

# PPS 502S/ POL SCI 670S

## CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Professor Bruce W. Jentleson

*Duke University*  
*Sanford School of Public Policy*

*Spring 2019*  
*Sanford 150, Tu 1:25-3:55*

This course focuses on the challenges and opportunities for American foreign policy in the contemporary era. We start with some historical context; then address broad questions about US foreign policy strategy; and then focus in on some key issues on the current foreign policy agenda. Other issue areas clearly are important, and will be addressed somewhat, while maintaining the focus needed to go into some depth within the parameters of a one semester course.\* Our principal objectives are threefold:

- develop an analytic framework and historical context for understanding contemporary US foreign policy;
- enhance your capacity to evaluate competing theories and arguments about US foreign policy; and
- developing your policy analysis research, writing and oral communication skills.

The course is by permission, open to advanced undergraduates and graduate students. I teach it as a seminar, encouraging/relying/requiring consistent, committed and creative student engagement. We read a lot. We write a lot. We discuss a lot.

### **Readings**

The following books are required:

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War*

Other readings have links on the syllabus, or are on the Course Sakai Website and/or E-Reserves.

You are strongly encouraged to keep up with news, events and policy debates related to the course through newspapers (e.g., *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*), websites

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\* I also teach courses that focus more on the international economic and social agendas (PPS 212/Pol Sci 358 Globalization and Public Policy for undergrads, PPS 820 Globalization and Governance for grad students); another one on foreign policy politics (PPS 506/Pol Sci 547, The Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy).

(e.g., *ForeignPolicy.com*, *War on the Rocks*, *Lawfare*) and other quality media sources. We'll start class with a brief discussion of news and events relevant to the course that you want to bring up.

You also are strongly encouraged to take advantage of guest speakers, colloquia and other events on campus related to the course. I will mention events I know about, I encourage everyone to do the same. The American Grand Strategy (AGS) Program may be of particular interest; if you have not yet signed up, I encourage you to do so.

### **Office Hours and Appointments**

Regular office hours are Mondays, 4:00-5:00, 122 Rubenstein Hall. We also can meet by appointment: 919-613-9208, [bwj7@duke.edu](mailto:bwj7@duke.edu).

You also are encouraged to draw on the assistance of Ryan Denniston, the Librarian for Public Policy and Political Science, available at Perkins Library and at [ryan.denniston@duke.edu](mailto:ryan.denniston@duke.edu).

### **Course Responsibilities and Grading**

Each assignment will be graded on a 100-point basis with percentages as noted. We also will be guided by the grading guidelines set by the Sanford School of a 3.4 mean for 500-level core courses. This is not absolutely fixed but is a guideline. If a final course grade is at the cusp (e.g., between A- and B+), progression over the semester will be taken into account.

All written submissions are to be made electronically via the course's Sakai site as Word documents (12-point font, double-spaced) and not as PDFs as we will grade and comment electronically.

Papers exceeding the specified maximum lengths will be penalized.

Any written assignment submitted any later than the specified deadline (both date and time) will incur an immediate 10% penalty, and another 10% for every further 24-hour period it is late.

Clear and concise prose is essential to effective presentation and analysis. Students will be graded not simply on the content of their papers, but also on quality of writing. Accordingly, all papers should be edited and proofread thoroughly before submission.

***Weekly Analyses (20% course grade):* Classes 1/22, 2/19, 2/26, 4/23: see prompts and instructions for each one (labeled #1-4 on the syllabus). ALL students do ALL four. Length: 750 words max. Post on our Course Sakai site under Forums no later than Monday Noon before each class. Read other students' posts before class.**

***Seminar Paper (20%):*** CHOOSE ONE of the topics listed for 1/29, 2/5, 2/12, 3/5, 3/19 or 3/26 (labeled A-E on the syllabus). This paper is based on assigned readings *plus some additional research and reading pursued on your own*. Length: 2000-2500 words max. ***Papers due by Monday Noon before the respective classes to Professor Jentleson by e-mail.*** Papers are to be presented in class in a manner that stimulates discussion; grade includes quality of presentation-discussion leadership. Coordinate with other students also doing papers that week on a discussion strategy.

