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Spring 2019

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

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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**

**Spring 2019  
Friday 9:30 am - 12:00 pm  
Professor Catharin Dalpino**

This course considers 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 US public policy. With Washington as its laboratory, the course will explore the growing number of players in policymaking; a range of challenges to policymakers, from a changing world order to a shrinking national budget; the overlap of international and national agencies in the nation's capital; and the interplay of government and non-governmental actors. Where possible and pertinent, lectures, readings and seminar discussion will be supplemented with in-class discussion with policy practitioners.

One caveat: we live in unusual political times, nationally and globally. Some of the material we use may be OBE (overtaken by events) in the course of the semester. As a result, readings may be changed or supplemented on a frequent basis. We will note and analyze - although most likely we cannot bridge - the growing gap between "old" and "new" politics, however the latter is emerging. Therefore, in addition to the required readings in this syllabus, be prepared to receive - and read - additional required material.

### **Course Objectives**

This course is intended to help students:

- o Understand both the concepts and the processes that drive US foreign policy, and discern the times and places in which these may converge or conflict;
- o Note the objectives and agendas of different actors in the policy process and the dynamics among them;
- o Be able to track foreign policy issues through the policy process, provide

- scenarios for their outcome, and formulate policy recommendations;
- o Prepare cogent policy analysis - written and verbal -presented in ways that support the policymaking process.

### **Course Requirements, Readings and Grading**

Students will be expected to come to class having done the required reading, and to discuss major events of the previous week that have particular salience for US foreign policy or for the international community. Because this is an experiential course, an emphasis is placed on policy products (reports, transcripts, memos, etc) for reading rather than more theoretical sources (although the latter can also be valuable). For each class, readings will include assignments for students to seek out information on institutions and processes through websites, interviews and other information-gathering means. In addition, one class session will be devoted to a “writing clinic” on policy analysis and common policy documents (informational memos, decision memos, etc). The instructor is always happy to recommend additional reading, contacts or other resources to students.

All readings will be available online or distributed in class. **However, websites may take down material that was available at the beginning of the semester. If you cannot access a reading, please let the professor know sooner rather than later.** In addition, students are encouraged to monitor newspapers, websites and journals on a regular basis for news and analysis of current foreign policy. These include *The New York Times*; *The Washington Post*; *The Financial Times*; *The Economist*; *Christian Science Monitor*; *Foreign Affairs*; *Foreign Policy* and several websites that offer “insider” views of the Washington policy process (*Politico* is a perennial favorite).

Increasingly, the internet is a major marketplace for policy information, with the usual caveats. The great majority of foreign policy agencies of the US Government; foreign embassies; international organizations; think tanks; advocacy organizations and other actors in the policy process have websites that convey useful information. The foreign affairs committees of both houses of Congress put witness statements online, and many committee hearings are webcast live. Many reports from the Congressional Research Service are available online. For historical perspective, many presidential libraries (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, etc) make declassified documents from the National Security Council online.

It is also possible to tap into the rhythm of the foreign policy process itself online. Within the US Government, foreign policy is increasingly driven by reports that the executive branch is required to submit to Congress on an annual (or more frequent) basis. These range from the annual “threat assessment” by the intelligence community to annual reports on human rights, human trafficking and a variety of other transnational issues. The release of such a report is usually a much-anticipated event. Lastly, Congressional hearings on foreign policy are always useful resources, the confirmation hearings for the administration’s ambassadorial nominees before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are particularly valuable, because they summarize the state

of affairs in a particular bilateral relationship, flag problem areas and expose disagreements between Congress and the administration.

