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 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 (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.

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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).*
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, 3:00-4:15, 122 Rubenstein Hall. We also can meet by appointment: 919-613-9208, 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.

Course Responsibilities and Grading

Weekly Analyses (25% course grade)
Seminar Paper (20%)
Research Paper (35%)
Seminar Participation (20%)
No final exam

*** All papers are expected to be on time. Late paper penalty: 10 points if at all late, 20 points if more than 24 hours late, etc.

Weekly Analyses (25% course grade): Classes 1/17, 1/24, 1/31, 3/21, 3/28: see prompts and instructions for each one, 750-1000 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 2/14, 2/21, 2/28 or week of 3/6: This paper is based on assigned readings. Length: 2000-2500 words max. Papers due by 5:00 PM the day before the respective classes to Professor Jentleson by e-mail. No formal presentations, but we’ll look to paper-writers to help lead discussion. Stign-ups will be second week of class, 1/24

Research Paper (35%): Major Current Issues: Policy Recommendations
These are more extensive papers and also involve class presentations. Papers provide analysis and make policy recommendations. Topics to choose from:

4/4: China, Asia
4/11: Russia, Europe
4/18: Middle East

These are broad topics, students will choose particular issue(s) within them: e.g., South China Sea, Ukraine, Iran. The schedule for developing this paper:

1/24 Sign-ups in class for one of the three issue areas and specifying which particular issue(s).
Thurs 2/23, Noon: Topic Proposal with two components:

- Define the central focus of the paper and provide an initial discussion of the policy debate (1 page, single-spaced)

- Initial annotated bibliography of at least six major sources. Annotated means a brief description of the utility of each source for your research. This doesn’t require having fully read each source but does require sufficient knowledge of it to briefly convey its value to your research. Major means the kind of sources that can provide the building blocks for the whole project: e.g., books, scholarly and policy journal articles, government documents, think tank and NGO studies, not newspaper or newsmagazine articles (you eventually will use these, but they are not major sources). Remember that Googling is not the best way to do policy research. See also http://guides.library.duke.edu/international-relations

Grading of the Proposal: √+, √ or √-. Criteria for √+: topic statement clear and focused; demonstrates initial research and “digestion”; bibliography professionally presented, fits major sources guidelines, and well annotated. This grade would be taken into account as a tie-breaker for an overall course grade falling at a margin. More importantly, the more thought and effort you invest now, the more helpful our dialogue can be; e.g., to the extent that the questions you’re wrestling with and problems you’re running into show work invested, I take these very much as positives.

4/4, 4/11, 4/18 Classes: Part of the class will be led by paper-presenters. Papers are to be posted on Sakai site no later than the preceding Saturday at Noon. All students are expected to have read the papers. Maximum length: 20-25 pages, plus bibliography and citations, tables and charts. Grading: 4/5 of the grade based on the paper, 1/5 on the presentation

What does it take to get an “A”?

- A well researched paper, meaning that it builds a strong research base drawn from a mix of books, scholarly and policy journals, government documents, think tank and NGO studies, and other credible sources (which does not necessarily correspond to what comes up most readily on Google and other non-specialized search engines).

- Brings to bear concepts and other material from the rest of the course as appropriate.

- Analysis that digests not just ingests, that shows strong command of the literature and the relevant debates while also presenting your own insights and arguments.

- Provides relevant data, quantitative and/or qualitative, and uses the data effectively, particularly so as not to assert without substantiation.

- Professionally presented as a research paper, including use of tables and figures as enhances your paper, and proper use of citations (whichever of the standard formats you prefer) and bibliography.
Well written: Write, rewrite and rewrite again.

In-class presentations that are well organized, effective as teaching, bringing out key points and stimulating discussion, and manage well the allotted time.

**Seminar Participation (20%)**: Expectations are for attendance at all classes and for consistent, intensive and creative 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.

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.