***Research Paper (35%): Major Current Issues: Policy Recommendations***

***4/2: China, Asia***

***4/9: Middle East***

***4/16: Russia, Europe***

These are broad topics, students will choose particular issue(s) within them: e.g., South China Sea, Iran, Ukraine. Each student will research and write his/her own paper, coordinating with others in the same broad topic to teach the class. Papers provide analysis and make policy recommendations. *See separate hand-out for more details.*

***\*\* Seminar and Research Paper sign-ups are by e-mail to Professor Jentleson starting at Noon, Thursday, January 17. You need to submit first and second choices for both assignments.***

***For the seminar paper, just indicate A, B, C, D or E.***

***For the research paper, state the broad issue area and a few sentences on the particular issue within that.***

***It'll be first-come, first-choice but with an effort to ensure that everyone gets at least one first choice. Any student who doesn't submit choices by Friday 1/18 Noon will be assigned to whatever topics are not taken. Target is three students per seminar paper topic, five per research paper topic.***

***Seminar Participation (25%):*** Regular attendance is of course expected. Beyond that, I teach this course as a seminar, encouraging, relying on and requiring consistent, intensive and creative student engagement. That means doing the reading as assigned, reading each other's papers and weekly analyses as part of class preparation, introducing your own thinking into discussions, and generally "digesting" not just "ingesting". While personal styles vary, all students are expected to be active participants in the course. This is not necessarily measured by "quantity". Quality matters too, including demonstration of analytic thinking, engaging in constructive critiques (of lectures, readings, student papers), and other ways of showing digestion not just ingestion. Scale:

95-100: substantially exceeds expectations

90-94: moderately exceeds expectations

85-89: meets expectations

80-84: consistent attendance, participation below expectations

70-79: inconsistent attendance and/or participation substantially below expectations

Below 70: you'll know.

\*\* Around midway through the semester I'll provide interim participation grades.

In all your work you are expected to be familiar with and abide by all rules and norms for academic integrity, particularly those established in the Duke Community Standard, <https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us/duke-community-standard>. The Duke Libraries also provides helpful research guidelines for doing social science and policy research, including for avoiding plagiarism: <http://library.duke.edu/research/guides/citing/>.

## **SEMINAR SCHEDULE**

*(subject to change)*

### **I. COURSE INTRO, HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

#### **1/15 The Trump Foreign Policy**

*\*\* Come to seminar prepared to discuss (no written submission required):*

(A) What are three Trump foreign-defense-national security policies that you most agree and/or disagree with? All three can be agree, or all can be disagree, or a mix. What is the basis for your assessment? And what do you acknowledge as the strongest argument on the other side?

(B) What's the state of American public opinion on foreign policy? Read and assess:

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *America Engaged: American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy (2018)* [https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/report\\_ccs18\\_america-engaged\\_181002.pdf](https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/report_ccs18_america-engaged_181002.pdf)

Jentleson, "Millennials Are So Over U.S. Domination of World Affairs," *The Conversation*, 7/26/18, <https://theconversation.com/millennials-are-so-over-us-domination-of-world-affairs-99167>

#### **1/22 "Past is Prologue": Historical Context**

Readings are speeches and other significant documents providing historical context of major themes, approaches and debates in American foreign policy in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries:

Massachusetts Bay Colony Governor John Winthrop, 1630, “City Upon a Hille,” <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/winthrop.htm>

President George Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796, Avalon Project, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/washing.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp)

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, “Go Not Abroad in Search of Monsters to Destroy”, <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/repository/she-goes-not-abroad-in-search-of-monsters-to-destroy/>

Monroe Doctrine, 1823, Avalon Project, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\\_century/monroe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp)

John O’Sullivan (newspaper editor), 1839, “Manifest Destiny,” <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm>

Captain (Navy) Alfred Thayer Mahan, “Influence of Sea Power,” 1890, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/mahan>

Frederick Jackson Turner (historian), “Closing of the American Frontier,” 1893, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/gilded/empire/text1/turner.pdf>

Secretary of State John Hay, Open Door Notes on China, 1899, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/hay-and-china>

Mark Twain’s rewrite of the Battle Hymn of the Republic, 1901, <http://www.greenvillepost.com/2011/04/02/mark-twains-rewriting-of-the-battle-hymn-of-the-republic/>

Platt Amendment to the Constitution of Cuba, 1903, <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=55&page=transcript>

Roosevelt (Theodore) Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, 1904, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/roosevelt-corollary-to-monroe-doctrine/>

President Woodrow Wilson’s War Message, 1917, [https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's\\_War\\_Message\\_to\\_Congress](https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress)

