

**NS3030: American National Security Policy
Winter 2020**

Tuesday/Thursday, 13:00-14:50
Glasgow 129

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or by appointment

In contrast to International Relations theory, which portrays states as unitary actors, this class goes behind the scenes of American national security policy-making to explore how security policy is created and implemented. It examines the foundational experiences, material, and ideational factors that shape American national security policy, the roles and responsibilities of the main actors responsible for developing national security policies, and the strategies they use to advance security aims. Throughout the course, we will draw on theories of foreign policy and address ongoing disciplinary and policy debates on topics such as war powers, civil-military relations, intelligence failures, interest group influence, public attitudes towards the use of force, and the media's agenda-setting powers. We will also apply course concepts and theories to a specific case, the 2003 Iraq War, to explore the unique insights that each offers into the conflict's causes and dynamics.

Course Objectives

By the end of this course, you should have a working knowledge of the American national security policy-making apparatus and processes, which you can use to evaluate foreign policy decisions and participate in policy-making.

Specific course goals include:

- Recognize material and ideational themes that reappear across diverse time periods and US foreign policy contexts
- Understand the identities, roles, and responsibilities of the key actors and institutions involved in American national security policy-making, as well as how they have evolved over time
- Determine when it's important (or unimportant) to open up the "black box" of the state in International Relations/Foreign Policy analyses
- Critically examine core theoretical perspectives on foreign policy, including bureaucratic politics and organizational processes
- Apply foreign policy concepts and theories to real-world cases
- Explain foreign policy successes and failures
- Participate in key debates in American national security policy-making
- Enhance critical reading and analytic skills
- Strengthen exam-taking skills

Class Preparation

There are **no required books** for this course.

“**Readings**” are required and must be completed prior to each class session. They are available on Sakai or their urls appear on the syllabus. Be sure to **review the syllabus** to determine whether you are expected to read an entire article/chapter or just part of it.

“**Further readings**” are suggestions if you would like more information about a session’s topic. They are NOT required and generally will not be covered in class.

How to approach the readings:

I have selected class readings on the basis of their importance within the discipline and their effectiveness at presenting topics or arguments. Due to the nature of the topics they are covering, some of the content is controversial. I do not agree with all of the readings. You may not agree with all of the readings. That’s totally fine. However, I would like everyone to approach the readings with two goals: understanding and critical assessment.

When reading a text, look for answers to the following questions:

- What is the text’s topic?
- What is the author’s purpose in writing/publishing this article?
- What is the author’s argument?
- What assumptions does the author make?
- What evidence does the author use to support her/his argument?
- What does the author omit?
- Was the argument persuasive? Why or why not?
- Was the argument useful/important? Why or why not?

Assignments and Grading

Your grade will assess your progress towards the course’s learning objectives. It is based on three components:

1. Participation 30%

This class will involve a combination of lecture and discussion. You are expected to contribute to the latter by offering contributions that are thoughtful, well-informed by the required readings, and respectful of your fellow classmates’ views. I also encourage you to ask questions, which will count towards your participation grade.

Absenteeism: I excuse absences for illness, medical and family emergencies, and doctor visits that cannot be scheduled outside of class time, if I am notified about them in advance. Other absences are not excused. You are welcome but not required to notify me about unexcused absences.

2.	Midterm Exam	30%	Due 15 February by 22:00
3.	Final Exam	40%	Due 17 March by 22:00

Each exam will be passed out in class 4-5 days before it is due. The exams will include short answer and essay questions. They will assess your knowledge of course topics, readings, and lectures and your ability to formulate and communicate your own arguments that critically engage with the course content and apply it to additional real-world events. Both exams are open book and open note and you are allowed to work with the GWC. For those of you who are taking comps, the essay portions of the exams will provide some practice, although these essays are shorter.

If you have been engaging with course readings, attending and participating in class, keeping thorough notes, and can clearly and cogently express your arguments, you should perform well on the exams.

You will receive two types of feedback on each exam: a rubric and a letter grade. The rubric, which I will distribute before the midterm, evaluates various components of your exam essays, on a 1-4 scale. It allows me to systematically identify areas where your essays meet course objectives and areas where there is room for improvement. The letter grade synthesizes the rubric's feedback and your scores on other sections of the exam.

