

## PPS 506/ POL SCI 547/ICS 506/PPS 792

### Politics of US Foreign Policy\*

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*Duke University*

*Spring 2021*

*Sanford School of Public Policy*

*Tues 1:45-4:15 (Zoom)*

When it comes to foreign policy, according to an old saying, “politics stops at the water’s edge.” In other words, partisan and political differences that characterize domestic policy are to be left behind – “at the water’s edge” --- so that the country can be united in confronting foreign threats. We know this isn’t very true today. What about historically? True in some periods more than others? On some issues more than others? When it has been true, has it helped make foreign policy effective?

In exploring these and other questions about the politics of American foreign policy, we have a “5x5x5” focus:

- On five main sets of actors: President-Congress, intra-executive branch, interest groups, the media, and public opinion.
- Within five main issue areas: going to war/use of military force, the tension between national security and civil liberties, race and immigration, trade policy, and climate change (this one less historical, largely contemporary).
- With five principal course objectives in mind:
  - Developing an analytic framework and historical context for understanding the domestic politics of US foreign policy with particular focus on the five main policy-politics areas noted;
  - Enhancing your capacity to evaluate competing theories and arguments;
  - Strengthening policy and political analysis research, writing and oral communication skills.
  - Delving into some major policy-politics debates;
  - Foster a learning community that helps achieve these objectives and builds relationships of value beyond this course.

We’ll be conducting the course online via Zoom with a mix of asynchronous short pre-class lectures (“scene-setters”), in-class lectures and discussions, breakout groups, videos, and

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\* This course’s focus on the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy complements other courses I and colleagues teach focusing more on U.S. foreign policy strategy – e.g., PPS 501/PS 562 American Grand Strategy, PPS 502S/PS 670S Contemporary U.S. Foreign Policy. Those courses are not prerequisites for this one. Students who have taken them will find some but limited overlap.

student presentations. let's work together to make this format as effective as possible. Your suggestions are welcome as to what you've found works well for Zoom courses. Later in the semester, conditions permitting, we may also be able to meet in person.

I'd like to have the opportunity to meet with each student before the course starts, so am scheduling individual one-on-ones to start the semester.

You are strongly encouraged to keep up with news, events and policy debates related to the course. We'll dedicate a portion of some classes for discussion of news and events relevant to the course that you want to bring up. If of interest we can also set up a few "foreign policy cafés" outside of regular class time for general open discussion.

You also are encouraged to participate in relevant public lectures and symposia on campus. I will mention events I know about, I encourage everyone to do the same. Of particular interest may be the American Grand Strategy Program, <https://ags.duke.edu/>

Many of our topics are controversial. Many of us have strong views. We want to be able to exchange ideas and pose questions that help the learning experience. That goal is best served if while speaking honestly, we do so analytically not just as advocacy and maintain norms of professionalism, respect and personal courtesy in all discussions.

## **Readings**

For a number of reasons, particularly COVID constraints, no books are required for purchase. All of the readings are either posted on the course Sakai site, available as Duke Perkins Library e-books, or accessible via links provided on the syllabus and in Sakai.

## **Course Responsibilities and Grading**

**Midterm (15% course grade)**

**Readings Paper and Presentation (25%)**

**Group Research Projects and Class Teaching on Some Key Biden Foreign Policy Politics Issues (40%)**

**Class Participation (20%)**

**\*\*\* See Assignment Guidelines, separate document, for more information**

You 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.

Any late assignment incurs a 10-point penalty if at all late, and another 10 points for each additional 24 hours late.

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, <http://www.integrity.duke.edu/standard.html>.

Plagiarism will be dealt with severely. Be scrupulous about documenting sources of material. Guidelines about proper citation are available from the Library (<http://library.duke.edu/research/guides/citing/>) or from the Writing Studio (<https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio/resources-students/sources>).

## **Our Communication**

Under current circumstances (COVID, our country, the world) it's especially important to stay in touch, students with each other and with me. I found last semester that regular office hours are harder to make work than normally. My inclination is to not set specific office hours and to be responsive to individual requests for appointments. But if students would also like a regular time, I can set that as well. We'll discuss in our first class.

