

POLI 376: U.S. Foreign Policy

Prof. Rebecca Dudley

Winter 2024

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Scheduled Office Hours: W 10:30-11:30am, 2:00-3:00pm

Open Office Hours: Th 9:30-10:30am

Office: 754 KMBL

Class Room: 280 KMBL

Class Hours: T/Th 2:00-3:15pm

Course Description

This course is designed to help students become informed observers of (and perhaps participants in) American foreign policy. Understanding America's role in the world is critical to our conception of international relations, geopolitics, as well as American domestic politics.

The course is divided into four sections. We will first cover the historical foundations and context of U.S. foreign policy from the founding of the country through the end of the Cold War, highlighting key debates in foreign policy strategy and politics. The second section covers the politics and process of U.S. foreign policy, focusing on the key actors involved in the making of foreign policy. We will examine in detail the domestic institutions and processes that shape the choices and outcomes in the foreign policy arena. The third section goes over the tools used by U.S. leaders to pursue foreign policy interests abroad, including economic, military, and diplomatic means. The final section uses the framework developed through the first three sections to examine particular topics and challenges in contemporary U.S. foreign policy. The course will be based on lecture and integrated discussion, with an eye toward combining theory and history to give students an understanding of what happened and why it happened - aiming toward understanding and improving foreign policy in the contemporary era.

Course Objectives

- Gain an understanding of the theoretical constructs for understanding foreign policy and explain major contemporary issues and challenges to U.S. foreign policy.
- Apply theories of foreign policy to historical and ongoing issues.
- Gain a factual understanding of major sources of foreign policy-making and contemporary issues.

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- Understand appropriate methods of analysis and research, including qualitative and quantitative methods, to answer research questions related to foreign policy.
 - Engage meaningfully with contemporary literature on U.S. foreign policy, as well as with ongoing policy debates.
 - Produce original arguments and research relating to explanations of the sources, tools, and outcomes of U.S. foreign policy.
 - Critically engage the assumptions underlying different conceptions of American foreign policy.

Required Materials

The required text for this course is:

- Bruce W. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century* (5th edition), Norton Press.

A copy of the course textbook is on course reserve in the library and can be checked out for up to two hours at a time.

Additional required readings include a number of articles and book chapters that will be available via the course website (learningsuite.byu.edu). I want course readings to be as up-to-date and topical as possible, particularly for ongoing and contemporary issues, so I reserve the right to change or update readings. I will always give at least a full week's notice for any changes or additions to readings.

Also, if you are interested in and plan to continue studying international relations and foreign policy, I recommend following blogs such as [War on the Rocks](#) or [e-International Relations](#). For international relations and politics more broadly, I recommend [The Monkey Cage](#). You can also find archived posts on the (tragically) no-longer-operative site [Political Violence @ a Glance](#). I also highly recommend analysis and [Backgrounders](#) from the [Council on Foreign Relations](#) and [Foreign Affairs](#) (you can access Foreign Affairs by logging in through the [BYU Library](#)). Note also BYU's readership program with *The New York Times* (you can pick up copies in the Kennedy Center, HRCB) - and I highly encourage you to stay up-to-date on foreign affairs.

Assignments and Grading

The grading breakdown for the course is as follows:

- **Participation [10%]:** Your active participation in class is required, and you will be graded according to the participation goals that you set for yourself. Perhaps your goal for yourself is to be on time to class, to be more mindful and thoughtful in the comments you share, or to practice respectful disagreement. We will discuss this in class, but you have the opportunity to set these goals and I will hold you to the standard that you set for yourself in evaluating your course participation and engagement. I encourage you to push yourself

in setting these goals: developing oral arguments, speaking in front of groups, creating thoughtful and analytical responses, and maintaining respect even in disagreement are all necessary skills but they can be learned and practiced (and indeed must be). If you set the bar too low, you're only cheating yourself. Participation goals will be set the first week of the semester (via email to the professor).

- **Map Quiz [5%]:** A critical part of understanding foreign policy and international relations is knowing the relevant political geography. To this end, during the third week of the course there will be a map quiz on key countries, cities, and geographic features. The list of places you will need to be able to identify will be on Learning Suite and provided in class. The quiz will be on Learning Suite, opening **January 22** and closing **January 26**. The quiz is closed - no books, notes, or online resources allowed (and Learning Suite will be set up to proctor).
- **Daily Reading Quizzes [10%]:** Before the start of each class there will be a brief (5 questions, multiple choice or simple fill-in-the-blank) quiz. The quiz will focus on relevant current events and will also include questions on big ideas from the readings or basic facts (see "Things You Should Know"). For the purpose of continuity, current events questions will be limited to the front page and international section of the *New York Times* (which you can access via BYU Library or by picking up a copy at the Kennedy Center) and will be answerable based on headlines. The quizzes will be available via Learning Suite, and will open at 2:00pm the day before class and should be taken by the start of class (by 2:00pm). The quizzes are closed - no books, notes, or online resources allowed (and Learning Suite will be set up to proctor). The three lowest scores will be dropped.
- **Policy Memos [30%, 10% each]:** You will write three policy memos where you select a key issue or challenge in U.S. foreign policy and provide background, analysis, and recommendations for U.S. policy. The memos should be between 750 and 1000 words (and no more than two single-spaced pages). The due dates for these memos are: **February 2, February 27, and March 22**. Additional guidance will be given in class and further instructions can be found on Learning Suite.
- **Exam [25%]:** On **April 2**, there will be a comprehensive exam. (This will be the only exam.) The exam will consist of multiple choice, short answer, and short essay questions.
- **Simulation Paper [20%]:** During the week of April 9th and 11th, there will be an in-class foreign policy simulation. (Further details and instructions will be given later in the semester.) You will be assigned a role that you will be asked to play during the simulation, and your final writing assignment will be a written analysis and reflection of the simulation. The paper will be due on **April 23**. The paper should be between 2500-3000 words. Additional guidance will be given in class and further instructions will be available on Learning Suite.

