POLSCI 365
American Foreign Policy

Department of Political Science, Duke University

Spring 2024
Date and Time: Mon/Wed 10:20-11:10 pm
Room: Social Sciences 136

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Office hours: usually Mondays and Tuesdays from 3-4:30 pm, but times may vary. You must sign up via Calendly (https://calendly.com/pfeaver/office-hours). If you prefer to meet by Zoom, please email Prof. Feaver separately to confirm and please use this zoom link:
https://duke.zoom.us/j/4271388613

Teaching Assistants:

Justine Robinson, Justine.robinson@duke.edu
- Office hours: Wednesdays, 12-1:30 pm in the Gross Hall 2nd Floor Atrium

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- Office hours: Tuesdays, 11:30 am – 1:00 pm in the Gross Hall 2nd Floor Atrium

Course Description

This course is designed to help students become informed observers of (and perhaps participants in) American foreign policy. We cover the key themes in the historical evolution of American foreign policy and address current challenges and opportunities.

The course is divided into four sections.

1. The broad sources that shape foreign policy decisions generally—such as the international balance of power, ideas, and domestic structure—as well as the more specific traditions in American foreign policy, including isolationism and American exceptionalism.
2. How domestic institutions and societal forces influence the process by which foreign policy decisions are made in the United States.
3. The tools that American leaders use to pursue interests in the foreign policy arena, including intelligence, diplomacy, economic sticks and carrots, and military force. Why certain tools are chosen and the conditions under which those tools are most likely to be effective.
4. The special foreign policy challenges facing the United States today, as seen through the lens of the frameworks established in the first three sections.

Weekly discussion sections will be devoted to applying the relevant theories learned during lectures to specific foreign policy decisions. The cases provide students with an in depth understanding of pivotal events in American Foreign Policy.

This class's combination of theory and history provides a better understanding of what happened and why it happened—all with an eye to improving policymaking in the contemporary era.

Course Requirements

Analytical Paper (40%): In this paper students will explain American conduct in a particular foreign policy case using the theories developed in parts 1-2 of the class, including IR theories of foreign policy, traditions in American foreign policy, and the politics of American foreign policy. The case may not be one that the entire class discusses in section – or if it is one of those cases, it must be used to illustrate a different theory or domestic institutional dynamic. **Students must identify the case and the proposed topic and submit the proposal to their TA by 8 am on 29 January. The proposal can be as short as a paragraph but it should indicate that the students have done at least a preliminary search to find authoritative sources showing that the topic is "doable."**

The paper should be less than 3000 words (not counting endnotes or footnotes), and written in Times New Roman, 12pt font, with 1-inch margins. It must be submitted electronically as a .doc or .docx file. It is due at **12 noon on Friday, 8 March**.

> *Rewrite option*: You will have the option to rewrite your paper and receive a second grade for this assignment. If you choose to do this, 30% of your grade will be based on your initial draft and 10% on your rewrite.

Final Exam (40%): This in-class exam will cover the material from the entire course and will be administered **on Monday, April 29 from 9:00 AM to 12:00 PM.**

Class Contribution & Current Events Quizzes (20%): Students are required to attend section each week and to actively participate in discussion**. Students' grades will be determined by performance on weekly current events quizzes drawn from the *New York Times* and by their contribution to section discussions.**

Required Course Materials

Please review important information on the file named "Important information regarding accessibility and accommodations" uploaded to the course Canvas site.

The following books are required for reading and recommended for purchase. There are ample used copies available of all of these on Amazon and other online retailers. You can also try to get them through ecampus.com:

- Glenn P. Hastedt, *American Foreign Policy: Past, Present, and Future*, Pearson, 12th edition 2020. **{Note: there is a newer, more expensive edition, but the 12th is fine for this course and is readily available at a discount from used book resellers online.}**
- Walter R. Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*, Routledge Press, 2002
- Graham T. Allison and Phillip Zelikow, *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Pearson, 1999

In addition, there will be book chapters and articles that will be available online through the Duke University Library, or posted on Canvas. *Foreign Affairs* articles can be accessed through the Duke Library here: https://www-foreignaffairs-com.proxy.lib.duke.edu/.

