

Course Information

Course Number: INTA 689

Course Title: Foreign Policy Process

Section: 65X

Time: Wednesdays, 6:30pm-9:10 pm

Location: 1620 L St, NW, Suite 700 Washington DC in-person and electronic-to-group in

College Station

Credit Hours: 3.0

Instructor Details

Instructor: Margaret J. A. Peterlin

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Phone: Phone

E-Mail: mjap@tamu.edu
Office Hours: By appointment

Course Description

The course focuses primarily on the institutions and process by which the President and the executive branch determine (and execute) the diplomatic priorities of the nation and addresses the roles of Congress and the Courts. We'll discuss some domestic policy examples, as they illustrate the pressures on the institutions in our constitutional republic. Students will engage both analytical frameworks and examples, as they investigate how the policy-making process varies across different issue areas, and whether that variability raises concerns.

Students will be challenged to understand the specifics of the process (the structure, the institutions meant to deliver on the structure, and the polity dynamics that influence how the institutions, in fact, operate) by which national security and foreign policy issues are debated, decisions made, and then executed. Students will be asked to evaluate the importance of the process and adherence to its norms and customs, as they relate to maintaining liberty. Are the global challenges for the United States in the 21st century so different from the founding fathers' vision, that it is useful for students to question the applicability of norms now? An enduring question will be: whether liberty is better protected by adhering to the originalism of the balance of powers, or by ever pragmatic deals made across the institutions? Should we have regard for institutional drift, particularly as it relates to the executive branch?

This course is offered as both a face-to-face course to students in College Station and through electronic to group delivery to students at the Bush School's Washington, D.C. teaching site synchronously via Zoom. Students participating online may utilize the chat box only with the express approval of the professor, and verbal participation during class sessions is required. The course requirements for students in both locations are the same.

Course Prerequisites

Graduate classification



Course Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, the student will be able to:

- Evaluate the consistency, and the relevance of consistency, of US institutions that are responsible for setting US foreign policy.
- Recognize institutional tensions and disputes, learning to explicitly identify and account for key constituencies, political pressure, and evolving global actors.
- Evaluate the contributions of the President to foreign policy by considering the role of personality, bureaucratic players in the executive branch, the demands of campaigning, the challenges of communicating complex challenges to the public.
- Recognize the role, and compromises associated with, competing and allying actors in foreign policy making: Congress and the Courts.
- Consider as an independent factor the impact the processes used to achieve "policy goals" have on liberty.

Textbook and/or Resource Materials

- Reading assignments are listed concurrent with each class description
- Other assigned readings will be available on the TAMU Libraries' E-Reserves site and/or on Canvas.

Grading Policy

The final grade in this class will be calculated as follows: 1) the production of a "dictator's toolkit" and an associated class presentation – 25%; 2) an in-semester brief of at least 3 single-spaced pages – 25%; 3) a review of executive orders - 10%, 4) an in-class written exam due during week 13 – 30%; and, 5) classroom participation – 10%. Please see the relevant section below for a description of the insemester and final briefs. The briefs will be graded with letter grades: A, A/B, B, B/C, C, D, F. Those letter grades will be converted into numerical equivalents for calculation of the final grade on the following 100 point scale: A=95, A/B=90, B=85, B/C= 80, C=75, D=65, F=0. Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale: A=90-100, B=80=89, C=70-79, 3 D=60-69, F=below 60).

Graded Attendance – Attendance will be taken at the top of each class, collection of attendance will be through the use of a sign-in sheet, or e-sign in sheet. The instructor will keep a log of these until grades are finalized. Class attendance is mandatory. If an absence is excused, the instructor will either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. If the instructor has a regularly scheduled make up exam, students are expected to attend unless they have a university approved excuse. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence. The reasons absences are considered excused by the university are listed below. See Student Rule 7 for details (http://studentrules.tamu.edu/rule07). The fact that these are university-excused absences does not relieve the student of responsibility for prior notification and documentation. Failure to notify and/or document properly may result in an unexcused absence. Falsification of documentation is a violation of the Honor Code.



- 1) Participation in an activity that is required for a class and appears on the university authorized activity list at https://studentactivities.tamu.edu/app/sponsauth/index
- 2) Death or major illness in a student's immediate family.
- 3) Illness of a dependent family member.
- 4) Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.
- 5) Religious holy day. NOTE: Prior notification is NOT required.
- 6) Injury or illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class. a) Injury or illness of three or more class days: Student will provide a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider within one week of the last date of the absence (see Student Rules 7.1.6.1) b) Injury or illness of less than three class days: Student will provide one or both of these (at instructor's discretion), within one week of the last date of the absence: (i.)Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class form available at http://attendance.tamu.edu or (ii.) Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.
- 7) Required participation in military duties.
- 8) Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school that cannot be rescheduled. Other absences may be excused at the discretion of the instructor with prior notification and proper documentation. In cases where prior notification is not feasible (e.g., accident or emergency) the student must provide notification by the end of the second working day after the absence, including an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class.