President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/wilson14.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Good Neighbor Policy", 1933, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/good-neighbor>

Ludlow Amendment, 1938, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4YnCVUfaqo>

Atlantic Charter, 1941, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp>

**\*\* Weekly Analysis #1:** *Identify three of the major themes, approaches and debates these readings illustrate in the history of American foreign policy.*

## 1/29            **The Cold War**

Gaddis, *Cold War: A New History*, especially Prologue, Chs. 1, 3, 6, 7, Epilogue

Westad, *The Global Cold War*, espec. Intro, Chs. 1, 3, 4, 8-10, Conclusion

**Seminar Paper (A):** *The books by Gaddis and Westad are two of the leading histories of the Cold War. What are the main arguments of each? The respective strengths and weaknesses? Where they disagree, with whom do you agree and why?*

\*\* Those not writing papers should have these questions in mind as you do the reading and prep for class.

**\*\* See below under 2/19 session with General Dempsey for Weekly Analysis #2 due Thursday 1/31 by Noon.**

## II.                            **FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIES**

### 2/5    **21<sup>st</sup> Century International System**

Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Ch. 9 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2014)

Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*, Chapter 8

Kupchan, *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn*, Chapter 5

Slaughter, "How to Succeed in the Networked World," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2016)

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress* (January 2017), pp. ix-xi, 3-44, <https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/nic/GT-Full-Report.pdf>

Acharya, *Constructing Global Order: Agency and Change in World Politics* (2018), pp. 1-12 (top) and 28 (bottom)-32.

Jentleson, "The Liberal Order Isn't Coming Back: What's Next?," *Democracy: Journal of Ideas* (Spring 2018), <https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/48/the-liberal-order-isnt-coming-back-what-next/> and "That Post-Liberal International Order World: Some Core Characteristics," *Lawfare*, 9/9/18, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/post-liberal-international-order-world-some-core-characteristics>

\*\*\* **Seminar Paper (B):** *Focusing on at least two of the readings, what are the main arguments on the nature of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international system? Their respective strengths and weaknesses? Where they disagree, with whom do you agree and why?*

\*\* Same instructions as above for those not writing papers.

## 2/12            **US Global Role**

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

Obama 2015 National Security Strategy, [https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy\\_2.pdf](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy_2.pdf)

Brooks and Wohlforth, *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2016), Chapters 1 and 2

Posen, *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*, Chapter 2

Kirshner, "Bringing Them All Back Home? Dollar Diminution and U.S. Power," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2013

Jentleson, "Apart, Atop, Amidst: America in the World," January 12, 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/01/apart-atop-amidst-america-in-the-world/>

\*\*\* **Seminar Paper (C):** *Focusing on at least two of the readings, what are the main arguments about American power and interests? Their respective strengths and weaknesses? Where they disagree, with whom do you agree and why?*

\*\* Same instructions as above for those not writing papers.

## 2/19 Role of the Military

### (A) Discussion with General (ret.) Martin Dempsey, former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

<https://www.defense.gov/About-DoD/Biographies/Biography-View/Article/602694>

“Tomorrow’s Military”, Symposium, including “Notes from the Chairman” written by General Dempsey, *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2016), pp. 2-44.

**\*\* *Weekly Analysis #2*: Submit three topics or questions that you would like to be part of the discussion with General Dempsey. Submit these by **Thursday, January 31 at Noon**.**

### (B) Use of Military Force

Barno and Bensahel, “The Price of Perpetual War,” May 24, 2016, *War On the Rocks*, <https://warontherocks.com/2016/05/the-price-of-perpetual-war/>

Cohen, *The Big Stick*, Ch. 8, “The Logic of Hard Power”

Brooks, *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything: Tales from the Pentagon* (2016), Part V: Managing War’s Paradoxes

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), *The Responsibility to Protect* (2001), Synopsis: Core Principles and Principles for Military Intervention, <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

**\*Thurs, 2/21, Noon: Research Paper Proposals due**  
(see Guidelines)

## 2/26 ISIS, Terrorism

Guest Lecture/Discussion Professor David Schanzer  
<https://sanford.duke.edu/people/faculty/schanzer-david-h>

Readings and ***Weekly Analysis #3*** to be assigned later

## 3/5 Diplomatic Strategies



Telhami, “The Camp David Accords [Israel-Egypt-US, 1978-79]: A Case Study of International Bargaining,” Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy (Sakai)