Students should read the *New York Times* on a daily basis to keep up with current events related to American foreign policy. There are very low-cost online subscription options available for students**.** It is also available for free through the Duke University Library website. It is accessible by searching in the Online Journal Titles category of the library website, and is updated daily. Students can activate their free accounts by signing up at this link: nytimesaccess.com/campaign/dsgdwc/.

Special Note on Academic Integrity

Students in the class are expected to comply with the Duke Community Standard. See: https://trinity.duke.edu/undergraduate/academic-policies/community-standard-student-conduct for details. Furthermore, students are expected to understand what does and does not count as plagiarism. Committing plagiarism is a serious academic infraction and would result in a failing grade for the course, as well as possible additional disciplinary action. If you are unsure how to avoid plagiarism and what "best practices" are, please refer to this Duke Library page: https://library.duke.edu/research/plagiarism. Also of use is this from the Thompson Writing Program (https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio/resources-students/sources).

Generative AI tools like ChatGPT, Dall-e and others are evolving quickly and becoming widely accessible, raising questions about their acceptable use in academic work. These innovative developments present opportunities and risks. **The writing process plays a key role in learning and research.** Misuse of generative AI occurs when writers, in using these technologies, forgo the opportunity to engage deeply with subject matter, broaden expertise, build language and critical thinking skills by drafting and revising, and develop information literacy. Accordingly the use of generative AI tools is permitted for the following activities:

- Brainstorming and refining your ideas
- Fine tuning your research questions
- Finding information on your topic
- Drafting an outline to organize your thoughts.

The use of generative AI tools is **not** permitted in this course for the following activities:

- Impersonating you in classroom contexts, such as by using the tool to compose discussion board prompts or content that you put into a Zoom chat
- Writing a draft of a writing assignment
- Writing entire sentences, paragraphs, or papers to complete class assignments.

You are responsible for the information you submit based on an AI query (for instance, that it does not violate intellectual property laws, or contain misinformation or unethical content). Your use of AI tools must be properly documented and cited to stay within university policies on academic honesty. Any assignment that is found to have used generative AI tools in unauthorized ways will be considered plagiarism and, as with any instance of plagiarism, will be dealt with severely, including zero credit for the assignment in question. (*adapted from guidelines developed by the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School and Temple University's Center for the Advancement of Teaching)*

A Note on Effective Learning About Contentious Issues

In this class, we will wrestle with topics on which reasonable people disagree and on which many hold passionate and principled opinions. Even so, a foundation assumption of this class is that all of us can learn more about this topic, including learning new things that change opinions we have held on these matters previously. To that end, I encourage you to reflect on and embrace the following guidance offered by Professor John Rose to the students in his PS208 *How to Think in an Age of Political Polarization*:

> "This class shares the values and goals of Trinity College's *Statement on Diversity & Inclusion*, which 'champions...the courage to hold, articulate, defend and debate ideas, whether popular or not, as an essential value of the university,' and affirms that 'our collective success depends on the robust exchange of ideas... that is best when the rich diversity of our perspectives, backgrounds, and experiences flourishes.' Likewise, Duke University's Mission Statement affirms our foundational commitment of promoting 'an intellectual environment built on a commitment to free and open inquiry,' which encompasses both academic freedom and free speech. These rights are sacrosanct in this class and are possessed by faculty and students alike. Our goal is to advance and deepen every member's understanding of the issues addressed in the course; accordingly, I encourage each and every person to speak their mind, explore ideas and arguments wherever they might lead, voice your tentative thoughts and conclusions, play 'devil's advocate,' and engage in robust and civil discussion. We will not 'police' each other's thoughts or language—instead, we will offer reasons for our views, through arguments and by telling our stories, reflecting and hopefully laughing together at times. In this class, intellectual courage is to be encouraged, imitated, and rewarded, rather than punished. You will find that such courage is contagious, and its practice creates greater freedom in the classroom. This freedom is as much a gift we give each other and a collective achievement as it is an individual right."