On rare occasions, the instructor might have to miss a class due to administrative or academic responsibilities. This will be exceedingly rare, but if it does occur, the instructor reserves the right to reschedule class at a time when the vast majority of students are available for the make-up class and will convey the material to students unable to attend the make-up during office hours.

Late Work Policy

Late work, that differs from make-up work associated with an excused absence, will be accepted for 4 days following the due date. Each 24 hour period after the due date/time, will result in a 25% reduction in the final grade for that assignment. Any items provided after the fourth, 24-hour period will be reviewed for feedback, but the grade value will be 0% for that assignment.

Work submitted by a student as makeup work for an excused absence is not considered late work and is exempted from the late work policy. Late work policies must clearly link to <u>Student Rule 7</u>.

Course Schedule

- Classes 1 and 2: Is liberty a useful metric to gauge the actions of the executive action?/Differences between positive and negative/Liberty and capacity constraints of governments.
 - a. Case studies:
 - i. Affordable Care Act (case study runs from passage to S.Ct. review of the mandate) https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/pages/item.aspx?num=45917 -



- ii. Executive Order 9066 Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas
- b. Readings
 - i. Refresh your memory re: the terms: positive and negative liberty. You can easily search these on the web.
 - ii. Hobbs, Leviathan, Book 11, chapters 20-24
 - iii. Declaration of Independence
 - iv. Lyceum Address: http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/lyceum.htm
- Class 3: Design Principles of the US institutional structures and liberty/comparative advantages of institutions in foreign affairs
 - a. Case study: tbd, based on current events.
 - b. Readings:
 - i. James Madison's Federalist No. 10 (22 Nov 1787)
 - ii. Aristotle <u>Politics</u>, Chapters 6-8 of Book III. blend of components of democracy, monarchy, and aristocracy.
 - iii. Montesquieu De l'esprit des loix (Spirit of Laws, 1748) book 11, (optional books: 2-8)
 - iv. Constitution main text and first 10 Amendments.
 - Classes 4: Executive's role in "legislating" Executive Orders:
 - a. Case Study Assignment: GITMO E.O.'s Bring to Class a review of the executive orders of a President's first 120 days in office. (10% of grade)
 - b. Readings:
 - 1. Bush's Military Order, 2001 https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011113-27.html
 - Pres. Obama's EO- 13493 and release of interrogation techniques memos
 - 3. Pres. Trump's EO https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-executive-order-protecting-america-lawful-detention-terrorists/
 - a. Annotated https://www.npr.org/2017/01/19/510448989/trump-inherits-guantanamos-remaining-detainees 2017-2018 "no where to send them."
- Classes 5 and 6: Fighting Back, or Just Fighting: Role of Congress in the foreign policy process/role of Ethnic and Geographic caucuses/inertia dynamics to exercising institutional power
 - a. Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral: what is Congress? How does it work?



- i. www.senate.gov (run around this website.)
- ii. www. House.gov/the-house-explained (run around this website)
- b. Role of the Senate broadly
 - i. Case studies and Readings:
 - 1. US Constitution Article 1
 - 2. 2016 election and Russian Sanctions https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-russia-sanctions-idUSKBN1KN22Q
 - ii. Guest speaker former Hill/DoD staff to discuss how the Congress engages in foreign policy
- c. Discussion: Politization of Foreign Affairs
 - Senator Vandenburg, 1947, First Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 - ii. Electoral Consequences for Congress of foreign policy failures Vietnam and Iraq war.
 - iii. Tone: review of remarks by President Obama, and Secretary Pompeo.
- Class 7: Declaration of war/AUMF debate what limits could Congress impose?/ are existing limitations enforced?
 - a. Case study: Killing of Qasem Soleimani
 - 1. Readings:
 - a. <u>US v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp judicial</u> interpretation
 - b. War Powers Resolution 1973
 - c. Text of 2001 AUMF
 - d. 2009 Dept of Justice Brief,
 - e. OLC opinions Llbya (2011), Iraq (2014), Syria (2018)

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- b. "Obstruction" PAPER DUE: Write at-least 3 pages, single-space, with margins no greater than 1", and with a font no greater than 11. Details to be provided during class 4.
- Classes 8 and 9: Executive's role in Legislation beyond sign, veto, pocket veto, the predominance of signing statements /impact of signing statements on relations between the executive and legislative branches.