Ryan Denniston is the Duke Librarian for Public Policy and Political Science, available for research assistance at Perkins Library and at [ryan.denniston@duke.edu](mailto:ryan.denniston@duke.edu)

## Class Schedule and Readings

### I. Course Overview, Theoretical Framework, Historical Perspective

#### 1/26 Launching Class

Self-Intros, start getting to know each other

Course Overview: Read the Syllabus and Paper Guidelines before class, and bring up any questions you have

Discussion (no specific prior readings, but give some thought and read as helpful):

- *What effects are recent American politics --- COVID, Black Lives Matter, the 2020 election controversy, the January 6 insurrection, other aspects you consider relevant -- having on foreign policy today?*
- *Back to the “politics should stop at the water’s edge” saying and the questions posed at the top of the syllabus: Your thoughts on these, both generally and with supportive examples.*
- *How has US foreign policy affected race issues at home? How have race issues at home affected U.S. foreign policy? Here, too, historically as well as today.*

#### 2/2 Foreign Policy Process: Key Actors

*\*\* Who plays what role in the making of U.S. foreign policy?*

*\*\* What are some key debates over who has what role and how much influence?*

Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (5<sup>th</sup> edition), Chs. 2 and 3

Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency*, Ch. 1

<https://www.congress.gov/committees>: Use this link to figure out which congressional committees are involved in which aspects of foreign policy?

Kreps, *Taxing Wars: The American Way of Finance*, Ch.2, "Bearing the Financial Burden of War"

Council on Foreign Relations, National Security Council Interagency Process,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBaNiup-qFY> CFR interagency video

Walt, "America Is Wide Open for Foreign Influence," *foreignpolicy.com*, April 8, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/08/america-is-wide-open-for-foreign-influence/>

**\*\* Between the end of class Tuesday 2/2 and Noon Wed 2/3 send an e-mail to Professor Jentleson ([bwj7@duke.edu](mailto:bwj7@duke.edu)) listing first and second choices for both the Readings Paper and the Group Research Project**

## 2/9 Past is Prologue: Historical Perspective on Foreign Policy Politics

\*\* What is meant by "American exceptionalism"?

\*\* Patterns, take-aways in the politics of each of these polices historically?

### War, Use of Force

Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (5<sup>th</sup> edition), Ch. 4, "Going to War" section, pp. 120-123

Lepore, *These Truths*, Ch. 7, sections I&II, pp. 232-251 on 1846-48 Mexican War

Risen, "The Rough-Riders' Guide to World Domination: How Teddy Roosevelt and the Spanish-American War Set the Course for Future Conflicts," *New York Times*, May 31, 2019,  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/31/opinion/sunday/spanish-american-war-power.html>

Kupchan, *Isolationism: A History of America's Efforts to Shield Itself from the World*, Ch. 11, "From the Great Depression to Pearl Harbor: Delusions of Strategic Immunity"

### Race and Immigration

Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, Ch. 1, "Race and Foreign Relations Before 1945"

Grandin, *End of the Myth: From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America*, Ch. 3 "A Caucasian Democracy"

Boissoneault, "How the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Know-Nothing Party Reshaped American Politics," *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 26, 2017, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/immigrants-conspiracies-and-secret-society-launched-american-nativism-180961915/>

"Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882," <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Chinese-Exclusion-Act>

"Porvenir Massacre on Texas Border Haunts Descendants 100 Years Later," *El Paso Times*, 1/26/18, <https://www.elpasotimes.com/story/news/2018/01/26/100-years-later-porvenir-massacre-haunts-descendants-texas-border/1058345001/>

State Department, Office of the Historian, Immigration Act of 1924, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>

Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*, Introduction (pp. 1-16) and "America: The Global Leader in Racist Immigration Law" (pp. 34-48)

#### National Security/Civil Liberties

Cooke, *Reporting the War: Freedom of the Press from the American Revolution to the War on Terrorism*, Ch. 4 (Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection)

Hochschild, "When Dissent Becomes Treason," *New York Review of Books*, 9/28/2017, <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2017/09/28/world-war-i-when-dissent-became-treason/> (World War I)

Dorothea Lange's Censored Photographs of FDR's Japanese Concentration Camps, <https://anchoreditions.com/blog/dorothea-lange-censored-photographs>

Lepore, *These Truths*, Ch. 12, pp. 491 (bottom of page)-505 (middle)

#### Trade Policy

Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (5<sup>th</sup> edition), Ch. 2 (pp. 52-53) and Ch. 4, "Free Trade vs. Protectionism" (pp. 126-127).