The course will use the typical grading scale (A = 93%, A- = 90%, B+ = 87%, B = 83%, B- = 80%, etc.). I will grade you against a high standard of quality, and, if necessary, curve grades up at the end of the semester. (Grades will never be curved or rounded down.) **Late assignments will be penalized 5% for each day they are late.**

Class Participation and Attendance

In this course, discussion of the issues under consideration is critical to understanding and learning. You are expected to be prepared (by doing the required readings) and to contribute to discussion every day. As mentioned above, a large portion of your grade is dependent on your preparation and active participation.

Please note that the nature of this subject matter means that we will be discussing some difficult subjects in this class, and you may find some subjects triggering. If you need to step out of a class period for a moment, please do so. You are under no obligation to tell me why or what upset you, but if you would like to please feel free to share with me. If the problem involves sexual assault or abuse, however, please know that I am required by law to report it. I will do everything that I can to ensure the conversations surrounding difficult issues are safe for everyone.

You should plan to come to each class period. I will keep attendance and roughly weight your participation grade by course attendance. However, if you have a legitimate need to miss class please let me know ahead of time. Also, if you are unwell or sick I prefer you not come to class rather than risking the health of your classmates. Please do not come to class sick, as we want to prioritize the health and well-being of all. Please reach out and let me know and we can work out the particulars of your situation. Also, be aware that depending on the public health situation during the semester, I reserve the right to require masks to be worn during class.

Note on Academic Integrity and Class Behavior

Students in the course are expected to comply with the [university standards](#). Furthermore, students are expected to understand what does and does not count as plagiarism. Plagiarism is a serious academic infraction and would result in a failing grade for the course and possible additional disciplinary action. Students are expected to be honest and forthcoming in their academic pursuits; if you are unsure what "best practices" may be, see the university guidelines or talk to the course instructor about expectations.

The class sessions for the course will make use of lectures in addition to discussions and discussion-based activities. This will likely involve debates around concepts and policies that are rife with contemporary debate and may incite strong feelings in some course participants. Your behavior during these activities is part of both your participation grade and a reflection of your academic integrity. There are several important rules that I expect all course members to follow:

1. No interruptions. When another student or the professor is speaking you may not interrupt.
2. Feelings on a subject matter, but are not authoritative. You must have a reference to cite in backing up your claims and ideas.
3. No rude, demeaning, or otherwise hurtful language will be permitted. I reserve the right to dismiss course participants who engage in such behavior and to follow up with additional disciplinary action if necessary.

One of the key learning objectives of the course is meaningful engagement with policy debates, and a **good policy debate requires understanding the best that the counter-argument has to**

offer. As such, you can expect to be challenged on your positions and the premises of your arguments. Many of the questions we are dealing with are not settled, and critical thinking is an important end in and of itself. I expect all course participants to ask themselves, whenever they hear a statement they agree with, **“What is the best counter-argument to this position?”**. Remember: **If you cannot provide valid points for the other side of the argument, you do not understand the other side of the argument.**

Course Outline

- I. Why Study U.S. Foreign Policy?
- II. Grand Strategy for Foreign Policy
- III. Historical Context of U.S. Foreign Policy
 1. Foundations through the Spanish-American War (1776 - 1914)
 2. WWI and WWII (1914 - 1945)
 3. Cold War (1945 - 1991)
 4. End of the Cold War and the New World Order (1991 - Present)
- IV. Politics and Process of U.S. Foreign Policy
 1. President and the Executive Branch
 2. Congress
 3. Public Opinion and the Media
 4. Alliances
 5. Special Interest Groups
- V. Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy
 1. Intelligence
 2. Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy
 3. Economic Statecraft
 4. Military Power
 5. International Law and Institutions
- VI. Contemporary Challenges in U.S. Foreign Policy
 1. Partisanship and Foreign Policy
 2. Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention
 3. Nuclear Weapons and Non-Proliferation
 4. Confronting Terrorism: GWOT, Afghanistan, and Iraq
 5. Rivals and Competitors: China
 5. Rivals and Competitors: Russia
 6. Climate Change
 7. Emerging Issues: Cyber, Space, and Emerging Tech
- VII. Foreign Policy Simulation
- VIII. What's Next? America in the World

Course Schedule and Readings

Why Study U.S. Foreign Policy?

