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” --- when entering the realm of foreign policy, so that the country can be united in confronting foreign threats. In fact, though, this has been more the exception than the rule: foreign policy often has had its own politics, no less than – indeed, sometimes even more intensely than --- domestic policy. It is true historically. It is true today.

This course focuses on the politics of U.S. foreign policy: who influences U.S. foreign policy, how, with what impact, and why. We focus principally along five dimensions: President-Congress, intra-executive branch decision-making, interest groups, the media, and public opinion. The scope is both historical and contemporary. Our approach combines theory and policy analysis. While we touch on a number of issue areas, focus is principally on three: war powers, the tension between national security and civil liberties, and trade policy politics and for the contemporary period also climate change.

Our principal objectives are threefold: develop an analytic framework and historical context for understanding the domestic politics of US foreign policy with particular focus on the three main policy-politics areas noted; enhance your capacity to evaluate competing theories and arguments; and developing your policy analysis research, writing and oral communication skills.

Class sessions are a mix of lectures, student presentations and discussion. Expectations are for attendance at all classes and for consistent, intensive and creative engagement.

The course complements other courses I teach, PPS 501S American Grand Strategy and PPS 502S Contemporary U.S. Foreign Policy, which focus more on foreign policy strategy.

Readings

The following book is required:

Julian E. Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy: The Politics of National Security from World War II to the War on Terrorism*

Other readings are on the Course Sakai Website, E-Reserves, and/or accessible through urls listed on the syllabus.
You are strongly encouraged to keep up with news, events and policy debates related to the course. We’ll dedicate a portion of each class for discussion of news and events relevant to the course that you want to bring up. 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://sites.duke.edu/agsp/.

No laptops, PDAs or other electronic devices during class (other than for your student presentations); see, e.g., https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/22/business/laptops-not-during-lecture-or-meeting.html?emc=eta1&_r=0. When PowerPoints are used in lecture, they’ll be handed out in class and/or posted on our Sakai site afterwards.

Course Responsibilities and Grading

**Midterm Exam** (20%): take-home, distributed Tues 2/14, due Fri 2/17 by 5:00.

**Short Paper** (20%): based on topic questions posed, geared to the week’s readings and some additional outside research, and with brief class presentations; topics to be selected based on student preferences and limit of 2-3 papers per class session. See separate Guidelines handout.

**Research Paper and Class Presentation** (35%): The final three classes will be student-run. Students will research, write and present a paper (20-25 pages) on the politics of a major recent/current issue within the three major issue areas: War Powers, National Security-Civil Liberties, Trade Policy/Climate Change. The papers are individual products on different aspects of these issues, the coordination and teaching of the class is group-coordinated. See separate Guidelines handout.

**No Final Exam**

**Class Participation** (25%): Expectations are for attendance at all classes and for consistent, intensive and creative engagement. That means doing the reading as assigned, giving prior thought to key points, 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.

Any late written assignments incur 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. 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/.

Professor Jentleson’s regular office hours are Tuesdays 3:00-4:30, 122 Rubenstein Hall. We also can meet by appointment: 613-9208, bwj7@duke.edu.

Ryan Denniston is the Duke Librarian for Public Policy and Political Science, available at Perkins Library and at ryan.denniston@duke.edu.
Class Schedule and Readings

I. Theoretical Framework, Historical Survey

1/17 Introductory Class

Assignments BEFORE class:

(1) Public opinion on foreign policy: Read the following two studies:

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *What Americans Think About “America First”* (September 2017),

Lawfare, “Confidence in Government on National Security Matters” (November 2017),

Based on these (and any other data and analyses you are familiar with), be prepared to discuss including:

- How would you characterize American public opinion on foreign policy overall: internationalist, isolationist, nationalist, other?
- On which issues does the data strike you as especially significant?
- On what issues are Democrats and Republicans most different? Intra-Republicans and intra-Democrats?

(2) Read Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Chs. 1-3, also for discussion:

- What are your answers to his four questions in Chapter 1?
- Key points about the politics of World Wars I and II (Chs. 2-3)?

(3) It’s often said that “politics should stop at the water’s edge,” that whatever the partisan differences on domestic policy we should be consensual on foreign policy.

- Historically, has politics usually stopped at the water’s edge?
- Is “water’s edge politics” one of the keys to effective foreign policy?