Technical requirements for exams:

- Submit midterm and final exams via Sakai, under the “Assignments” tab, before 22:00 on the due date.
- Format assignments as Word documents (.doc or .docx), with 12 point Times New Roman font, 1” margins, and page numbers.
- Document title should begin with your last name.
- All readings must be cited using a standard citation format (e.g. Chicago Manual of Style). You can use:
 - a. Footnotes with full bibliographical information
 - b. Footnotes in “Author (Date): page” format with a reference list.
 - c. Inline citations “(author date, page)” with a reference list
 - d. Please do not use endnotes!
- Proofread (not just spellcheck) to check for misspellings of author names, grammatical errors, clarity, and flow.

Lateness: Exams submitted after 11:55 p.m. on their due date will lose 1/3 of a letter grade per day (e.g. an A exam submitted a few hours late becomes an A-; an A 1.5 days late becomes a B+; etc.).

For **general grading information**, please consult the NSA department’s expectations for written work (<http://my.nps.edu/web/nsa/grades>).

If you are uncertain about the quality of your written work, I encourage you to draw on the services of the **Graduate Writing Center** (see link on course Sakai site or <https://my.nps.edu/web/gwc/home>).

Additional Class Policies

Deadlines: In general, due dates will not be changed. However, in cases of genuine emergencies or conflicts, other arrangements can potentially be made. Each situation will be addressed on a case-by-case basis. Students should notify me of any possible issues as far in advance as possible.

Re-grades: Students wishing to challenge a grade must do so within one week of the graded assignment being handed back. Challenges must be made in writing, with a clear argument and justification for why a higher grade is warranted. If you request a re-grade, I will re-grade the entire assignment and the grade may go up or down.

Accommodation: If you have specific physical, psychiatric or learning disabilities that may require accommodations, please let me know early in the quarter so I can ensure that your learning needs are met in a timely fashion.

Academic Integrity: As stated in the Academic Honor Code in the NPS Student Information Handbook, all students are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic integrity and to deal honestly with all matters concerning the course. Plagiarism will result in a zero for that assignment, may result in an F for the course, and may be brought to the Dean's attention.

Plagiarism consists of using words or ideas from another source without proper attribution or citation. This can include exact wording from a source, very similar paraphrasing based on a source, or general arguments from a source. Any facts or positions that are not common knowledge must also be documented, using citations. For further advice on avoiding plagiarism, see the information and resources listed on the NSA department's web page on academic integrity (<http://my.nps.edu/web/nsa/academic-integrity>). The Graduate Writing Center will also provide training on avoiding plagiarism. When in doubt, cite!

Schedule

1. Introduction (7 Jan)

- **Readings:** none
- **Further readings:**
 - Baldwin, David A., “The Concept of Security,” *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5-26.

I. FOUNDATIONS

2. A Brief History of US Foreign Policy (9 Jan)

How did we get here?

- **Readings (etc.):**
 - Meese, Michael J., Suzanne C. Nielsen, and Rachel M. Sondheimer, *American National Security*, 7th ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), pp. 52-89 and 632-640.
 - Frontline, *Bush’s War*, Aired March 24, 2008. Available at <https://www.pbs.org/video/frontline-bushs-war-part-1/> [note: this provides background on the Iraq War, including the main players.]
- **Further readings:**
 - White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2017). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>
 - Coats, Daniel R. *Statement for the Record: Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community*, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, January 29, 2019. <https://www.odni.gov/index.php/newsroom/congressional-testimonies/item/1947-statement-for-the-record-worldwide-threat-assessment-of-the-us-intelligence-community>

3. Ideational Drivers of American National Security Policy (14 Jan)

How do collective beliefs shape American national security policy?