[Tuesday, Jan. 9]

- This syllabus!
- *AFP* Jentleson: Chapter 1, "The Strategic Context: Foreign Policy Strategy and the Essence of Choice" (pp. 2-26) (CR: pp. 2-25)

Grand Strategy

[Thursday, Jan. 11]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "The Unilateralism versus Multilateralism Debate" (pp. 287-300) (LS)
- Hal Brands, "Introduction: The Meaning and Challenge of Grand Strategy" in *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 1-16 (LS)
- Paul C. Avey, Jonathan N. Markowitz and Robert J. Reardon, "Disentangling Grand Strategy: International Relations Theory and U.S. Grand Strategy" *Texas National Security Review* 2.1 (November 2018), pp. 29-51 (LS)
- (Optional) Nina Silove, "Beyond the Buzzword: The Three Meanings of 'Grand Strategy'" *Security Studies* 27.1 (Fall 2018), pp. 27-57 (LS)
- (Optional) Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, "Stress-Testing American Grand Strategy," *Survival* 58.6 (December 2016/January 2017) (LS)

Historical Context of U.S. Foreign Policy

Foundations through the Spanish-American War (1776 - 1914)

[Tuesday, Jan. 16]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Brief Historical Chronology" ("The Revolutionary War and the Consolidation of Independence, 1776-1800" through "Global Emergence, 1865-1919") (pp. 90-95) (LS)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Great Debates over Foreign Policy Strategy" (pp. 100-120) (CR: pp. 66-88)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Great Debates in Foreign Policy Politics" (pp. 120-127) (CR: pp. 88-95)
- John Winthrop, "City on a Hill" (1630) (LS)
- John Quincy Adams, "She goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy" (LS)
- William McKinley, "The Imperial Gospel" (1899) (LS)
- (Optional) George Washington's Farewell Address (1796) (LS)
- (Optional) The Monroe Doctrine (1823) (LS)
- (Optional) The Roosevelt Corollary (1904) (LS)

WWI and WWII (1914 - 1945)

[Thursday, Jan. 18]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Brief Historical Chronology" ("Isolationist Retreat, 1919-41" and "World War II, 1941-45") (pp. 95-100) (LS)
- Henry Kissinger, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Coming of World War II" from *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), ch. 15 (in *AFP*: pp. 250-257) (LS)
- Library of Congress Timeline: [WWI Timeline](#)
- The Atlantic Charter (1941) (LS)
- (Optional) Woodrow Wilson, "Safe for Democracy" (1917) (LS)

MAP QUIZ OPENS

[Monday, January 22 (8:00am)]

The Cold War (1945 - 1991)

[Tuesday, Jan. 23]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): Chapter 5, "The Cold War Context: Origins and First Stages" (pp. 131-166) (CR: pp. 99-135)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): Chapter 6, "The Cold War Context: Lessons and Legacies" (pp. 167-214) (CR: pp. 136-183)
- X [George Kennan], "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" from *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947) (in *AFP*, pp. 271-274) (LS)
- Leslie H. Gelb, "Vietnam: The System Worked" from *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1971): 140-67 (in *AFP*, pp. 275-278) (LS)
- (Optional) John Lewis Gaddis, "The Unexpected Ronald Reagan" from *The United States and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), ch. 7 (in *AFP*, pp. 279-281) (LS)

End of the Cold War and the New World Order (1991 - Present)

[Thursday, Jan. 25]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Recent Presidents as Foreign Policy Leaders" (pp. 394-397) (LS)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Introduction: From Hope to Tragedy, 9/13/93 to 9/11/01," "The 1990-91 Persian Gulf War," "9/11 and Its Impact," and "The Iraq War" (pp. 455-477) (LS)
- James Schlesinger, "Quest for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy" *Foreign Affairs* 72.1 (1992): pp. 17-28 (LS)
- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment" *Foreign Affairs* 70.1 (1990): 23-33 (LS)
- (Optional) Richard N. Haass, "Defining U.S. Foreign Policy in a Post-Post-Cold War World" from remarks given to the Foreign Policy Association (2002 Arthur Ross Lecture, April 22, 2002, New York, NY) (LS)
- (Optional) Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989): pp. 3-18 (LS)

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- (Optional) The White House: [Remarks by President Biden on America's Place in the World](#) (February 4, 2021)

MAP QUIZ CLOSURES

[Friday, January 26 (11:59pm)]

Politics and Process of U.S. Foreign Policy

President and the Executive Branch

[Tuesday, Jan. 30]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Executive-Branch Politics"(pp. 45-53) (CR: pp. 37-44)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Foreign Policy Teams and Bureaucratic Politics" (pp. 397-400) (CR: "Issues of Leadership and Bureaucracy": pp. 198-209)
- Valerie M. Hudson and Benjamin S. Day. "Approaching Leaders" (from "The Individual Decisionmaker: The Political Psychology of World Leaders") in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), ch.2, pp. 62-74
- Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" from *American Political Science Review* 62.3 (September 1969) (in *AFP*, pp. 237-238) (LS)
- Margaret G. Hermann and Thomas Preston, "Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements" *Political Psychology* 15.1 (March 1994): pp. 75-96 (LS)
- (Optional) Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders" *International Studies Quarterly* 24.1 (March 1980): pp. 7-46 (LS)

Congress

[Thursday, Feb. 1]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Introduction: Dispelling the "Water's Edge" Myth" and "The President, Congress, and "Pennsylvania Avenue Diplomacy"" (pp. 27-45) (CR: pp. 188-198)
- Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "What the Founders Intended" from testimony to the U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Special Subcommittee on War Powers (*The War Power after 200 Years: Congress and the President at a Constitutional Impasse*, 100th Cong., 2nd session, 1988) (in *AFP*, pp. 234-236) (LS)
- National War Powers Commission, "President, Congress, and War Powers" from National War Powers Commission Report (University of Virginia, Miller Center of Public Affairs, 2008) (in *AFP*: pp. 618-621) (LS)
- James M. Lindsay, "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy" from *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012): pp. 223-238 (LS)

