#### Seminář 23. 10. 2019

- 435 congressional districts; one representative for each 600-700 thousand people; redistricting each 10 years (after each census)
- Swing voters in districts pose a threat to their representatives representatives are more loyal to their district than to the party (elections each 2 years high accountability)
- Articles of Confederation no executive power (fear of monarch's abuse of power; more power and decision-making to states). Congress was getting too powerful, need to create checks and balances
- Different interpretations of the Constitution; 4 visions of presidency (potent, princely, perverted, progressive)
- Case study: usage of veto power (regular veto X pocket veto no action when Congress is not in session)
  - G. Washington careful approach to the Congress (he did not want to substitute their judgement with his); 2 vetoes
  - Jefferson never used it (more accountable to electors back then than now; now elected more directly by the people; before less bound by the people)
  - Andrew Jackson was using veto more critical reactions (King Andrew the first) unexpected proactivity – encroaching upon legislation
  - Wade-Davis Bill Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln suggested 10 % of southern states population to pledge allegiance to the Union to be re-accepted; Wade & Davis suggested 50 % of population (majority). Lincoln believed it would be too difficult to repair all of the ties within the Union if the Wade–Davis bill passed – vetoed.
- Introducing laws: president can only suggest them in an informal way, only congressmen can propose them
- Executive power to wage a war depending on words → FDR's inaugural speech EMERGENCY, duty
- Unilateral/imperial presidency: executive orders, presidential memoranda, directives, proclamations, military orders, national security directives → enable the president to legislate; bypassing the Congress?
- How to stop executive orders? Judicial review (SCOTUS), impeachment (Congress), passing a bill reverting the order (or taking precautions) contradictory; easy for a following presidents to cancel them. Fulfilling the agenda/bad reputation strategic decisions

# Seminář 6. 11. 2019 – Politics and the water's edge

Signing statement – public statement on dis/agreement; not as powerful as executive order, but still have some weight (president's view on a law); not as common

Constitutional balance and war – foreign policy making and the balance between presidency and Congress

Congress declares war (president makes it – he is the commander in chief); treaties must be accepted by 2/3 of Senate. How to bypass constitution/congress: on domestic policy there is executive order, in foreign policy there are executive agreements

When a war is a war?

- 1950 Harry Truman and incidents in Korea Truman never labelled the conflict a "war" (police action, raid, the situation in Korea) congress never declared it a war; there was a UN mandate. Truman never asked for a Congressional mandate, he was protecting the presidential right to do it; he didn't want the Congress to step over
- 2. 1955 Eisenhower and China (Taiwan) he asked for authorization to use power in case the situation escalates (joint resolution that became law) "the president is authorized to employ the Armed Forces as he deems necessary for the specific purpose of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores against armed attack" aim to deter China; he was given the power which he would be able to use.
- 3. 1794 Presidential proclamation of neutrality (when Congress was not in session)

Vietnam and War Powers Resolution – aim to limit presidential powers; Johnson asked the Congress for authorization to use power; however, in the Gulf of Tonkin was only an assumption of attack, which likely did not happen – president was misusing the information asymmetry (Congress had no reason why not to believe him) – the only way, how Congress could limit the President in the Vietnam war, was financing (which it eventually did not do). Turning point – involvement in Cambodia, enough for Congress – War Powers Resolution → President can use the armed forces, but has to inform the Congress within a short period; Congress must pass a resolution or law within 60 days. If not, he must withdraw the forces in 60 days.

Strikes lacking resolution by Congress – Clinton and Kosovo; Obama and Libya

2001 – Authorization for use of USA armed forces – made the president very powerful, he could basically himself decide whom to attack; also missed the time frame; very loose, no mention of Al-Qaeda or specific nations. Attempts to repeal that in the recent years; engagement against ISIS still based on this Authorization; also the drones in Yemen

1991 Authorization was much stricter – he must demonstrate that he used all available diplomatic means to avoid the war; the strike would be the only last resort

Since WW2, there was no formal declaration of war by the USA

Liberal internationalism, end of bipartisan foreign policy (polarization); American politics stops at the water's edge – on the coast, in the foreign policy, USA is unified, domestic policy should not influence the FP (notion in the 1960s), nowadays different, there is no more a common enemy

#### Seminář 20. 11. 2019

President X Congress – American Federal budget; increasingly a partisan topic and political tool

Government shutdown – no money to pay the federal employees; FY starts always on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October. If not approved by that time, stop-gap bills and continuing resolutions are used (regime of a last year). Issues of disagreement: social expenditures  $\leftarrow \rightarrow$  defence; environment (national parks X mining and resources extraction); education; border security (wall)

 $FY - 1^{st}$  October, preparations a year or even 14 months ahead:

- 1. Departments draft their own budgets for review to President, he re-drafts it and submits to Congress (usually in February, presidents usually do not meet the deadline)
- 2. Both House and Senate review; Congress can either accommodate the preferences or change them → budget resolution (spring time). Each department prepares a Congress justification (detailed)
- 3. House and Senate floor votes
- 4. President vetoes or signs into law

Components of federal spending: 61 % mandatory spending, 30 % discretionary spending, only 9 % interest

## **US Grand strategy**

Four archetypes of US foreign policy schools of thought (Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, Wilsonian and

During the Cold War it was the concept of "containment" – framework of policies

- Jacksonian what is it to be "American" strict definition of ethnic and religious background
   – WASP white anglo-saxon protestants; policy of isolationism, unilateralism; antiimmigration; returned with Trump; aspect of national honour, patriotism; anti-globalism
  (elites for their own benefits)
  - o Physical security and economic wellbeing of the American population is a key
  - o Suspicious of foreign adventures and elites (and their preferences)
  - o Focus on national defence and honour
  - Sharp distinction between INSIDE and OUTSIDE; us and them, the others always looming (immigrants, North Koreans, terrorists...)
  - Once in war, no substitute for victory
  - o Government should protect, not oppress people
  - Notion of marginalization and even discrimination of WASPs
- Hamiltonian more pragmatic in the economic sense; initially he was for protectionist policies
  - Build US FP around economic and commercial interests freedom of seas (economic diplomacy)
  - o International trade is not a zero-sum game
  - o Pulling other powers into the created system
  - Technological leadership

- o In support of a strong alliance between big business and government
- Jeffersonian his perspective is simply to protect the American democracy; we need it to protect our own freedom.
  - o Avoid wars and foreign entanglements at all costs; wars undermine civil liberties
  - Opposition to Hamilton
  - o Most interested in protection of American democracy on the home front
  - Crony capitalists may use the US government to promote their own business interests
- Wilsonian created post WW2 world order
  - Anchoring the world order in liberal values (best serves US interests), it is practical
  - Building a framework based on international law rather than on economic and security ties
  - o Liberal internationalism
  - o US has missionary and moral obligation to further freedom and democratic values

### Seminář 18. 12. 2019

## Identity and US Foreign policy

Realism (rationalism) X liberalism (cooperation in order to avoid a conflict; inter-dependence to make world more peaceful) X constructivism/post-structuralism (states might act irrationally)

Is danger objective? The way of naming a danger – securitization; the danger become more urgent once somebody names it (war on drugs, war on cancer, war on terror...)