- **Readings:**
 - Roosevelt, Franklin D., “The Four Freedoms” speech, January 6, 1941.
 - Mead, Walter Russell, “God’s Country?” *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2006): 24-43.
 - Fettweis, Christopher, “Threat and Anxiety in US Foreign Policy,” *Survival* 52, no. 2 (April/May 2010): 59-82.
 - Morgenthau, Hans, “The Mainsprings of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions,” *American Political Science Review* 44 no. 4 (1951): 833-854.
- **Further Readings:**
 - Truman, Harry S., “Fundamentals of American Foreign Policy,” October 27, 1945.
 - Mead, Walter Russell, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Taylor & Francis Books, Inc., 2002).

- Solomon, Richard and Nigel Quinney, eds., *American Negotiating Behavior: Wheeler-Dealers, Legal Eagles, Bullies, and Preachers* (US Institute of Peace, 2010), Chapters 2 and 9.
- Schmidt, Brian C. and Michael C. Williams, “The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists,” *Security Studies* 17, no. 2 (2008): 191-220.

4. Material Drivers of American National Security Policy (16 Jan)

How do material characteristics and interests shape American national security policy?

- **Readings:**
 - Spykman, Nicholas, “Geography and Foreign Policy, I,” *The American Political Science Review* 32, no. 1 (1938): 28-50,
 - Kagan, Robert, “Power and Weakness,” *Policy Review* (June/July 2002).
 - Klare, Michael, “Oil, Iraq, and American Foreign Policy: The Continuing Salience of the Carter Doctrine,” *International Journal* 62, no. 1 (2007): 31-42.
- **Further readings:**
 - Nicholas Spykman, “Geography and Foreign Policy, II,” *The American Political Science Review* 32, no. 2 (1938), esp. pp. 225-226.
 - Herrmann, Richard K. and Jonathan W. Keller, “Beliefs, Values and Strategic Choice: US Leaders’ Decisions to Engage, Contain, and Use Force in an Era of Globalization,” *The Journal of Politics* 66, no. 2 (2004): 557-580.

No class 21 Jan (shift day)

II. ACTORS

5. Presidential Power (23 Jan)

How large a role does the president play in American national security policy-making?

- **Readings:**
 - The Constitution of the United States of America: Article II, Sections 1 and 2. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript>
 - Federalist Papers #69 and #70.
 - Downs, Anthony “An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy,” *Journal of Political Economy* 65, no. 2 (1957): **READ ONLY pp. 135-137.**
 - Jervis, Robert, “Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?” *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 153-179.
- **Further readings:**
 - Harvey, Frank, “President Al Gore and the 2003 Iraq War: A Counterfactual Test of Conventional Wisdom,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 1 (2012): 1-32.
 - Horowitz, Michael, “Leaders, Leadership and International Security,” Chapter 17 of *Oxford Handbook of International Security* (2018).
 - Byman, Daniel L., and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Let us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In,” *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 107-146.

6. Presidential Psychology (28 Jan)

How do personal beliefs and biases shape presidential decision-making?

- **Readings:**

- Saunders, Elizabeth N. “Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy,” *International Security* 34, no 2. (2009): 119-161.
- Yarhi-Milo, Keren, “In the Eye of the Beholder: How Leaders and Intelligence Communities Assess the Intentions of Adversaries,” *International Security* 38, no. 1 (2013), **READ ONLY pp. 7-26, 28-35, and 46-51 (skip the organization sections and the UK case).**
- McDermott, Rose, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy* (University of Michigan Press, 2001), **READ ONLY pp. 1-9.**

- **Further readings:**

- Hermann, Margaret G., “Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders,” *International Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1980): 7-46.
- Dafoe, Allan and Devin Caughey, “Honor and War: Southern US Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation,” *World Politics* 68, no. 2 (2016): 341-381.
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking In Foreign Policy: The Effective Use Of Information And Advice* (The University of Michigan Press, 1980).
- McDermott, Rose, *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision-making* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

7. The National Security Council (30 Jan)

What are the benefits and risks of a powerful NSC?