Case Studies (with readings):

- ii. BCRA signing statement by Bush 43, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020327.html
 - 1. McConnell v. FEC, 2003

Readings:



- iii. Constitution Articles 1 and 2.
- iv. CRS report https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL33667.pdf
- v. graph of use of signing statements https://www.prwatch.org/files/images/signing_statement.jpg
- Classes 10 and 11: Dictator's Toolkit assignment (6-8 pages) and in-class presentation (1 slide
 to convince class to cede power to you). Develop your dictator's toolbox, to include the
 phasing of the changes you would make, and the alliances you need. Discuss the international
 pressures you expect, and which you can, and which you cannot, ignore. You should develop a
 plan for how a future US president could consolidate power mostly peacefully, using the
 existing tools and institutions (both government and civic) of our democratic republic.
 - a. While you may draw on historical cases of the past rises to power, focus heavily on weaknesses in US institutions, and ways in which you will exploit those to strengthen the presidency even further. Your task is not to describe the past, but to draw the useful lessons and plot your own path. Feel free to look to Mussolini, Pol Pot, MBS, or Stalin.
 - b. Avoid debating the extent to which any one of the historical examples is or isn't a "dictator," as you would define it, simply learn from them, and then toss them aside.
 - c. This exercise will illuminate the seams and fissures in the separation of powers which could be further clarified, or strengthened, or reformed, to guard against dictators in the US and protect liberty.
 - d. You must include a description of the PROCESS changes you will make, with an emphasis on what institutional relationships you will cultivate and which you will distance.

Readings:

- e. Hitler
 - i. Enabling Act http://www.worldfuturefund.org/Reports/Eact/enablingact.html
 - ii. Reichstag Fire Decree –https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/reichstag-fire-decree
- f. Putin
 - i. "Putin's People," book
 - ii. https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2019/12/analysts-discuss-the-20-year-rule-of-vladimir-putin/
- g. Xi
- i. https://www.c3sindia.org/geopolitics-strategy/an-enduring-dream-xi-jinpings-consolidation-of-power-in-china-by-shivani-shankar/
- ii. https://www.heritage.org/asia/commentary/growing-religious-persecution-china-symptom-xis-consolidation-power
- iii. https://mjps.ssmu.ca/2018/11/16/xis-china-legacies-from-the-past-power-in-the-present/
- Classes 12: Chronic Diplomacy
 - a. Case studies we will select one topic to focus on, these are the options.
 - i. Israel and Regional Peace Negotiations -
 - 1. Readings:
 - a. Georgetown case study #212



- b. Abraham Accords, 2020
- 2. Class guest to discuss Abraham Accords
- ii. N. Korea Maximum Pressure Campaign 2017-2020
 - 1. Readings:
 - a. https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2019/12/3/maximum-pressure-2/
 - b. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/15/maximum-pressure-needs-more-time-trump-pence-united-states-north-korea/
 - 2. Class guest to discuss Maximum Pressure Campaign.
- iii. Iran JCPOA and Maximum Pressure Campaign -
 - 1. Readings:
 - a. JCPOA read text and fact sheet (https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/JCPOA-at-a-glance)
 - 2. US decision to leave the JCPOA during the Trump Administration guest speaker to address
- iv. International Reaction discussion focus
 - 1. JCPOA and Iran Maximum Pressure Campaign v. N. Korea Maximum Pressure Campaign
- Class 13 Quiz
 - a. An in-class, written essay assignment to apply the federalism and anti-tyranny principles discussed.
- Class 14 overflow, wrap-up, discuss how we might improve a dictator's toolkit.

University Policies

This section outlines the university level policies that must be included in each course syllabus. The TAMU Faculty Senate established the wording of these policies.

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to <u>Student Rule 7</u> in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.



Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to <u>Student Rule 7</u> in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See <u>Student Rule 24</u>.)

Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

"An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do."

"Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one's work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case" (Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at aggiehonor.tamu.edu.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu.



Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention — including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with <u>Counseling and Psychological Services</u> (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's <u>Title IX webpage</u>.

Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in healthy self-care by utilizing available resources and services on your campus

Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at <u>suicidepreventionlifeline.org</u>.



College and Department Policies

The Bush School of Government and Public Service supports the Texas A&M University commitment to diversity, and welcomes individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see http://diversity.tamu.edu/). Accordingly, all of us in this class are expected to respect the different experiences, beliefs, and values expressed by others, and to engage in reasoned discussions that refrain from derogatory comments or dehumanizing language about other people, cultures, groups, or viewpoints.

Intellectual argument and disagreement are a fundamental element of both the academic world and the policy process. Disagreement does not, in and of itself, mean disrespect. However, the way that disagreement is expressed can be disrespectful. Unprofessional, insensitive, or disrespectful behaviors (such as using dehumanizing, derogatory, or coarse language; dismissing ideas based on the characteristics of the speaker/writer; or expressing threat or intent to harm, even if framed "as a joke") are inconsistent with the Bush School's commitment to diversity, and will not be tolerated by faculty or students participating in this class. This applies both inside and outside of the classroom and includes electronic venues such as GroupMe.