the analysis of a complex world; and strengthening effective oral and written skills.

### **Evaluation:**

The final grade for this class will be based on the following requirements:

A policy maker profile – 20% - due in second half of the semester, details to be provided later – After October 11

A selected oral book review [options list to be provided] – 10% - November 15

Nuts & Bolts Mid-Term for Washington Policy Wonks – 10% - October 18

Nuts & Bolts Final for Washington Policy Wonks – 15% - December 3

Capstone Project [product/guidelines to be negotiated] – 35% - December 3

Class Participation – 10% - throughout the semester

Bonus Points – SHJ Blog or On-line Article – TBD

### **University Policy**

#### **Disability Services Statement**

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy

Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).

### Academic Integrity & Dishonesty

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here: <https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> and <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

Citation Formats (some version of the paragraph below)

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.

### Lesson Plan

Please note: this syllabus is a work in progress. It will be regularly updated to include suggested readings. While the objectives and central themes will remain as guidepost, weekly units might be rearranged to accommodate guest speakers and offsite visits.

A weekly checklist and updated readings list will be provided well in advance of class meetings.

### August 30 – Lesson 1

#### **Welcome to Washington: An Island Surrounded by Reality**

Objectives 1 – Course introduction, review of course requirements and discussion of goals, expectations and aspirations.

Objective 2 – Discuss/debate the American Republic from the Founding Fathers to Donald J. Trump, 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States

#### Readings

The Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights

<https://constitutionus.com>

Speeches by Donald J Trump, 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States

Speech on Foreign Policy – Candidate for President Donald J. Trump – April 27, 2016

<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/us/politics/transcript-trump-foreign-policy.html>

Inaugural Address - January 20, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/>

Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly. September 19, 2017

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-general-assembly/>

Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly. September 25, 2018

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-73rd-session-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-ny/>

Skim – The White House. National Security Strategy of the United States 2017.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

## **September 6 - Lesson 2**

The Man Behind the Resolute Desk: The Presidency, the NSC and the Inter-Agency Process

Objective 1. Examine the powers, formal and informal, of the Presidency. Explore the nature of the Executive Office and its various functions, including the National Security Council. Outline the key fundamentals of the inter-agency process.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the ways the Donald J. Trump, the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, has altered the nature of presidential direction of U.S. foreign policy.

Readings: Anton, Michael. “The Trump Doctrine.” Foreign Policy, April 2019

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/20/the-trump-doctrine-big-think-america-first-nationalism/>

Drezner, Daniel. “This Time is Different.” Foreign Affairs, May/June 2019

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/time-different>

Schadlow, Nadia. The Conservative Realism of the Trump Administration’s Foreign Policy. Texas National Security Review. November 30, 2018

<https://www.hudson.org/research/14738-the-conservative-realism-of-the-trump-administration-s-foreign-policy>

Skim: Blackwill, Robert D. Trump's Foreign Policies Are Better Than They Seem. Council on Foreign Relations. April 2019

[https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/CSR%2084\\_Blackwill\\_Trump\\_0.pdf](https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/CSR%2084_Blackwill_Trump_0.pdf)

Review: A Budget for a Better America. Promises Kept. Taxpayers First. Fiscal 2020

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/budget-fy2020.pdf>

Policy Maker – John Bolton, National Security Advisor

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/05/06/john-bolton-on-the-warpath>

### **September 13 - Lesson 3**

Be Afraid or Feel Secure. 9/11 and the Homeland Security Era in an Age of Terror [Part 1]

Objective 1. Examine the massive reorientation of US security policy in the aftermath of the September 11 terror attack.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the effectiveness of changing homeland security policies, the costs – fiscal and societal – and the shifting dimensions of threats posed by foreign and domestic terrorists.

Readings: Malley, Robert and John Finer, “The Long Shadow of 9/11.” Foreign Affairs. July/August 2018

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/long-shadow-911>

Policy Maker – Kevin K. McLeean, Acting Secretary of Homeland Security

### **September 20 - Lesson 4**

From the Pentagon to the Battlefields of a Globally-Engaged Armed Forces and Beyond: The Department of Defense and the Armed Forces

Objective 1. Examine the fundamental structures of the Department of Defense, the services and the military command structure.

Objective 2. Examine the state of civil-military relations in the age of an All-Volunteer force.

Objective 3 - Observe/discuss/debate, guns or butter, how much is enough when preparing the budget for the Department of Defense.

Objective 4 – Observe/discuss/debate scenarios for warfare in 2020 and beyond.

## Readings

Department of Defense. Summary of the National Defense Strategy of the United States of America 2018.