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- (Optional) Jordan Tama, "Forcing the President's Hand: How the US Congress Shapes Foreign Policy through Sanctions Legislation" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16 (2020): pp. 397-416 (LS)

POLICY MEMO 1 DUE

[Friday, February 2 (11:59pm)]

Public Opinion and the Media

[Tuesday, Feb. 6]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "The Impact of the News Media" and "Public Opinion: What Is It? What Is Its Impact?" (pp. 66-84) (CR: "The Impact of the News Media" and "The Nature and Influence of Public Opinion": pp. 53-62)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Media Old and New" and "Public Opinions: Continuity, Change, and Uncertainty" (pp. 405-414) (LS)
- John Byrne Cooke, "The Press in Wartime" from *Reporting the War: Freedom of the Press from the American Revolution to the War on Terrorism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) (in *AFP*, pp. 239-241) (LS)
- Ole R. Holsti, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus" from *International Studies Quarterly* 36.4 (December 1992) (in *AFP*, pp. 242-249) (LS)
- Matthew A. Baum and Philip B. K. Potter, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media" *The Journal of Politics* 81.2 (April 2019), pp. 747-756 (LS)
- (Optional) Salman Ahmed, ed., "US Foreign Policy for the Middle Class" from Carnegie Endowment and Ohio State University (2018), pp. 1-11 only (LS)
- (Optional) Dina Smeltz, ed., "A Foreign Policy for the Middle Class - What Do Americans Think?" Results of the 2021 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy (LS)
- (Optional) James Traub, [Biden's 'Foreign Policy for the Middle Class' Is a Revolution](#), *Foreign Policy* (March 2021)
- (Optional) Matthew A. Baum and Philip B. K. Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis" *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (June 2008), pp. 39-65 (LS)

Alliances

[Thursday, Feb. 8]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "The Atlantic Alliance in the Post-Cold War Era" (pp. 505-516) (CR: "The Future of NATO": pp. 285-290)
- Robert E. Kelly and Paul Poast, "The Allies Are Alright: Why America Can Get Away with Bullying Its Friends" *Foreign Affairs* 101.2 (March/April 2022): pp. 131-143 (LS)
- Robert O. Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies" *Foreign Policy* 2 (Spring 1971): pp. 161-182 (LS)

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- Hal Brands and Peter Feaver, "What Are America's Alliance Good For?" *Parameters* 47.2 (Summer 2017): pp. 15-30 (LS)
 - (Optional) Robert O. Keohane, "Review: Alliances, Threats, and the Uses of Neorealism" reviewing *The Origins of Alliances* by Stephen M. Walt, *International Security* 13.1 (Summer 1988): pp. 169-176 (LS)

Special Interest Groups

[Tuesday, Feb. 13]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Interest Groups and Their Influence" (pp. 56-66) (CR: "Interest Groups and Their Influence" and "Foreign Policy Interest Groups: Proliferation and Intensification": pp. 44-53, pp. 209-214)
- John Newhouse, "Diplomacy, Inc." *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2009), pp. 73-92 (LS)
- Ron Asmus and Jeremy Rosner, "Logic, Not Lobbies" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2009), Letter to the Editor, pp. 166-167 (LS)
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, "Who influences US foreign policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99.1 (2005), pp. 107-123 (LS)
- (Optional) Adrian Guelke, "The United States, Irish Americans and the Northern Ireland Peace Process" *International Affairs* 72.3 (1996), pp. 521-536 (LS)

Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy

Intelligence

[Thursday, Feb. 15]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Intelligence Agencies" (pp. 400-401) (LS)
- Robert Jervis, "The Iraq WMD Intelligence Failure: What Everyone Knows Is Wrong" in *Why Intelligence Fails* (Cornell Press, 2010), pp. 123-155 (LS)
- Mark Lowenthal, "The U.S. Intelligence Community" in *Intelligence; From Secrets to Policy* (SAGE Publishing, 2011), ch. 3: pp. 31-56 (LS)
- (Optional) Jami Miscik, "Intelligence and the Presidency: How to Get It Right" *Foreign Affairs* 96.3 (May/June 2017): pp. 57-64 (LS)

MONDAY INSTRUCTION - NO CLASS

[Monday, February 20]

Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

[Thursday, Feb. 22]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Power-Influence Conversion" (pp. 293-294) (CR: "Principles and Power: Significance and Sources of Soft Power": pp. 400-401)
- William J. Burns, "Pivotal Power: Restoring America's Tool of First Resort" in *The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal* (New York: Random House, 2020), ch. 10: pp. 388-423 (LS)

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- Phillip Zelikow, "A Modest Proposal Regarding the Department of State," Memo prepared for the Aspen Strategy Group (August 2016) (LS)
 - Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 119.2 (2004): 255-270 (LS)
 - Secretary Madeleine Albright, "The Importance of Public Diplomacy to American Foreign Policy," U.S. Department of State Dispatch, Remarks at ceremony commemorating the consolidation of the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency, Washington DC, October 1, 1999 (LS)
 - (Optional) George Hovey, [Why Some of America's Diplomats Want to Quit](#), *War on the Rocks*, September 2021
 - (Optional) James B. Steinberg, "Present at the 'Re-Creation': The Role of the State Department in Formulating and Implementing U.S. Global Policy" in *America's National Security Architecture: Rebuilding the Foundation* (Nicholas Burns and Jonathon Price, eds., The Aspen Institute, 2016): pp. 135-143 (LS)
 - (Optional) Uzra S. Zeya and Jon Finer, "Revitalizing the State Department and American Diplomacy," *Council on Foreign Relations*, Council Special Report No. 89 (November 2020) (LS)