- **Readings:**

- National Security Act of 1947, **READ ONLY pp. 1-3.**
- Meese et al. *American National Security*, 7th ed., pp. 252-262.
- Mabee, Bryan, “Historical Institutionalism and Foreign Policy Analysis: The Origins of the National Security Council Revisited,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7, no. 1 (2011): 27-44.
- Hadley, Stephen J., “The Role and Importance of the National Security Advisor” (2017). Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1969.1/158834>.
- Rothkopf, David J., “Inside the Committee that Runs the World,” *Foreign Policy* 147 (2005): 30.
- Levine, David I., “The Wheels of Washington: Groupthink and Iraq,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 5, 2004.
<https://www.sfgate.com/opinion/openforum/article/The-Wheels-of-Washington-Groupthink-and-Iraq-2825247.php>

- **Further readings:**

- Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC* (Stanford University Press, 1999).
- Daalder, Ivo H. and I. M. Destler, “How National Security Advisers See Their Role” (December 2006).
- Goldberg, Jeffrey, “A Withering Critique of Obama’s National Security Council,” *The Atlantic*, November 12, 2014.

8. Congress (4 Feb)

Does Congress constrain the President, especially in decisions for war?

- **Readings:**
 - The Constitution of the United States of America, Article 1, Sections 8 and 10. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcrip>
 - Meese et al. *American National Security*, 7th ed., pp. 125-148.
 - Ornstein, Norman F. and Thomas E. Mann, “When Congress Checks Out,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2006): 67-82.
 - Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse, “When Congress Stops Wars,” *Foreign Affairs* 86 (September/October 2007): 95-107.
- **Further readings**
 - Putnam, Robert D., “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,” *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 427-460.
 - Lindsay, James M. “Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters,” *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (1992/93).
 - Congressional Research Service (CRS) *Declarations of War and Authorizations for the Use of Military Force* (2014).

9. The Military (6 Feb)

What is the military’s appropriate role in national security policy-making?

- **Readings:**
 - National Security Act of 1947, **READ ONLY pp. 6-12.**
 - Locher, James R. “Has it Worked? The Goldwater-Nichols Reorganization Act,” *Naval War College Review* 54, no. 4 (2001): 95-115.
 - Desch, Michael, “Bush and the Generals,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2007): 97-108.
 - Owens, Mackubin Thomas, “Rumsfeld, the Generals, and the State of US Civil-Military Relations,” *Naval War College Review* 59, no. 4 (2006): 68-80.
- **Further readings:**
 - Huntington, Samuel, *The Soldier and the State*. (Harvard University Press, 1959).
 - Priest, Dana, “A Four-Star Foreign Policy,” *Washington Post*, September 28, 2000.
 - Hastings, Michael, “The Runaway General,” *Rolling Stone*, June 25, 2010.

10. Bureaucratic Politics (11 Feb)

How do bureaucratic and organizational politics shape national security policy-making?

- **Readings:**
 - Allison, Graham T., “Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (1969): 689-718.
 - Rhodes, Edward, “Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter? Some Disconfirming Findings from the U.S. Navy,” *World Politics* 47 (1994): 1-41.
 - Mitchell, David and Tansa George Massoud, “Anatomy of Failure: Bush’s Decision-Making Process and the Iraq War,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 3 (2009): **READ ONLY pp. 273-277 (“Bureaucratic Politics”)**.
- **Further readings:**

- Krasner, Stephen D., “Are Bureaucracies Important? (or Allison Wonderland,” *Foreign Policy* 7 (1972): 159-179.
- Welch, David, “The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect,” *International Security* 17, no. 2 (1992): 112-146.
- Halperin, Morton H. and Priscilla Clapp, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution Press, 1974).
- Janis, Irving Lester, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982).

11. No class, midterm due 15 February

12. The State Department and Interagency Dynamics (18 Feb)

Should the State Department be a lead player in national security policy-making? And can organizations involved in the national security policy-making enterprise collaborate?

• Readings:

- Rosati, Jerel and Scott DeWitt, “The State Department,” in Steven W. Hook and Christopher M. Jones, eds. *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2011).
- Clarke, Duncan “Why State Can’t Lead.” *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1987): 128-142. [edited]
- Oliver, Alex “The Irrelevant Diplomat: Do We Need Embassies Anymore?” *Foreign Affairs*, March 21, 2016.
- Burns, William J., “The Lost Art of American Diplomacy: Can the State Department Be Saved?” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2019): 98-107.
- Drechsler, Donald R., “Reconstructing the Interagency Process after Iraq,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 3-30.