<https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>

Fallows, James. “The Tragedy of the American Military.” The Atlantic. January/February 2015

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/01/the-tragedy-of-the-american-military/383516/>

Congressional Budget Office. Long-Term Implications of the 2020 Future Years Defense Program. August 9, 2019

<https://www.cbo.gov/publication/55500>

Klare, Michael T. “U.S. Military Is Preparing for New Wars with China and Russia.” June 2019

<https://www.thenation.com/article/us-military-is-preparing-for-new-wars-china-russia/>

Policy Maker – Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Joseph F. Dunford, Jr.

### **September 27 – Lesson 5**

Open Borders, Invasions, Policy Gridlock & Xenophobia - Homeland Security [Part 2]

Objective 1. Examine the challenges we face in developing effective policies for resolving immigration issues [legal and illegal] and enhancing effective border security.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the importance and effectiveness of a continuous border wall, a merit-based reform of current immigration policy, treatment of refugees and asylum seekers and the future fate of individuals with no or tenuous legal status in the U.S. [the undocumented, minors aka Dreamers, and others] .

Objective 3. Observe/discuss/debate the consequences and impact of an emerging anti-immigrant political agenda on the future course of American politics and America’s image abroad.

Huntington, Samuel – “The Hispanic Challenge” Foreign Policy, October 28, 2009

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/28/the-hispanic-challenge/>

Meissner, Doris. "Rethinking U.S. Immigration Policy." Migration Policy Institute. August 2019

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/rethinking-us-immigration-policy-new-realities-call-new-answers>

Policy Maker Profile - Stephen Miller

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/politics/stephen-miller-trump-immigration/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/17/us/politics/stephen-miller-immigration-trump.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage>

Of interest Restrepo, Dan and others. "Getting Migration Policy in the Americas Right: A National Interest Driven Approach." Center for American Progress. June 2019

<https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/2019/06/20134227/Migration-report-1.pdf>

## **October 4 - Lesson 6**

Is Diplomacy Obsolete? The State Department, Agency for International Development

Objective 1 – Examine the organization structure and mission of the State Department with a focus on professional diplomacy, the U.S. Foreign Service and the Agency for International Development.

Objective 2 - Observe/discuss/debate the present political, budgetary and institutional challenges to the Department of State and the performance of a vital international role.

Burns, William J. "The Lost Art of Diplomacy: Can the State Department Be Saved." Foreign Affairs. March 2019

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-03-27/lost-art-american-diplomacy>

Gramer, Robbie and others. "How the Trump Administration Broke the State Department." Foreign Policy. July 31. 2017

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/31/how-the-trump-administration-broke-the-state-department/>

Policy Maker Profile – Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/08/26/mike-pompeo-the-secretary-of-trump>



## **October 11- Lesson 7**

Shield of the Republic or National Disgrace: The Intelligence Community

Objective 1 – Examine the present structure of the intelligence community following the restructuring in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks upon the U.S.

Objective 2 – Review and discuss recent success and failures of the U.S. intelligence services [Bin Laden, Crimea, ISIS]. What are the parameters and legal and ethical limits on the conduct of covert operations, including the use of targeted killings?

Objective 3 – Review the challenges of secrecy versus oversight and transparency in the course of intelligence collection and analysis.

Objective 4 – Discuss and debate the dangers of politicization of intelligence collection, analysis and dissemination.

Readings:

U.S. National Intelligence: An Overview

[https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/USNI%202013%20Overview\\_web.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/USNI%202013%20Overview_web.pdf)

National Intelligence Strategy of the United States, 2019

[https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/National\\_Intelligence\\_Strategy\\_2019.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/National_Intelligence_Strategy_2019.pdf)

Hayden, Michael. “The End of Intelligence.” New York Times. April 28, 2018

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/28/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-intelligence.html>

Morrell, Mike. “Trump Plays with Fire When He Insults His Intelligence Officers.” Washington Post. February 1, 2019

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/02/01/trump-plays-with-fire-when-he-insults-his-intelligence-officers/>

Policy Maker Focus – Gina Haspel, Director, Central Intelligence Agency

## **October 18 – Lesson 8**

Have Checks & Balances Run their Course? Congress & the Making of Foreign Policy: Independent Voice or Executive Rubber Stamp?

Objective 1 – Examine and analyze the role of the U.S. Congress in the shaping of U.S. foreign policy.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the current state of relations and interactions between the President and Capitol Hill in a period of intense partisanship, electoral maneuvering and policy gridlock.

