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. 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, how, with what impact, and why. We focus principally along five dimensions of the politics: 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 five: going to war/use of military force, the tension between national security and civil liberties, trade policy, immigration, and climate change (this one less historical, largely contemporary).

Our principal objectives are threefold:

- 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;
- Developing your policy analysis research, writing and oral communication skills.
- Delving into some major policy-politics debates;
- Taking deeper dives into issues of particular interest as selected for course papers.

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. Come to class on time, ready to work, having analyzed and
thought about the readings and other material, and prepared to participate in the discussion

The course complements my PPS 502S Contemporary U.S. Foreign Policy, which focuses more on foreign policy strategy.

You are strongly encouraged to keep up with news, events and policy debates related to the course. We’ll dedicate a portion some classes 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 use of laptops, tablets, cell phones and other electronics in class unless otherwise specified; e.g., for your student presentations. When PowerPoints are used in lecture, they’ll be handed out in class and/or posted on our Sakai site afterwards. On the pedagogical reasoning, see https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/22/business/laptops-not-during-lecture-or-meeting.html?emc=eta1&_r=0.

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

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.

Course Responsibilities and Grading

**Midterm Exam** (20%): take-home, *distributed Tues 10/1, due Thurs 10/3 by 5:00.*

**Readings Paper and Presentation** (25%): based on topic questions posed on the syllabus, 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 topic. See separate Guidelines handout.
Research Paper and Class Teaching (35%): The final three classes will be student-run. Students will research, write and present a paper on the politics of a major recent/current issue within the five major issue areas: going to war/use of military force, the tension between national security and civil liberties, trade policy, immigration, and 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 (20%): 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).

** Masters Students**: You can either do two Readings paper or a more in-depth research paper.

** Ph. D. Students**: You need to do two Readings papers and a more in-depth research paper.

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.

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).

Professor Jentleson’s regular office hours are Tuesdays after class, 4:00-5:00, 122 Rubenstein Hall. We also can meet by appointment: 613-9208, bwj7@duke.edu.
Class Schedule and Readings

I. Theoretical Framework, Historical Survey

8/27 Introductory Class

Assignments BEFORE class:


Based on these readings (and any other polling data and analyses you are familiar with), be prepared to discuss questions such as:

- 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) Discussion: 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?

(3) Read Zelizer, Arsenal of Democracy, Ch. 1 also for discussion (in case you haven't had time to get the book, this chapter is in Sakai):

- What are your answers to his four questions?

I. Theoretical Framework, Historical Perspective (Pre-Cold War)

9/3 Use of Force, National Security/Civil Liberties

Use of Force

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


Zelizer, Arsenal of Democracy, Chs 2-3

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 (Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection)


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

** Wed, 9/4, 7:00-10:00 AM -Paper Sign-Ups, first come/first choice (see Paper Guidelines)**

9/10 Trade Policy, Immigration

**Trade Policy**


**Immigration**


Lepore, *These Truths*, pp. 407 (bottom: “The year the American Wing opened...”) -411

II. Key Periods

9/17 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.

**General Reading**

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Chs. 4-7

**Use of Force/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


**Immigration**

9/24 Vietnam, Shifting Global Economy 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?

**Paper #4:** Why did the politics of trade policy change in the 1970s and 1980s?

**General Reading**


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

**Vietnam War and Use of Force**

Schlesinger, *Imperial Presidency*, Ch. 7


**National Security/Civil Liberties**

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


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

Trade Policy

Destler, American Trade Politics, chs. 3, 4, 7

** Thurs 9/26, Noon, Research Paper Proposals Deadline (see Paper Guidelines)

10/1 9/11 and its Impact, Trade and Climate Change, Immigration

Paper #5: 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?

General Reading

Zelizer, Chs, 17-18

Tama, “Presidential-Congresional Relations in Foreign Policy,” in Thurber and Tama, Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congresional Relations (6th edition)


Use of Force


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

**Trade Policy, Climate Change**


Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *What Americans Think About “America First”* (September 2017), sections on Americans and Trade (pp. 18-24) and Climate Change and Immigration (pp. 19-24), [https://www.thecничagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/ccgasurvey2017_what_americans_think_about_america_first.pdf](https://www.thecничagocouncil.org/sites/default/files/ccgasurvey2017_what_americans_think_about_america_first.pdf)


**Immigration**


**MIDTERM EXAM: Take-home exam, handed out in class 10/1, due Thursday 10/3, 5:00 PM.**
10/15 Bay of Pigs 1961, Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

*Paper #6:* “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 #7:* 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


Janis, *Groupthink*, Ch. 1

Bay of Pigs 1961

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, 149-51

Janis, *Groupthink*, Ch. 2


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

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

Zelizer, *Arsenal of Democracy*, Ch 8

10/22 Covert Action and Intelligence: 1970s Church Committee Hearings, 1986 Iran-Contra
**Paper #8:** 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 #9:** 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)?

**General Reading**


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”

10/29 **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)

Ornstein and Mann, “When Congress Checks Out,” *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec ’06)

11/5 **Interest Groups: Politics of Middle East Policy**

**Paper #11:** The “Israel Lobby” has too much influence over US foreign policy towards the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree?
General readings:

James Madison, *Federalist Papers #10*

President Eisenhower, Farewell Address (1961), “Military-Industrial Complex”


Middle East Policy

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

IV. Current Foreign Policy Politics

(Student Papers and Presentations)

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

11/12 War Powers/Use of Force, National Security/Civil Liberties

11/19 Trade Policy, Immigration, Climate Change

11/26 FINAL CLASS: Foreign Policy and the 2020 Presidential Election

Readings to be assigned