Course Outline
Part I: Sources of American Foreign Policy

Lecture 1: Why and How to Study American Foreign Policy *January 10*
- Hastedt, Chapter 1 pp. 1-26
- Mead, *Special Providence*, Chapters 1-2 pp. 3-55

Section: Was Trump a Realist? Is Biden a Realist? *January 11/12*
- Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, "Saving Realism from the So-Called Realists," *Commentary*, September 2017
- Joshua Shifrinson and Stephen Wertheim, "Biden the Realist," *Foreign Affairs*, 2021
- Randall Schweller, "Trump's Realism," H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series, no. 2021-26, Apr 2021, pp. 1-17 (Canvas)

Lecture 2: What Can History Teach Us About AFP? January 17
- Mead, *Special Providence*, Chapters 3-4 pp. 56-131

Section: League of Nations Debate *January 18/19*
- Denis Merrill and Thomas G. Patterson, "Woodrow Wilson, the First World War, and the League Fight," Wadsworth/Cengage, 2010, pp. 41-75 (Canvas)
    - Document 5: The Fourteen Points
    - Document 6: Articles 10-16 of the League Covenant
    - Document 7: Wilson's Speeches Defending the League
    - Document 8: Cabot Lodge Reservations
    - "Wilson's Higher Realism"
    - "The Peace Advocate Out of Touch with Reality"
    - "Wilson's Battle for the League: Progressive Internationalists Confront the Forces of Reaction"

Part II: The Politics and Process of American Foreign Policy

Lecture 3: Political Science Theory and Levels of Analysis *January 22*
- Mead, *Special Providence*, Chapters 5-7 pp. 132-263

Lecture 4: Executive Branch/ Interagency Politics *January 24*
- Hastedt, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 pp. 162-217
- Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, Chapter 1, 3, 5

Section: The Cuban Missile Crisis *January 25/26*
- Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, Chapter 2, 4, 6

Lecture 5: Congress *January 29*
- Hastedt, Chapter 6 pp. 133-161

- James M. Lindsay, "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy," in James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence,* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012, pp. 223-238 (Canvas)
- Douglas Kriner, "Congress, public opinion, and an informal constraint on the commander-in-chief," *British Journal of Political Science*, 2018, pp. 52-68 (Canvas)

Lecture 6: Special Interest Groups *January 31*

- Hastedt, Chapter 5 pp. 116-123
- In Song Kim and Helen Milner, "Multinational Corporations and their Influence Through Lobbying on Foreign Policy," in *Multinational Corporations in a Changing Global Economy*, 2021, pp. 497-535 (Canvas)

Section: The Israel Lobby *February 1/2*

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy,* vol. 13 issue 3, pp 29-87, September 2006
- Eliot Cohen, "Yes, It's Anti-Semitic," *The Washington Post,* Wednesday, April 5th, 2006
- Walter R. Mead, "Jerusalem Syndrome: Decoding the Israel Lobby," *Foreign Affairs,* November/December 2007, Vol. 86 No. 6, pp. 160-168 (Also on Canvas)
- Aaron David Miller and Daniel C. Kurtzer, "In Dealing With the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, America Has No Easy Way Out," *Foreign Affairs.* December 22, 2023.

Lecture 7: Public Opinion *February 5*

- Hastedt, Chapter 5, pp 106-112
- Joshua D. Kertzer, "Public Opinion About Foreign Policy," *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, Third Edition, Eds. Leonie Huddy, David Sears, Jack Levy, and Jennifer Jerit. September 21, 2021.
- Douglas C. Foyle, *Counting the Public In: Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy*, 1999, Chapter 1 (Canvas—see 'fixed' version)

Lecture 8: Media *February 7*

- Hastedt, Chapter 5, pp 124-127
- Mathew A. Baum and Phillip B.K. Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 11, June 2008, pp. 39-65

Section: US Intervention in Somalia *February 8/9*

- Chris Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, *Paying the Human Costs of War*, Princeton U Press, 2009, 37-45 (Canvas)
- Matthew Baum, "How Public Opinion Constrains the Use of Force: The Case of Operation Restore Hope," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2004, pp. 187-226 (Canvas)