Destler, *American Trade Politics*, Ch. 1, "The Root Problem: Political Imbalance" and Ch. 2, "The 1934 System: Protection for Congress" (pp. 11-middle 18 where shifts to post-World War II)

## II. Key Periods, Case Studies

### 2/16 Early Cold War: War Powers, National Security/Civil Liberties, Trade Policy Politics

**\*\* Kick-off discussion Q:** *The early Cold War period, dating roughly from 1947-1967, is often referred to as the “golden age of bipartisanship.” How accurate is the “bipartisanship” analysis? The “golden age” assessment?*

Paper #1: *What was McCarthyism? Why did it become so politically potent? What broader lessons do you draw for foreign policy politics?*

Paper #2: *A few weeks after the Bay of Pigs, President John F. Kennedy gave a speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association (citation below) focusing on the tension between national security and freedom of the press. An excerpt: “Every newspaper now asks itself with respect to every story: ‘Is it news?’ All I suggest is that you add the question: ‘Is it in the interest of national security?’” Assess JFK’s arguments and present your views on freedom of the press vs. national security.*

#### Use of Force/National Security

Yergin, *Shattered Peace; The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*, Ch. 8: “The Gospel of National Security”

Fulbright, “American Foreign Policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century under an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Constitution,” *Cornell Law Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1961)

#### National Security/Civil Liberties

Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy*, Ch. 1

PBS, American Experience, “McCarthyism,” segment,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50JLbD0b7Tg> video

Kahn, *The China Hands: America’s Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them*, Ch.1: “How Do You Say That in Chinese?”

President Eisenhower, Farewell Address (1961), “Military-Industrial Complex,”  
[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/eisenhower001.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/eisenhower001.asp)

JFK, April 1961 speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association  
(<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Speeches/The-President-and-the-Press-Address-before-the-American-Newspaper-Publishers-Association.aspx>).

#### Race and Immigration

Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, Ch. 4, "Holding the Line in Little Rock"

Gjeltén, "The Immigration Act (1965) that Inadvertently Changed America," *The Atlantic*, October 2, 2015,  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/immigration-act-1965/408409/>

## 2/23 **Case Studies: Bay of Pigs 1961, Cuban Missile Crisis 1962**

*Paper #3: "All my life I've known better than to depend on the experts," President Kennedy reflected following the Bay of Pigs fiasco. "How could I have been so stupid, to let them go ahead?" What's your answer to his question?*

*Paper #4: As an example of high-quality executive branch decision-making, what broader lessons for executive branch decision-making can be drawn from the 1962 Cuban missile crisis?*

### General Reading

Kozak and Keagle, *Bureaucratic Politics and National Security: Theory and Practice* (1988), Chs. 1-2.

Janis, *Groupthink*, Ch. 1

### **Bay of Pigs 1961**

Janis, *Groupthink*, Ch. 2

Neustadt and May, *Thinking in Time: Uses of History for Decision-Makers*, Ch. 8  
 "Probing Presumptions: The Bay of Pigs 1961"

Memorandum (declassified), National Security Advisor Bundy to President Kennedy, "Some Preliminary Administrative Lessons of the Cuban Expedition," April 24, 1961

### **Cuban Missile Crisis 1962**

Watch the film "Thirteen Days" before class

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Ch 8

**\*\* Thurs 2/25, 5:00, Group Project Proposals Due**



### 3/2 **1970s-80s: Vietnam, Shifting Global Economy and Shattering of the Cold War Consensus**

Paper #5: *Why did the Cold War consensus shatter? What is your net assessment of the positive/negative effects on the politics of U.S. foreign policy of the end of the Cold War consensus?*

Paper #6: *Why and how did the politics of trade policy change in the 1970s and 1980s?*

#### General Reading

Franck and Weisband, *Foreign Policy by Congress*, Introduction

Fulbright, "Congress and Foreign Policy," in Murphy Commission, *Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy* (1975), Vol V, Appendix I

Destler, Gelb and Lake, *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy*, Introduction: Foreign Policy Breakdown

#### Vietnam War and Use of Force

Schlesinger, *Imperial Presidency*, Ch. 7

Neustadt and May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers*, Ch.5 "Dodging Bothersome Analogies: Americanizing the Vietnam War in 1965"

McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, pp. 319-323.