### Course exercises

Course requirements and their weight in the grading process are as follows:

- o At the midterm, a decision memo on a foreign policy issue, which illuminates the positions of various agencies and formulates options. This will follow the writing clinic. This exercise will count for 30% of the final grade.
- o A short advocacy paper on a current issue, written from the perspective of a non-governmental organization. Guidelines for this exercise, which will count for 15% of the grade, will be distributed.
- o A final group negotiating exercise on an assigned current foreign policy issue, to be conducted at the final class. Students will represent various agencies (National Security Council, State Department, DOD, etc) and must prepare decision memos on the issue prior to the meeting. This exercise will count for 40% of the final grade: 20% for the decision memo and 20% for the presentation of points and arguments at the negotiation.
- o Lastly, the course is very participant-intensive, and so participation will count for 15% of the grade. This is defined as class attendance; participation in class discussion which demonstrates knowledge of required readings and of current events; and doing each week's "outreach" activity.

### **And Now A Word From South Orange (University Policy).....**

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>

<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

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](tel:9733136003) or by e-mail at [DSS@shu.edu](mailto:DSS@shu.edu).

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

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.

### **Class and Reading Schedule**

- 1. January 18: Introduction to the Course and Overview of the Washington Policy Community**
- 2. January 25: Partners or Rivals? The National Security Council and the State Department**

#### Institutional:

- Richard A. Best, Jr., "The National Security Council: An Organizational Assessment," Congressional Research Service, December 28, 2011, Library of Congress, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL30840.pdf>
- Dorothy M Sampas, "The Role of the Department of State in the Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process," The National War College Strategic Studies Project, 1987, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a436508.pdf> (skim)

Political: Christopher Matthews, "Introduction," "It Isn't Who You Know, It's Who You Get to Know: and "All Politics is Local," in *Hardball: How Politics is Played*

#### Outreach:

Examine the website of the State Department ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)). What does it tell you about the division of labor and the organization of policy issues?

- 3. February 1: The Pentagon and the "Iron Triangle"**

#### Institutional:

- James Mattis, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge*, Department of Defense,

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

- Gordon Adams, "We Spend Too Much on Defense," *Breaking Defense*, July 12, 2012, <http://breakingdefense.com/2012/07/we-spend-too-much-on-defense/>

Political: Matthews, "It's Better to Give Than to Receive" in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Identify a major defense contractor and observe how they structure their representation in Washington. (N.B., if they are that big, they will tell you about their Washington operation on their website.)

#### 4. February 8: The Role of Intelligence

Institutional:

- Central Intelligence Agency, "Bridging the Intelligence-Policy Divide," (Unclassified Report), May 2007, [https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no3/html/v37i3a02p\\_0001.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol37no3/html/v37i3a02p_0001.htm)

- James E. Steiner, "Challenging the Red Line Between Intelligence and Policy," Institute For the Study of Diplomacy, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, [https://isd.georgetown.edu/sites/isd/files/Associates\\_Steiner\\_Challenging\\_Redline.pdf](https://isd.georgetown.edu/sites/isd/files/Associates_Steiner_Challenging_Redline.pdf)

Political: Matthews, "Dance With the One That Brung Ya," in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Go onto the website of the Central Intelligence Agency ([www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov)). Note the kinds of products the Agency offers for use by government and the public.

#### 5. February 15: The Legislative Process and Foreign Policy

Institutional:

- Jonathan Masters, "US Foreign Policy Powers: Congress and the President," Council on Foreign Relations Background, March 2, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-foreign-policy-powers-congress-and-president>
- Steve Coll, "Dangerous Gamesmanship," *The New Yorker*, April 27, 2015, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/04/27/dangerous-gamesmanship>
- Brian McKeon and Caroline Tess, "How Congress Can Take Back Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-11-07/how-congress-can-take-back-foreign-policy>

Political: Matthews, "Keep Your Enemies in Front of You," in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Go onto the websites of the House Foreign Affairs Committee ([www.foreignaffairs.house.gov](http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov)) or the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ([www.senate.foreign.gov](http://www.senate.foreign.gov)). Choose a hearing on an issues that interests you and read the transcripts for all of the witnesses. Are there differences between the statements of government and non-governmental witnesses? How do witnesses broach sensitive policy issues?