Lecture 9: Electoral Politics & Leader Type *February 12*

- John H. Aldrich, Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson Sharp, "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection," *Annual Review of Political Science,* Vol. 9, 2006, pp. 447-502
- Valerie M. Hudson, Chapter 2, "The Individual Decisionmaker: The Political Psychology of World Leaders" in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 2012, pp. 39-72 (Canvas)

Lecture 10: Civil Military Relations *February 14*

- Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants*, 2003, Chapter 3, (Canvas)
- Eliot Cohen, "The Unequal Dialogue: The Theory and Reality of Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 429-458 (Canvas)
- Open Letter by retired Secretaries of Defense and Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "To Support and Defend: Principles of Civilian Control and Best Practices of Civil-Military Relations," *War on the Rocks*, 6 September 2022.

Section: Truman and McArthur in the Korean War *February 15/16*

- Eliot Cohen, "Relationship Between President Truman and General MacArthur," *John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*, 8 March 2012 (video lecture)
- Also read the following documents, all available here (https://web.archive.org/web/20090622231823/http:/www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/macarthur/sfeature/versusdocs.html):
    - Order to General MacArthur from President Truman, April 10, 1951
    - Statement by President Truman Relieving General MacArthur of his Military Duties, April 10, 1951
    - Address by President Truman About Policy in the Far East, April 11, 1951
    - "Old Soldiers Never Die," General MarArthur Address to Congress April 19, 1951
    - Memorandum for Mr. Harriman, Mr. Murphy, and Company from George Elsey, May 29, 1951
- Also read other historical documents referenced in Eliot Cohen lecture (available on Canvas).

Part III: Tools of Foreign Policy

Lecture 11: Intelligence and Threat Perception *February 19*

- Mark Lowenthal, "The U.S. Intelligence Community," in *Intelligence; From Secrets to Policy*, Chapter 3, pp. 31-56. (Canvas)
- Robert Jervis, "The Iraq WMD Intelligence Failure: What Everyone Knows is Wrong," in Robert Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails* (Cornell Press 2010), pp. 123-155. (Canvas)
- Michael Horowitz et al., "Keeping Score: A New Approach to Geopolitical Forecasting," *Perry World House White Paper*, February 2021, read only executive summary and introduction.
- "'Five Eyes' intelligence leaders warn of China's global espionage campaign | 60 Minutes," *60 Minutes*, CBS News 23 October 2023.

Lecture 12: Diplomacy/Engagement/Appeasement *February 21*

- Hastedt, Chapter 10, pp. 244-260
- James B. Steinberg, "Present at the 'Re-Creation': The Role of the State Department in Formulating and Implementing U.S. Global Policy," in Nicholas Burns and Jonathon Price, eds. *America's National Security Architecture: Rebuilding the Foundation,* Brookings Institution, 2017, *pp. 135-143* (Canvas—be sure to only read specified pages)
- Stephen Rock, *Appeasement in International Politics*, 2000, Chapter 7 (Canvas)
- Marcus Holmes and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "The Psychological Logic of Peace Summits: How Empathy Shapes Outcomes of Diplomatic Negotiations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 61, Issue 1 (March 2017), pp. 107-122.

Section: Détente and Rapprochement—Nixon Goes to China *February 22/23*

- Geoffrey Warner, "Nixon, Kissinger, and the Rapprochement with China: 1969-1972," *International Affairs,* Vol. 83 No. 4, July 2007, pp. 763-781

Lecture 13: Public Diplomacy and Soft Power *February 26*

- Hastedt, Chapter 10, pp. 261-263
- "The State of the State Department and Public Diplomacy," panel discussion at World Boston, June 23, 2022 (video)
- Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2004, Chapter 4, pp. 99-126 (Canvas)
- Christopher Walker, Shanthi Kalathil, Alina Polyakova, Digital Authoritarianism: A Conversation with Alina Polyakova. Power 3.0 Podcast, National Endowment for Democracy. 2019.