Readings: Masters, Jonathan. U.S. Foreign Policy Powers: Congress and the President. Council on Foreign Relations. March 2, 2017

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-foreign-policy-powers-congress-and-president>

Weissman, Stephen R. "Congress and War: How the House and Senate Can Reclaim Their Role" Foreign Affairs. January/February 2017

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-12-12/congress-and-war>

Review: Center for Strategic and International Studies. Beyond the Water's Edge: Measuring the Internationalism of Congress. September 2018

[https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180926\\_Beyond\\_Waters\\_Edge4.pdf?Cu8Mibu\\_xB0JEBpxRgOrm2HpCoiFtbQr](https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180926_Beyond_Waters_Edge4.pdf?Cu8Mibu_xB0JEBpxRgOrm2HpCoiFtbQr)

Policy Maker Focus - "The Squad"  
Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi  
Senate Majority Mitch McConnell  
Freedom Caucus Member Mark Meadows  
Centrist House Democrat Representative Abigail Spanberger

## **October 25 – Lesson 9**

Wining Trade Wars or Losing Ground? - Economic Statecraft

Objective 1. – Examine the key actors responsible for shaping U.S. monetary and trade policy including the White House, Departments of Treasury and Commerce, Office of the Special Trade Representative and the Federal Reserve Bank.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the impact of global supply chains, foreign investment, trade balances and other economic determinants on the future growth of the U.S. economy.

Readings:

Trade Policy  
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=827847>

Tariffs  
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=827198>

USMCA –  
<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=827837>

Policy Maker – Robert Lighthizer, Special Trade Representative

<https://www.politico.com/global-translations>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/06/you-live-in-robert-lighthizers-world-now-trump-trade/>

### **November 1 – Lesson 10**

Battle Royal: America’s Energy Revolution & Fossil Fuel Armageddon

Objective 1. – Examine the key actors responsible for shaping U.S. energy policy.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the domestic and foreign policy impact of the U.S. quest for energy independence including the prospects for a Green New.

Readings:

Blackwill, Robert D. and Meghan O’Sullivan. “America’s Energy Edge.” Foreign Affairs. March/April 2014

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2014-02-12/americas-energy-edge>

Mills, Mark. “The New Energy Economy:” An Exercise in Magical Thinking. Manhattan Institute. March 2019

<https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/R-0319-MM.pdf>

Policy Maker - TBD

### **November 8 – Lesson 11**

Money, Influence & Politics

Objective 1. – Examine the roles and impacts of domestic and foreign lobbyist and other interests and pressure groups.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the role of money, including so-called “dark money, ” in the policy making process.

Objective 2. Observe/discuss/debate the role of the America Israel Public Affairs Committee on U.S. relations with Israel and the shaping of Middle East Policy.

## Readings:

Drutman, Lee. “How Corporate Lobbyist Conquered American Democracy.” The Atlantic. April 20, 2015.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/04/how-corporate-lobbyists-conquered-american-democracy/390822/>

Harsanyi, David. “In Defense of Lobbying.” The Federalist. June 3, 2019

<https://thefederalist.com/2019/06/03/in-defense-of-lobbying/>

Shinkman, Paul. “Countries and Influence: Enter Through the Lobby.” U.S. News and World Report. August 17, 2018

<https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2018-08-17/biggest-spenders-of-foreign-lobbying-in-the-us-comes-from-americas-closest-allies>

Policy Maker Profile – Koch Brothers

## **November 15 – Lesson 12**

Fake News & Twitter Rule: The Media, Its Messages and Public Opinion

Objective 1 – Explore the transformation of the media in the shaping of American political and foreign policy making.

Objective 2 – Examine/discuss the relationship and impact of social media on the role of experts and specialists in the public and foreign policy community.

Objective 3 - Observe/discuss/debate the role of social media and the “fake news” phenomena as a major feature of American politics and a danger to the orderly process of democratic governance.

## Readings

Graham, David. “Some Real News About Fake News.” Atlantic. June 7, 2019

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/06/fake-news-republicans-democrats/591211/>

Pew Research. Many Americans Say Made-Up News is a Critical Problem That Needs to be Fixed. June 5, 2019

<https://www.journalism.org/2019/06/05/many-americans-say-made-up-news-is-a-critical-problem-that-needs-to-be-fixed/>

Policy Maker Profile – Tucker Carlson or Rachel Maddow

**November 22 - Lesson 13**

**Illicit & Illegal: Fighting the Dark Side of Globalization**

Objective 1 – Examine the various roles assigned to the Department of Justice, FBI, DEA and the Office of National Drug Control Policy in the international and domestic fight against drug trafficking

Objective 2 – Examine the domestic and foreign implications of the current opioid epidemic in the U.S. Does the USG have an effective strategy to combat it?

Objective 3 - Observe/discuss/debate the degree to which legalization has impacted drug use/abuse in the U.S.

Readings: National Drug Control Strategy – 2019

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/NDCS-Final.pdf>

Additional Readings – TBD

Policy Maker – Melania Trump, First Lady of the United States

**December 6 – Lesson 14**

Curtain Calls

Final examination and final presentations

Course Evaluation