** Mon 1/22, 7:00 AM – Noon, Paper Sign-Ups (see Paper Guidelines)
1/24  Theoretical Framework, Historical Perspective on War Powers, Trade Policy Politics, National Security/Civil Liberties

War Powers

Congressional Research Service (CRS), *Declarations of War and Authorizations of the Use of Military Force* (2014), pp. 1-27 (top), 75-80 (section on Congressional Procedures)

Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency*, Ch. 1


*U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* (1936), pp. 32 -37

*Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer* (Steel Seizure Case, 1951), pp. 5-28 (its long, just get the gist of the arguments)

The “Political Question” Doctrine, pp. 723-727

National Security/Civil Liberties

Cooke, *Reporting the War: Freedom of the Press from the American Revolution to the War on Terrorism*, Ch. 4


Trade Policy Politics

Destler, *American Trade Politics*, Ch. 1

** We’ll go over Paper Assignments in Class

1/31  Early Cold War: War Powers, National Security/Civil Liberties, Trade Policy Politics

*Paper #1*: 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 #2*: A few weeks after the Bay of Pigs, JFK 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.
Zelizer, Arsenal of Democracy, Chs. 4-7

War Powers

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 20th Century under an 18th Century Constitution,” Cornell Law Quarterly 47 (Fall 1961)

National Security/Civil Liberties

Rovere, Senator Joe McCarthy, Ch. 1


Trade Policy Politics

Destler, American Trade Politics, Ch. 2

2/7 Vietnam and the Shattering of the Cold War Consensus

Paper #3: 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?


Zelizer, Arsenal of Democracy, Chs. 9-14

Franck and Weisband, Foreign Policy by Congress, Introduction

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

War Powers

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”


**National Security/Civil Liberties**

Stone, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime*, Ch. 6

**Pentagon Papers Case:**

History.com, “Pentagon Papers” (Summary),
http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/pentagon-papers

Supreme Court Decision, June 30, 1971, read 713-720 (through Justice Black’s Concurring Opinion)
https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB348/decision.pdf

And if you saw the movie, *The Post* (2017) w/Meryl Streep & Tom Hanks

**Trade Policy Politics:**

Harvard Kennedy School Case Study. *Fast Track Derailed: The 1997 Attempt to Renew Fast Track Trade Legislation*

**Tues 2/13, Noon, Research Paper Proposals Due (see Paper Guidelines)**

**2/14 9/11 and its Impact**

*Paper #4:* 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?

Zelizer, Chs, 15-17


**War Powers, National Security-Civil Liberties**


Trade Policy, Climate Change


** MIDTERM EXAM: Take-home exam, handed out in class 2/14, due Friday 2/17, 5:00.

II. Case Studies

2/21 Bay of Pigs 1961, Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Paper #5: “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?

Executive Branch Decision-Making


Janis, Groupthink, Ch. 1, 2
Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, 149-51


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

**Cuban Missile Crisis 1962**

*Paper #6: 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?*

Watch the film “Thirteen Days” before class

Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (2nd edition, 1999), Introduction

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Ch 8

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**2/28 Covert Action and Intelligence: 1970s Church Committee Hearings, 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)?*

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]

*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)?*

*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”
3/7  Class with General Martin Dempsey:
http://www.washingtonspeakers.com/speakers/biography.cfm?SpeakerID=22557

The Military and Politics

Leadership


Martin Dempsey and Ori Brafman, Radical Inclusion: What the Post-9/11 World Should Have Taught Us About Leadership (forthcoming 2018), chapters to be assigned


** SPRING BREAK **

3/21  Interest Groups: Politics of Middle East Policy

General readings:

James Madison, Federalist Papers #10


Smith, Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy, Introduction

Middle East Policy
Paper #9: The “Israel Lobby” has too much influence over US foreign policy towards the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree?

Walt and Mearsheimer, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” original pdf on Sakai

Lieberman, “The ‘Israel Lobby’ and American Politics: An Exchange,” Perspectives on Politics (June 2009)

Bard, The Arab Lobby, Ch. 13

3/28  Going to War in Iraq 2003

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

Zelizer, Arsenal of Democracy, Ch. 18

Cooke, Reporting the War, Ch. 11

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


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


4/4  NO CLASS

III.  Current Foreign Policy Politics  
      (Student Papers and Presentations)

Readings: Student Papers and any articles as assigned by the student group

4/11  War Powers, Use of Force

4/18  Trade Policy, Climate Change Politics

4/25  National Security/Civil Liberties/ FINAL CLASS