POLICY MEMO 2 DUE

[Tuesday, February 27 (11:59pm)]

Economic Statecraft

[Tuesday, Feb. 27]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "The Globalization Debate," "International Trade," "International Finance," and "International Development" (pp. 333-353) (CR: "International Trade," "International Finance," "Social Stewardship," and "Economic Sanctions": pp. 321-358)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Foreign Policy Politics Case Study: Anti-Apartheid Economic Sanctions" (pp. 588-591) (LS)
- Peter Feaver and Eric Lorber, *Coercive Diplomacy and the New Financial Levers*, Legatum Institute Occasional Paper (November 2010), only pp. 6-24 (LS)
- (Optional) Richard Haass and Meghan O'Sullivan, *Honey and Vinegar: Incentives, Sanctions and Foreign Policy* (Brookings Press 2001), Conclusion: pp. 159-201 (LS)

Military Power

[Thursday, Feb. 29]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Defense Budget and Overall Global Strategy" (pp. 311-313) (CR: "Defense Spending: How Much Is Enough?": pp. 297-298)
- Stephen Biddle, "The Modern System" in *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2004), ch. 3: pp. 28-51 (LS)
- Robert Jervis, "Why Nuclear Superiority Doesn't Matter" *Political Science Quarterly* 94.4 (Winter 1979): pp. 617-633 (LS)

- Robert Jastrow, [Why Strategic Superiority Matters](#), *Commentary* (March 1983): pp. 27-32
- (Optional) Army Field Manual 3-24, "Counterinsurgency Operations" (Preface, Introduction, Chapter 1) in FM 3-24, MCWP 3-33.5 (*Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies* (Department of the Army, May 2014): pp. 9-33 (LS)

International Law and Institutions

[Tuesday, Mar. 5]

- AFP (Jentleson): "Peace" (pp. 315-327) (CR: "The United Nations" and "Regional Multilateral Organizations": pp. 231-253)
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Networks in International Politics: An Introduction" from *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), ch.1 (in AFP: pp. 622-630) (LS)
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Reshaping the World Order: How Washington Should Reform International Institutions" *Foreign Affairs* 88.2 (March/April 2009): pp. 49-63 (LS)
- (Optional) Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42.1 (February 1998): pp. 3-32 (LS)
- (Optional) Axel Dreher, Peter Nunnenkamp, and Rainer Thiele, "Does US Aid Buy UN General Assembly Votes? A Disaggregated Analysis" *Public Choice* 136 (2008): pp. 139-164 (LS)
- (Optional) Harold Hongju Koh and Michael Doyle, "The Case for International Law: A Response to 'The War of Law'" *Foreign Affairs* 92.6 (November/December 2013): pp. 162-165 (LS)

Contemporary Challenges in U.S. Foreign Policy

Partisanship and Foreign Policy

[Thursday, Mar. 7]

- Kenneth A. Schultz, "Perils of Polarization for U.S. Foreign Policy" *The Washington Quarterly* 40.4 (2017): pp. 7-28 (LS)
- Rachel Myrick, "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy" *International Organization* 75 (Fall 2021): pp. 921-958 (LS)
- Dina Smeltz, "Are We Drowning at the Water's Edge? Foreign Policy Polarization among the US Public" *International Politics* 59 (2022): pp. 786-801 (LS)
- (Optional) Charles A. Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz, "Grand Strategy for a Divided America" *Foreign Affairs* 86.4 (July/August 2007): pp. 71-83 (LS)

Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention

[Tuesday, Mar. 12]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "1990s Humanitarian Interventions" and "Libya 2011 and the Responsibility to Protect" (pp. 301-303, 306) (CR: "Global Democracy and Human Rights: Status and Prospects": pp. 365-376)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Principles" (pp. 362-379) (CR: "Policy Strategies for Promoting Democracy and Protecting Human Rights": pp. 381-400)
- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Genocide, Ethnic Conflict, Civil Wars" (pp. 572-580) (CR: "Ethnic and Other Deadly Conflicts": pp. 298-310)
- Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention" *Foreign Affairs* 90.6 (November/December 2011): pp. 60-73 (LS)
- John Shattuck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Practice What You Preach: Global Human Rights Leadership Begins at Home" *Foreign Affairs* 100.3 (May/June 2021): pp. 150-160 (LS)
- (Optional) Samantha Power, "Conclusion" in *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002 and 2013), ch. 14: pp. 503-516 (LS)

Confronting Terrorism: GWOT, Afghanistan, and Iraq

[Thursday, Mar. 14]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Foreign Policy Politics Case Study: Counter-Terrorism and the National Security-Civil Liberties Great Debate" (pp. 490-498) (LS)
- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "The 'War on Terrorism': What does it mean to win?" in *Assessing the War on Terror* (Routledge 2017), ch. 14: pp. 253-271 (LS)
- CFR Timeline: [The U.S. War in Afghanistan](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*)
- NYT: [The U.S. War in Afghanistan: How It Started, and How It Ended](#) (from the *New York Times*, written by Daniel Zucchino, October 7, 2021) (LS)
- (Optional Re-read) *AFP* (Jentleson): "9/11 and Its Impact" and "The Iraq War" (pp. 459-477) (LS)
- (Optional) The White House: [Remarks by President Biden on the End of the War in Afghanistan](#) (August 31, 2021)
- (Optional) Peter Feaver, "The Right to Be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision" *International Security* 35.4 (Spring 2011): pp. 87-125 (LS)