Lecture 14: Economic Instruments *February 28*

- Hastedt, Chapter 11, pp, 271-301
- Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris, "The Lost Art of Economic Statecraft: Restoring an American Tradition," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2016, pp. 99-110
- Peter Feaver and Eric Lorber, *Coercive Diplomacy and the New Financial Levers*, Legatum Institute Occasional Paper, November 2010, only pp. 6-24 (Canvas)
- Daniel Drezner, "The Dangers of Misunderstanding Economic Interdependence," *Cato Institute*. 12 September 2023 (Canvas)
- Leon Aron, "The Sanctions Against Russia Are Starting to Work," *Atlantic*, 7 December 2023.

Section: Apartheid in South Africa *Feb 29/Mar 1*

- Neta Crawford and Audie Klotz, "How Sanctions Work: Lessons from South Africa" , 1999, Chapters 1 and 14 (Canvas)
- Phillip I. Levy, "Sanctions on South Africa: What Did They Do?" Discussion Paper, Economic Growth Center Yale University, 1999, pp. 1-13

Lecture 15: Latent Military Power - Conventional Deterrence/Compellence *Mar 4*

- Hastedt, Chapter 12, pp 302-314

- Paul Huth, "Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debates," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1999, pp. 25-48
- Robert Art and Kelly Greenhill, "The Power and Limits of Compellence: A Research Note," *Political Science Quarterly*, 2018, pp. 77-97 (Canvas)

Lecture 16: Latent Military Power - Nuclear Strategy *March 6*

- Hastedt, Chapter 12, pp 317-327
- Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter," *Political Science Quarterly* 91 No. 4, Winter 1979/1980
- Robert Jastrow, "Why Strategic Superiority Does Matter," *Commentary*, March 1983, pp. 27-32
- Keir Lieber and Daryl G. Press, "The New Era of Counterforce," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 4, Spring 2017

Section: The Berlin Crises *March 7/8*

- Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, (1974), Chapters 13, 14, (Canvas) pp. 390-446

Research paper due by noon on Friday, 8 March

Lecture 17: Using Military Power—Conventional Conflict *March 18*

- Hastedt, Chapter 12, pp 315-317
- Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 1996, Chapter 1-2. Read pp. 1-38, 48-54, skim 38-48. (Canvas)
- Steve Biddle, Chapter "The Modern System" in *Military Power*: *Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Canvas)

Lecture 18: Using Military Power—Asymmetric Conflict *March 20*

- Hastedt, Chapter 13, pp. 328-345
- Army Field Manual 3-24 : Counterinsurgency Operations; Preface, Introduction, Chapter 1, pp. 9-33
- Marietje Schaake, "The Lawless Realm: Countering the Real Cyber Threat," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2020
- Kate Woodsome et al., "More Countries are Taking Americans Hostage," *Washington Post*, November 15, 2021

Section: Vietnam *March 21/22*

- Robert Pape, *Bombing to Win*, 1996, Chapter 6 (Canvas)
- Andrew Birtle, "Doctrine Applied: The US Army in Vietnam, 1965-1973," in *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Operations Doctrine*, 1998 (Canvas)

Part IV: Special Topics in American Foreign Policy

Lecture 19: Morality in American Foreign Policy *March 25*

- Mark R. Amstuz, *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases*, 2008, Chapter 1-3 (Canvas)
- William Inboden, "Religion and International Relations: How Should Policy-Makers Think About Religion?" in *Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research*, pp. 163-175a

Lecture 20: Human Rights, Democracy and Humanitarian Intervention *March 27*

- Clifford Bob, "Merchants of Morality," *Foreign Policy*, 13 November 2009
- George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at the 20th Anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy," 6 November 2003
- Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President at Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt," *White House Archives,* 4 June 2009
- Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2011
- Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, "The Myth of American Militarism," *National Interest*, June 2021.
- John Shattuck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Practice What You Preach: Global Human Rights Leadership Begins At Home," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2021.