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://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us#node-950](http://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us#node-950). 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/](http://library.duke.edu/research/guides/citing/).
I. COURSE INTRO, HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1/17  The Obama Foreign Policy
Initial discussion of the Obama foreign policy. Three sets of readings:

(1) “Our Record of Progress and the Work Ahead,” Exit Memos by Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter, Secretary of State John Kerry, UN Ambassador Samantha Power at https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/cabinet/exit-memos

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/what-obama-gets-right
Stephens, “What Obama Gets Wrong”,
https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/what-obama-gets-wrong

(3) Jeffrey Goldberg interview with President Obama, “The Obama Doctrine,” The Atlantic, April 2016 cover story,
And some of the responses to the Goldberg interview:
https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/03/obama-doctrine-wars-military/473550/
https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/03/obama-doctrine-goldberg-free-rider-credibility/473616/

Weekly Analysis #1: What do you think are the three main strengths/successes and three main weaknesses/failure of the Obama foreign policy? Write this up (1000 words max). Post on our Course Sakai site under Forums: 1/17 Class. Post no later than Monday, January 16 at Noon. Read other students’ posts before class.

**January 20: Watch President Trump’s Inaugural Address, we’ll discuss in class 1/24

1/24  “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 18th, 19th and early 20th 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

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, “Go Not Abroad in Search of Monsters to Destroy”,

Monroe Doctrine, 1823, Avalon Project,
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,

President McKinley, “Imperial Gospel,” 1899,
https://books.google.com/books?id=spA88Rt23soC&pg=PA369&lpg=PA369&dq=william+mckinley+imperial+gospel&source=bl&ots=XINrcHkJ1I&sig=sMc_2yvHAA_BqaQ6M2MJsvqdnw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwizwqmQu7XRAhUK7yYKHS7dB3kQ6AGEHDA#v=onepage&q=william%20mckinley%20imperial%20gospel&f=false

Mark Twain’s rewrite of the Battle Hymn of the Republic, 1901,

Platt Amendment to the Constitution of Cuba, 1903,

Roosevelt (Theodore) Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, 1904,

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

President Woodrow Wilson’s War Message, 1917,
https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s_War_Message_to_Congress
President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, 1918,  
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

FDR, “Quarantine Speech”, 1937,  
http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3310


**Weekly Analysis #2:** Identify three of the major themes, approaches and debates these readings illustrate in the history of American foreign policy.  
*Seminar Paper and Research Paper sign-ups in class*

1/31  
**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

**Weekly Analysis #3:** 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?

2/7  
**Class Session 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.

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”

https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/cabinet/exit-memos/departme}

**Assignment:** Submit three topics or questions that you would like to be part of the discussion with General Dempsey. Submit these by Friday, February 3 at Noon (no grade but penalty for non-submission or non-thoughtful submission).
II. FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIES

2/14 21st Century International System


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

Kissinger, *World Order*, Introduction and Conclusion


National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2035*

***Seminar Paper (A):*** Focusing on at least two of the readings, what are the main arguments on the nature of the 21st century international system? Their 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.

2/21 US Global Role


*** Seminar Paper (B): 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.

*Thurs, 2/23, 5:00: Research Paper Topic Proposals due (see Guidelines)

2/28  **Diplomatic Strategies**


Kupchan, *How Enemies Become Friends: Sources of Stable Peace*, Chs. 1-2, 7 (paper writers may want to read more of the book)


Blackwill and Harris, *War by Other Means: Geo-Economics and Statecraft*, Chs.. 1, 9 (paper writers may want to read more of the book)


*** Seminar Paper (C): Answer one of the following. Present and critique the authors’ main arguments, citing examples from US foreign policy (past or present) that support your analysis:

How do enemies become friends (Kupchan)?

How to use Geo-economics as Statecraft (Blackwill and Harris)?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the UN Security Council for ensuring peace? (von Einsiedel et al)?

** Same instructions as above for those not writing papers.
Week of 3/6 [date change] **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*, Ch. 7

Rovner, ”Donald Trump and the Future of Intelligence,” *Lawfare*, 1/8/17

*** Seminar Paper (D): 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.

*** 3/14 No Class, SPRING BREAK

3/21 **ISIS, Terrorism**
Guest Lecture/Discussion Professor David Schanzer
https://sanford.duke.edu/people/faculty/schanzer-david-h

Readings and *Weekly Analysis #4* to be assigned later

3/28 **Democracy Promotion**


Middle East Institute, “Democracy Promotion: Obama’s Mixed Record,” 11/19/14, http://www.mei.edu/content/article/democracy-promotion-obamas-mixed-record


**Weekly Analysis #5:** 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)

In addition to articles to be assigned, readings are student papers posted on Sakai, no later than the preceding Saturday at Noon. All students are expected to have read the papers.

4/4  China, Asia

4/11  Russia, Europe

4/18  Middle East

4/25  *Final Class Wrap-Up*