Nuclear Weapons and Non-Proliferation

[Tuesday, Mar. 19]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Foreign Policy Politics Case Study: U.S. Domestic Politics of Nuclear Arms Control" (pp. 532-537) (CR: "Nuclear Nonproliferation" and "Nuclear Deterrence, Nuclear 'Abolition,' Nuclear Defense?": pp. 252-254, pp. 292-297)
- CFR Timeline: [U.S.-Russia Nuclear Arms Control](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*)

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- CFR Backgrounder: [What Is the Iran Nuclear Deal?](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, written by Kali Robinson, June 21, 2023)
 - Francis J. Gavin, "Rethinking the Bomb: Nuclear Weapons and American Grand Strategy" *Texas National Security Review* 2.1 (November 2018): pp. 75-100 (LS)
 - (Optional) Peter D. Feaver and Emerson M. S. Niou, "Managing Nuclear Proliferation: Condemn, Strike, or Assist?" *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (1996): pp. 209-234 (only pp. 209-218, 228-232) (LS)
 - (Optional) CFR Quiz: [See How Much You Know About Weapons of Mass Destruction](#)

Rivals and Competitors: China

[Thursday, Mar. 21]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "China: Cooperation, Competition, Confrontation?" (pp. 421-434) (CR: "China": pp. 278-281)
- Kenneth Lieberthal and Wang Jisi, "U.S.-China Strategic Distrust" from *Addressing U.S.-China Strategic Distrust* (Brookings Institution, 2012) (in *AFP*: pp. 635-638) (LS)
- G. John Ikenberry, Andrew J. Nathan, Susan Thornton, Sun Zhe, and John J. Mearsheimer, "A Rival of America's Making? The Debate over Washington's China Strategy" *Foreign Affairs* 101.2 (March/April 2022): pp. 172-188 (LS)
- Jude Blanchette and Ryan Hass, "The Taiwan Long Game: Why the Best Solution is No Solution" *Foreign Affairs* 102.1 (January/February 2023): pp. 102-114 (LS)
- (Optional) CFR Tracker: [Belt and Road Tracker](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, by Benn Steil, June 1, 2022)
- (Optional) CFR Meeting Transcript: [U.S. Strategic Competition with China](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, with Reps. Mike Gallagher and Raja Krishnamoorthi, September 11, 2023)

POLICY MEMO 3 DUE

[Friday, March 22 (11:59pm)]

Rivals and Competitors: Russia

[Tuesday, Mar. 26]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Russia: Friend, Competitor, Adversary?" (pp. 520-531) (CR: "Russia": pp. 274-278)
- Philip Zelikow, "The Hollow Order: Rebuilding an International System That Works" *Foreign Affairs* 101.4 (July/August 2022): pp. 107-119 (LS)
- RAND Corporation, "What Should Future U.S. Policy Toward Russia Be in Peacetime? Evaluating Trade-Offs of a Less-Hardline Approach" from the RAND Corporation, Research Brief (2023) (LS)
- Robert Kagan, "A Free World, If You Can Keep It: Ukraine and American Interests" *Foreign Affairs* 102.1 (January/February 2023): pp. 39-53 (LS)

- (Optional) CFR Explainer: [How Much Aid Has the U.S. Sent Ukraine? Here are Six Charts.](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, written by Jonathan Masters and Will Merrow, July 10, 2023)

Climate Change

[Thursday, Mar. 28]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Global Environmental Issues" (pp. 356-362) (CR: pp. 350-353)
- U.S. National Research Council, "Climate Change as a National Security Concern" from U.S. National Academies of Sciences, National Research Council, *Climate and Social Stress: Implications for Security Analysis* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2012) (in *AFP*: pp. 609-610) (LS)
- Jason Bordoff and Meghan L. O'Sullivan, "Green Upheaval: The New Geopolitics of Energy" *Foreign Affairs* 101.1 (January/February 2022): pp. 68-84 (LS)
- Scott G. Borgerson, "Arctic Meltdown: The Economic and Security Implications of Global Warming" *Foreign Affairs* 87.2 (March/April 2008): pp. 63-77 (LS)
- (Optional) David P. Fidler, "A New U.S. Foreign Policy for Global Health," *Council on Foreign Relations*, Council Special Report No. 95 (June 2023) (LS)

EXAM

[Tuesday, April 2]

Emerging Issues: Cyber, Space, and Emerging Tech

[Thursday, Apr. 4]

- *AFP* (Jentleson): "Cybersecurity" (p. 314) (LS)
- Marietje Schaake, "The Lawless Realm: Countering the Real Cyber Threat" *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2020): pp. 27-33 (LS)
- Christopher Kirchhoff, "Reshaping National Security Institutions for Emerging Technology" in *America's National Security Architecture: Rebuilding the Foundation* (Nicholas Burns and Jonathon Price, eds., The Aspen Institute, 2017): pp. 87-96 (LS)
- Dave Baiocchi and William Welser IV, "The Democratization of Space: New Actors Need New Rules" *Foreign Affairs* 94.3 (May/June 2015): pp. 98-104 (LS)
- CFR Report: [The Outer Space Treaty](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, written by Rajeswari Pillai Rajgopalan, February 23, 2021)
- (Optional) CFR Blog Post: [The Artemis Accords and the Next Generation of Outer Space Governance](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, written by David P. Fidler, June 2, 2020)