#### National Security/Civil Liberties: Pentagon Papers Case

"What Were the Pentagon Papers?", <https://www.youtube.com/watch/E-efpukppE>

Supreme Court Decision, June 30, 1971, read 713-720 (through Justice Black's Concurring Opinion)

<https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB348/decision.pdf>

\*Optional: The movie, *The Post* (2017) w/Meryl Streep & Tom Hanks

#### Race

Belew, *Bringing the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, Introduction and Ch. 1, "The Vietnam War Story"

#### Trade Policy

Destler, *American Trade Politics*, Chs. 3 and 4

**\*\* Midterm Exam distributed in class, due Sunday, 3/7, 5:00 PM (or sooner!)**

3/9      **BREAK!**

3/16    **Case Studies, Covert Action and Intelligence: 1970s Church Committee, 1986 Iran-Contra**

Paper #7: *What were the major findings of the Church Committee? Do you agree/disagree with its principal recommendations (select a few that you deem most important)?*

Paper #8: *What were the major finding of the Senate Iran-Contra Committee? Do you agree/disagree with its principal recommendations (select a few that you deem most important)?*

Rovner, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence*, Chs 2-3

Church Committee: U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities (also known as the Church Committee for its chair, Senator Frank Church), *Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans: Book II, read Letter of Transmittal, Preface and Chapter I: Introduction and Summary, and skim for gist Chs. III (Findings) and IV Conclusions and Recommendations* [Books III and IV not on last year's Sakai]

Iran-Contra: *Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair*, Preface, Executive Summary, Ch. 24 "Covert Action in a Democratic Society", and Ch. 27 "Rule of Law"

3/23    **9/11, Iraq War**

Paper #9: *How did 9/11 change the politics of foreign policy? What is your net assessment of the positive/negative effects on the politics of U.S. foreign policy?*

Paper #10: *Why did the Bush administration decide to go to war in Iraq? Assess competing arguments/theories.*

War/Use of Force

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Ch. 17

George W. Bush, *Decision Points*, Ch. 8 Iraq

Draper, "Colin Powell Still Wants Answers," *New York Times Magazine*, 17 Jul 2020, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/16/magazine/colin-powell-iraq-war.html>

Packer, *The Assassins' Gate* (2005), Ch. 2

Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006)

Feaver, "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision," *International Security*, Spring 2011,  
[https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/ISEC\\_a\\_00033-Feaver\\_proof2\\_updated.pdf](https://www.belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/ISEC_a_00033-Feaver_proof2_updated.pdf)

Ornstein and Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec '06)

Kreps, *Taxing Wars: The American Way of War Finance and the Decline of Democracy*, Ch. 6

Cooke, *Reporting the War*, Ch. 11

Eichenberg, "Victory Has Many Friends: The American Public and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005", *International Security* (Summer 2005).

Mueller and Stewart, "The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11," *International Security* (Summer 2012)

### 3/30 Politics of America First

*No papers this week since group projects close to being due.*

**\*\*\* Readings: By Friday 4/3 every student put in the 3/30 Forum on Sakai one recommendation of an article or other item (short video, podcast, website to peruse) for others to read/view.**

*Some questions to guide our discussion:*

*What are the main foreign policy positions of America First?*

*What have been the foreign policy bases of support for Trump and America First?*

*White nationalism: what are its foreign policy sources and its foreign policy effects?*

*Can the United States of today claim to be the world's leading democracy?*

*Other themes, questions???*

### **III. Foreign Policy Politics in the Biden Administration**

4/6 **STUDENT PROJECTS: Climate Change, Trade Policy Political Strategies**

Group presenters will provide pre-class readings, any other items.

4/13 **STUDENT PROJECTS: War Powers, National Security-Civil Liberties**

Group presenters will provide pre-class readings, any other items.

4/20 **Final class: Topics open to events, student suggestions**