Section: Debate over Rwanda *March 28/29*

- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," *Atlantic Monthly,* September 2001.
- Astri Suhrke and Bruce Jones, "Preventive Diplomacy in Rwanda: Failure to Act or Failure of Actions?" in Bruce Jentleson*, Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post Cold War World*, 2000 (Canvas)

Lecture 21: Grand Strategy *April 1*

- Hal Brands, "Introduction: The Meaning and Challenge of Grand Strategy," in *What Good Is Grand Strategy*, 2014, pp. 1-17 (Canvas)
- Fareed Zakaria, "The Self-Doubting Superpower," *Foreign Affairs* Volume 103, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 2024), pp.38-55.
- Emma Ashford, "Strategies of Restraint: Remaking America's Broken Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs,* September/October 2021.
- Michael Mazarr, "Rethinking Restraint: Why it Fails in Practice," *The Washington Quarterly*: 43.2 2020, pp. 7-32 (Canvas)

Lecture 22: WMD Proliferation *April 3*

- Peter Feaver and Emerson Niou, "Managing Nuclear Proliferation: Condemn, Strike or Assist?" *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 40 No.2, Summer 1996, only pp. 209-218, 229-232
- Francis Gavin, "Rethinking the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy," *Texas National Security Review*, January 2019, pp. 75-100
- Marion Messmer, "Why a Stalling NPT Is a Wake-up Call for Global Security." *Chatham House*, 2 Oct. 2023.

- "Nuclear Proliferation: The Nuclear World," *Council on Foreign Relations*, 27 July 2023.
- Gabrielle Sierra et al. "Podcast | Why It Matters: A New Nuclear Age." *Council on Foreign Relations*, 10 May 2023.

Section: Iran and North Korea *April 4/April 5*

- Wendy Sherman, "How We Got the Iran Deal and Why We'll Miss It," *Foreign Affairs,* September/October 2018, pp. 186-198
- Michael Oren and Yossi Klein Halevi, "The Case Against the Iran Deal," *The Atlantic*, January 2021
- Nicholas Miller and Vipin Nirang, "North Korea Defied the Theoretical Odds: What Can We Learn from its Successful Nuclearization?" *Texas National Security Review*, February 2018, pp. 59-74
- "North Korea Policy & Extended Deterrence," report by Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 19, 2023.

Lecture 23: Confronting Terrorism *April 8*

- 911 Commission Report, Chapters 2, 11, 12
- Hal Brands & Michael O'Hanlon, "The War on Terror Has Not Yet Failed: A Net Assessment After 20 Years," *Survival*, 2021, pp. 33-54 (Canvas)
- Dan Byman, "Why Drones Work," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2013
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "The Future of America's Drone Campaign," *Foreign Affairs*, October 2021
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Hamas' Asymmetric Advantage," *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 103, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 2024), pp.30-37.
- Daniel Byman and Delaney Duff, "What has Hamas Accomplished?," *ForeignPolicy.com*, 18 December 2023.

Lecture 24: Getting Into Iraq and Staying (Mostly) Out of Syria *April 10*

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "An Unnecessary War," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2003): No. 134 pp. 50-59
- Melvyn P. Leffler, "Conclusion," *Confronting Saddam Hussein: George W. Bush and the Invasion of Iraq* (Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 239-252
- Stephen Hadley, Meghan O'Sullivan and Peter Feaver, "How the 'Surge' Came to Be," in Timothy Andrews, et al eds *The Last Card: Inside George W. Bush's Decision to Surge in Iraq* (Cornell University Press, 2019) pp. 207-238
- Mona Yacoubian, "Critical Junctures in United States Policy toward Syria: An Assessment of the Counterfactuals," Simon Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, August 2017.

Section: Afghanistan: America's Longest War *April 11/12*

- "The U.S. War in Afghanistan: How it Started, and How It Ended," *New York Times*, October 7, 2021

- Stephen Biddle and Peter Feaver, "Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror," in *How 9/11 Changed our Ways of War*, ed. James Burk, 2013, pp. 27-55 (Canvas)
- Daniel Byman and Benjamin Wittes, "Remembering the Gains of the Afghanistan War," *Lawfare*, September 2021
- David Petraeus, "Afghanistan Did Not Have to Turn Out this Way," *The Atlantic*, August 8, 202
- White House Memorandum, "Re: Recently Partisan Report on the Afghanistan Withdrawal," August 2022.