FOREIGN POLICY SIMULATION

[Tuesday, Apr. 9]

FOREIGN POLICY SIMULATION

[Thursday, Apr. 11]

What's Next? America in the World

[Tuesday, Apr. 16]

- Robert Kagan, "A Superpower, Like It or Not: Why Americans Must Accept Their Global Role" *Foreign Affairs* 100.2 (March/April 2021): pp. 28-39 (LS)
- Walter Russell Mead, "The End of the Wilsonian Era: Why Liberal Internationalism Failed" *Foreign Affairs* 100.1 (January/February 2021): pp. 123-137 (LS)
- (Optional) The President's Inbox (Podcast): [The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy, with Richard Haass](#) (from the *Council on Foreign Relations*, podcast episode, June 27, 2023)

FINAL PAPER: SIMULATION PAPER DUE

[Tuesday, April 23 (11:59pm)]

University Policies and Resources

Honor Code

In keeping with the principles of the BYU Honor Code, students are expected to be honest in all of their academic work. Academic honesty means, most fundamentally, that any work you present as your own must in fact be your own work and not that of another. Violations of this principle may result in a failing grade in the course and additional disciplinary action by the university. Students are also expected to adhere to the Dress and Grooming Standards. Adherence demonstrates respect for yourself and others and ensures an effective learning and working environment. It is the university's expectation, and every instructor's expectation in class, that each student will abide by all Honor Code standards. Please call the Honor Code Office at 422-2847 if you have questions about those standards.

Preventing & Responding to Sexual Misconduct

The health and well-being of students is of paramount importance at Brigham Young University. If you or someone you know has experienced sexual harassment (including sexual violence), there are many resources available for assistance.

In accordance with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, BYU prohibits unlawful sex discrimination, including sexual harassment, against any participant in its education programs or activities. The university also prohibits sexual harassment by its personnel and students. Sexual harassment occurs when

- a person is subjected to unwelcome sexual speech or conduct so severe, pervasive, and offensive that it effectively denies their ability to access any BYU education program or activity;
- any aid, benefit, or service of BYU is conditioned on a person's participation in unwelcome sexual conduct; or
- a person suffers sexual assault, dating violence, domestic violence, or stalking on the basis of sex.

University policy requires all faculty members to promptly report incidents of sexual harassment that come to their attention in any way, including through face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Incidents of sexual harassment should be reported to the Title IX Coordinator at t9coordinator@byu.edu or (801) 422-8692 or 1085 WSC. Reports may also be submitted online at <https://titleix.byu.edu/report> or 1-888-238-1062 (24-hours a day).

BYU offers confidential resources for those affected by sexual harassment, including the university's Sexual Assault Survivor Advocate, as well as a number of non-confidential resources and services that may be helpful. Additional information about Title IX, the university's [Sexual Harassment Policy](#), reporting requirements, and resources can be found at <http://titleix.byu.edu> or by contacting the university's Title IX Coordinator.

Student Disability

Brigham Young University is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. A disability is a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities. Whether an impairment is substantially limiting depends on its nature and severity, its duration or expected duration, and its permanent or expected permanent or long-term impact. Examples include vision or hearing impairments, physical disabilities, chronic illnesses, emotional disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety), learning disorders, and attention disorders (e.g., ADHD). If you have a disability which impairs your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the University Accessibility Center (UAC), 2170 WSC or 801-422-2767 to request a reasonable accommodation. The UAC can also assess students for learning, attention, and emotional concerns. If you feel you have been unlawfully discriminated against on the basis of disability, please contact the Equal Opportunity Office at 801-422-5895, eo_manager@byu.edu, or visit <https://hrs.byu.edu/equal-opportunity> for help.

Mental Health

Mental health concerns and stressful life events can affect students' academic performance and quality of life. BYU Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS, 1500 WSC, 801-422-3035, caps.byu.edu) provides individual, couples, and group counseling, as well as stress management services. These services are confidential and are provided by the university at no cost for full-time students. For general information please visit <https://caps.byu.edu>; for more immediate concerns please visit <http://help.byu.edu>.

Plagiarism

Intentional plagiarism is a form of intellectual theft that violates widely recognized principles of academic integrity as well as the Honor Code. Such plagiarism may subject the student to appropriate disciplinary action administered through the university Honor Code Office, in addition to academic sanctions that may be applied by an instructor. Inadvertent plagiarism, which may not be a violation of the Honor Code, is nevertheless a form of intellectual carelessness that is unacceptable in the academic community. Plagiarism of any kind is completely contrary to the established practices of higher education where all members of the university are expected to acknowledge the original intellectual work of others that is included in their own work. In some cases, plagiarism may also involve violations of copyright law.

Intentional Plagiarism: Intentional plagiarism is the deliberate act of representing the words, ideas, or data of another as one's own without providing proper attribution to the author through quotation, reference, or footnote.