**6. February 22: It's All About the Money I: The Budget in the Foreign Policy Process**

Institutional:

1. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "Policy Basics: Introduction to the Federal Budget Process," February 17, 2016, <http://www.obpp.org/research/policy-basics-introduction-to-the-federal-budget-process>
2. Bill Heniff, Megan Lynch, Jessica Tollestrup, "Introduction to The Federal Budget Process," Congressional Research Service, CRS Report 98-721, December 3, 2012, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/98-721.pdf>

Political: Matthews, "Don't Get Mad, Get Even, Get Ahead," in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Pull up the administration's Fiscal Year 2019 Budget Request from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) at [www.whitehouse.omb/budget](http://www.whitehouse.omb/budget) and go on a scavenger hunt for the International Affairs and Defense budget requests. What do you observe in terms of their relation to one another and to the overall budget?

**7. March 1: Writing Clinic: The Policy Analysis and Writing Process (materials, comprised of real-life policy memos, distributed the week before)**

**8. March 8: It's All About the Money II: Lobbyists, "Special Interests" and Influence-Buying in the Foreign Policy Process**

**MIDTERM MEMOS DUE**

Institutional:

- "10 of the Biggest Lobbies in Washington," *Business Pundit*, April 26, 2011, <http://www.businesspundit.com/10-of-the-biggest-lobbies-in-washington>
- Nicholas Confessore, "How To Get Rich in Trump's Washington," *New York Times Magazine*, August 30, 2017

Political: Matthews, "Leave No Shot Unanswered," in *Hardball*

(No separate outreach activity this week - lobbyists seldom advertise their techniques online.)

(NO CLASS MARCH 15 - SPRING BREAK)

**9. March 22: Civil Society and Foreign Policy: From Mass Mobilization to Advocacy Groups**

Institutional:

- Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, No. 3, July 1996
- Vestige Strategies (Commissioned by the Open Society Foundations), *Advancing Diversity and Inclusion in the Foreign Policy Sector*, Washington, DC, July 2018, <http://www.vestigestrategies.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/AdvancingDIRReport.pdf>

Political: Matthews, "Only Talk When It Improves the Silence" in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Examine the website(s) of at least one advocacy group with a strong Washington presence in a policy field (human rights, environment, etc.). How do they attempt to get their points across?

**10. March 29: The Think Tank Universe and the Use of Scholars in Foreign Policy**

**Individual conferences with Professor Dalpino - sign-up sheet to be distributed.)**

Institutional:

- Joseph Nye, "Scholars on the Sidelines," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/12/AR2009041202260.html>
- Richard N. Haass (in his capacity as Director of Policy Planning/State Department) "Think Tanks and US Foreign Policy: A Policy-Maker's Perspective," State Department, November 1, 2002, <http://2001-2009.state.gov.s/p/rem/155506.htm>

Political: Matthews, "Always Concede in Principle," in *Hardball*

Outreach:

Pull up the websites of the Brookings Institution, Heritage Foundation and the Cato Institute. What similarities and differences do you notice among these three think tanks? (Look at issues, political tone and individual analysts.)

**11. April 5: The Washington Diplomatic Corps: Embassy Views of the US Foreign Policy Process (Embassy Speaker)**

**(Short advocacy paper due)**



**NO CLASS APRIL 19 - EASTER BREAK**

**12. April 26: The Nexus of Domestic and Foreign Policy: How Do Domestic Politics Influence A Nation's Foreign Policy? (Case Study: 2018 Midterm Elections)**

- James M. Lindsay, "Looking for Leadership: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy," The Brookings Institution, December 1, 2000, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/looking-for-leadership-domestic-politics-and-foreign-policy>  
- James M. Lindsay and Carla Robins, "The Foreign Policy Consequences of the 2018 Midterm Elections," Member Conference Calls, Council on Foreign Relations, November 7, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/conference-calls/foreign-policy-consequences-2018-us-midterm-elections>

Political: Matthews, "Hang a Lantern on Your Problem," and "Spin!" in *Hardball*

**13. May 3: The Changing Nature of Careers in Foreign Policy and the Role of Washington (Roundtable of Outside Speakers)**

**14. May 10: Group Negotiating Exercise**