Jentleson, *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from 20<sup>th</sup> Century Statesmanship* (2018), Introduction and Chapter 1

Blackwill and Harris, *War by Other Means: Geo-Economics and Statecraft*, Chs.. 1, 9

Harrell, Rosenberg and Saravalle, *Chinese Use of Coercive Economic Measures*, Center for a New American Security (2018), <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/chinas-use-of-coercive-economic-measures>

Art, “Coercive Diplomacy: What Do We Know?”, Chapter 8 in Art and Cronin, eds., *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (2003)

Roberts and Zaum, *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council Since 1945*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper 395 (2008), Chapter 1 and Conclusion

\*\*\* **Seminar Paper (D):** Answer one of the following presenting and critiquing the authors’ main arguments:

*Why did the 1978-79 Camp David diplomacy succeed, and what are the lessons for other conflicts?*

*Why did the U.S.-China 1971-72 diplomacy succeed, and what are the lessons for other conflicts?*

*What are the keys to economic sanctions and other “geo-economic” strategies achieving diplomatic-strategic objectives (Blackwill and Harris, Harrell-Rosenberg-Saravalle, Art)?*

*What are the strengths and weaknesses of the UN Security Council for ensuring peace? (Roberts and Zaum)?*

\*\* Same instructions as above for those not writing papers.

\*\*\* 3/12    **No Class, *SPRING BREAK***

### 3/19 **Intelligence**

Pillar, *Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy: Iraq, 9/11 and Misguided Reform*, Chs. 2, 3

Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails*, Ch. 3

Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*, Chs. 2, 7

\*\*\* **Seminar Paper (E):** *Why did intelligence fail in the case of the 2003 Iraq war? Compare and contrast the Pillar, Jervis and Rovner analyses, and tell us your view.*

\*\* Same instructions as above for those not writing papers.

### 3/26 Democracy Promotion

Center for American Progress and Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right,” <https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/StatementofPrinciples-2.pdf>

Walt, “Why is America So Bad at Promoting Democracy in Other Countries,” *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/25/why-is-america-so-bad-at-promoting-democracy-in-other-countries/>

Carothers, “Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose,” *Journal of Democracy*, January 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/01/13/democracy-aid-at-25-time-to-choose/hzao>

Bush and Prather, “Who’s There? Election Observer Identity and the Local Credibility of Elections,” *International Organization* (Summer 2018) <https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/campuspress.yale.edu/dist/2/2531/files/2018/06/Bush-Prather-IO-2018-1za32wy.pdf>

“The US is No Stranger to Interfering in the Elections of Other Countries,” *Los Angeles Times*, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-us-intervention-foreign-elections-20161213-story.html>

**Seminar Paper (E):** *President Trump has indicated a preference for strong-man leaders over democracy promotion. An analytic question: If this is the foreign policy his administration pursues, how much of a break from the past will it be? And a normative question: do you agree with this approach?*

## III. Major Current Issues: Policy Recommendations

## (Student Papers/Presentations)

Readings are student papers posted on Sakai, no later than the preceding Sunday at 5:00. All students are expected to have read the papers.

- 4/2            **China, Asia**
- 4/9            **Middle East**
- 4/16          **Russia, Europe**
- 4/23          **Looking to 2020: Emerging Foreign Policy-Political Debate**

“Policy Roundtable: The Future of Conservative Foreign Policy”, *Texas National Security Review* (November 2018), articles by Colin Dueck, Emma Ashford and Henry Nau, <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-the-future-of-conservative-foreign-policy/>

“Policy Roundtable: The Future of Progressive Foreign Policy”, *Texas National Security Review* (December 2018), article by Van Jackson, <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-the-future-of-progressive-foreign-policy/> , and “Colloquium: Five Principles for Left Foreign Policy,” Fellow Travelers Blog, 10/23/18, <https://fellowtravelersblog.com/2018/10/23/colloquium-five-principles-for-left-foreign-policy/> , read all three

**\*\* Weekly Analysis #4:** *Congratulations. You’ve just been named to the foreign policy team of the presidential candidate of your choice. And you’ve been asked to help write the candidate’s major foreign policy speech. Blending policy expertise and political appeal, we need two parts of the speech from you:*

- *Overarching theme (three paragraphs)*
- *Positions on three key issues (paragraph on each)*