Inadvertent Plagiarism: Inadvertent plagiarism involves the inappropriate, but non-deliberate, use of another's words, ideas, or data without proper attribution. Inadvertent plagiarism usually results from an ignorant failure to follow established rules for documenting sources or from simply not being sufficiently careful in research and writing. Although not a violation of the Honor Code, inadvertent plagiarism is a form of academic misconduct for which an instructor can impose appropriate academic sanctions. Students who are in doubt as to whether they are

providing proper attribution have the responsibility to consult with their instructor and obtain guidance.

Examples of plagiarism include:

- *Direct Plagiarism*: The verbatim copying of an original source without acknowledging the source.
- *Paraphrased Plagiarism*: The paraphrasing, without acknowledgment, of ideas from another that the reader might mistake for the author's own.
- *Plagiarism Mosaic*: The borrowing of words, ideas, or data from an original source and blending this original material with one's own without acknowledging the source.
- *Insufficient Acknowledgement*: The partial or incomplete attribution of words, ideas, or data from an original source.

Plagiarism may occur with respect to unpublished as well as published material. Copying another student's work and submitting it as one's own individual work without proper attribution is a serious form of plagiarism.

Academic Honesty

The first injunction of the Honor Code is the call to "be honest." Students come to the university not only to improve their minds, gain knowledge, and develop skills that will assist them in their life's work, but also to build character. "President David O. McKay taught that character is the highest aim of education" (The Aims of a BYU Education, p. 6). It is the purpose of the BYU Academic Honesty Policy to assist in fulfilling that aim. BYU students should seek to be totally honest in their dealings with others. They should complete their own work and be evaluated based upon that work. They should avoid academic dishonesty and misconduct in all its forms, including but not limited to plagiarism, fabrication or falsification, cheating, and other academic misconduct.

Inappropriate Use of Course Materials

All course materials (e.g., outlines, handouts, syllabi, exams, quizzes, PowerPoint presentations, lectures, audio and video recordings, etc.) are proprietary. Students are prohibited from posting or selling any such course materials without the express written permission of the professor teaching this course. To do so is a violation of the Brigham Young University Honor Code. These policies continue indefinitely (not limited to the duration of the semester or term you take this course).

Respectful Environment

"Sadly, from time to time, we do hear reports of those who are at best insensitive and at worst insulting in their comments to and about others...We hear derogatory and sometimes even defamatory comments about those with different political, athletic, or ethnic views or experiences. Such behavior is completely out of place at BYU, and I enlist the aid of all to monitor carefully and,

if necessary, correct any such that might occur here, however inadvertent or unintentional." "I worry particularly about demeaning comments made about the career or major choices of women or men either directly or about members of the BYU community generally. We must remember that personal agency is a fundamental principle and that none of us has the right or option to criticize the lawful choices of another" (President Cecil O. Samuelson, Annual University Conference, August 24, 2010). "Occasionally, we...hear reports that our female faculty feel disrespected, especially by students, for choosing to work at BYU, even though each one has been approved by the BYU Board of Trustees. Brothers and sisters, these things ought not to be. Not here. Not at a university that shares a constitution with the School of the Prophets" (Vice President John S. Tanner, Annual University Conference, August 24, 2010).

Deliberation Guidelines

To facilitate productive and open discussions about sensitive topics about which there are differing opinions, members of the BYU community should: (1) Remember that we are each responsible for enabling a productive, respectful dialogue. (2) To enable time for everyone to speak, strive to be concise with your thoughts. (3) Respect all speakers by listening actively. (4) Treat others with the respect that you would like them to treat you with, regardless of your differences. (5) Do not interrupt others. (6) Always try to understand what is being said before you respond. (7) Ask for clarification instead of making assumptions. (8) When countering an idea, or making one initially, demonstrate that you are listening to what is being said by others. Try to validate other positions as you assert your own, which aids in dialogue, versus attack. (9) Under no circumstances should an argument continue out of the classroom when someone does not want it to. Extending these conversations beyond class can be productive, but we must agree to do so respectfully, ethically, and with attention to individuals' requests for confidentiality and discretion. (10) Remember that exposing yourself to different perspectives helps you to evaluate your own beliefs more clearly and learn new information. (11) Remember that just because you do not agree with a person's statements, it does not mean that you cannot get along with that person. (12) Speak with your professor privately if you feel that the classroom environment has become hostile, biased, or intimidating. [Adapted from the Deliberation Guidelines published by [The Center for Democratic Deliberation](#).]

Devotional Attendance

Brigham Young University's devotional and forum assemblies are an important part of your BYU experience. President Cecil O. Samuelson said, "We have special and enlightening series of devotional and forum assemblies...that will complement, supplement, and enrich what will also be a very productive period in your classrooms, laboratories, and libraries. We look forward to being with you each Tuesday...and hope that you will regularly attend and bring your friends and associates with you...A large part of what constitutes the unique 'BYU experience' is found in these gatherings where the Spirit has been invited and where we have the opportunity to discuss and consider things of ultimate worth and importance that are not afforded to the academic community on almost any other campus" (from the address "The Legacy of Learning," 30 August, 2005). Your attendance at each forum and devotional is strongly encouraged.

Compliance Hotline and BYU Policies

If you have questions about university policies, including those discussed in this syllabus, please visit policy.byu.edu.

If you observe any non-emergency dangerous, illegal, or suspicious activity occurring on campus or by a member of the BYU community, please report it through the BYU Compliance Hotline at hotline.byu.edu. Emergencies and ongoing criminal activity should be reported directly to BYU Police at 801-422-2911.