Lecture 25: Trade & Finance April 15

- James C. Capretta and Stan Veuger, "The New Washington Consensus on Trade is Wrong" *Foreign Policy*, 12 June 2023.
- Sebastian Mallaby, "Biden Needs Allies to Keep China and Russia in Check. Here's How to Do It." *Washington Post*, 5 January 2023.
- Scott Lincicome, "It's Time We Had a Talk About Tariffs. Commentary," CATO Institute, Sept 29, 2020
- Pratik Jakhar, "China's Economic Coercion is More Bark Than Bite," *Foreign Policy* , October 5, 2021.
- Wally Knox and Dani Rodrik, "Globalization is Out and Productivism is In," *The Political Conversation*, 25 October 2022.

Lecture 26: The Return of Geopolitics? *April 17*

- Joshua Itzkowitz Shifrinson, "Partnership or Predation? How Rising States Contend with Declining Great Powers." *International Security* 45, no. 1 (2020): 90-126. (Canvas)
- Hal Brands and John Lewis Gaddis, "The New Cold War: America, China, and the Echoes of History." *Foreign Affairs*, October 19, 2021.
- Fiona Hill and Angela Stent, "The World Putin Wants," *Foreign Affairs,* 25 August 2022.
- Richard Fontaine, "Taking On China and Russia: To Compete, the United States Will Have to Pick its Battles," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov 18, 2022
- Richard Haass and Charles Kupchan, "Redefining Success: A New Strategy Must Balance Means and Ends," *Foreign Affairs*, November 17, 2023.
- Dmytro Kuleba, "There is a Path to Victory in Ukraine: The Delusions and Dangers of Defeatist Voices in the West," *Foreign Affairs*, December 14, 2023.

Section: Engaging a Rising China *April 18/19*

- Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations," *Foreign Affairs* 97, 2 (March/April 2018).
- Elizabeth Economy, "Xi Jinping's New World Order." *Foreign Affairs,* 2022
- Bonnie S. Glaser, Jessica Chen Weiss, and Thomas J. Christensen, "Taiwan and the True Sources of Deterrence," *Foreign Affairs,* 30 November 2023
- Hal Brands and Michael Beckley, "How Primed for War is China," *Foreign Policy*, February 4, 2024.

- Matt Pottinger and Mike Gallagher, "No Substitute for Victory: America's Competition With China Must Be Won, Not Managed," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2024). https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/no-substitute-victory-pottinger-gallagher

Lecture 27: Climate Change, Pandemics, and the Border *April 22*

- National Intelligence Estimate on Climate Change and International Responses: Increasing Challenges to US National Security Through 2040, NIC-NIE-2021-10030-A, October 21, 2021.
- Jason Bordoff and Meghan O'Sullivan, "Green Upheaval," *Foreign Affairs*, 2022
- Hal Brands, Peter Feaver, and Will Inboden, "Maybe It Won't Be So Bad: A Modestly Optimistic Take on COVID and World Order," in Hal Brands and Frank Gavin, eds. *Covid-19 and World Order: The Future of Conflict, Competition and Cooperation* (Johns Hopkins Press, 2020) pp. 297-315 (Canvas)
- Diana Roy, Amelia Cheatam and Claire Klobucista, "Backgrounder: How the U.S. Patrols Its Borders," *Council on Foreign Relations.* 26 July 2023.

Lecture 28: America in Decline or Resurgence *April 24*

- Micah Zenko, "The Myth of the Indispensable Nation," *Foreign Policy*, November 2014
- Jordan Tama, "The Surprising Bipartisanship of U.S. Foreign Policy" *Foreign Affairs,* 6 July 2023.
- Key Themes, Executive Summary and Scenario Chapters of *Global Trends 2040,* pp. 1-13, 108-119.
- Francis J. Gavin, "The World's Biggest Crisis is the End of Scarcity," *Foreign Policy*, March 16, 2024. https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/03/16/end-of-scarcity-crisis-growth-war/