• Further readings:

- Acheson, Dean, “The Eclipse of the State Department,” *Foreign Affairs* 49 (1970): 593.
- “Organizational Process” in Valerie M. Hudson and Benjamin S. Day, eds., *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Roman & Littlefield, 2020), pp. 89-106.
- *Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Report* (Special Inspector General, Iraq Reconstruction, 2009), Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-31).

13. The Intelligence Community (20 Feb)

What explains intelligence failures before 9/11? Has the community’s performance improved since then?

• Readings:

- Zegart, Amy, “September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of U.S. Intelligence Agencies,” *International Security* 29, no. 4 (2005): 78-111.
- Dahl, Erik J., “Missing the Wake-up Call: Why Intelligence Failures Rarely Inspire Improved Performance,” *Intelligence and National Security* 25, no. 6 (2010): 778-799.
- McConnell, Mike, “Overhauling Intelligence,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2007): 49-58.

- **Further readings:**

- Poteat, Eugene, "The Use and Abuse of Intelligence: An Intelligence Provider's Perspective," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 11, no. 2 (2000): 1-16.
- Pillar, Paul "Intelligence, Policy and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006).
- Jervis, Robert, "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal Of Strategic Studies* 29, no. 1 (2006): 3-52.
- Rovner, Joshua, *Fixing the Facts: National Security and the Politics of Intelligence* (Cornell University Press, 2015).

14. Interest Groups (25 Feb)

Do interest groups like the "Israel Lobby" shape American national security policy?

- **Readings:**

- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," Harvard University Faculty Research Working Paper Series (March 2006). [note: 40 pages of text, 40 pages of notes]
- Mearsheimer, John J., Stephen M. Walt, Aaron Friedberg, Dennis Ross, Shlomo Ben-Ami and Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The War Over Israel's Influence," *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2006): 56-66.
- Vanderbush, Walt, "Exiles and the Marketing of US Policy toward Cuba and Iraq," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 3 (2009): 287-306.

- **Further readings:**

- Lieberman, Robert C., "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 2 (2009): 235-257. And responses, same issue, by Mearsheimer and Walt; and Lieberman.
- Dietrich, John W., "Interest Groups and Foreign Policy: Clinton and the China MFN Debate," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1999): 280-296.
- Rubenzer, Trevor, "Ethnic Minority Interest Group Attributes and U.S. Foreign Policy Influence: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 4, no. 2 (2008): 169-185.

15. Public Opinion (27 Feb)

Can the public influence national security policy choices, especially with regards to the use of force?

- **Readings:**

- Powlick, Philip J. and Andrew Z. Katz, "Defining the American Public Opinion/Foreign Policy Nexus," *Mershon International Studies Review* 42, no. Supplement_1 (1998): READ ONLY pp. 29-38 and 44-52.
- Eichenberg, Richard C., "Victory Has Many Friends: U.S. Public Opinion and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005," *International Security* 30, no. 1 (2005): 140-177
- Berinsky, Adam J., "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict," *Journal of Politics* 69, no. 4 (2007): 975-997.

- **Further readings:**

- Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Benjamin I. Page, “Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?” *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 1 (2005): 107-123.
- Gelpi Christopher, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifler, “Success Matters: Casualty Sensitivity and the War in Iraq,” *International Security* 30, no. 3: 7-46.
- Western, Jon, “The War Over Iraq: Selling War to the American Public,” *Security Studies* 14, no. 1 (2005): 106-139.

16. The Media (3 Mar)

Does the media have agenda-setting power in national security policy-making?

- **Readings:**

- Livingston, Steven and Todd Eachus, “Humanitarian Crises and U.S. Foreign Policy: Somalia and the CNN Effect Reconsidered,” *Political Communication* 12, no. 4 (1995): 413-429.
- Robinson, Piers, “The Policy–Media Interaction Model: Measuring Media Power During Humanitarian Crisis.” *Journal of Peace Research* 37 (2000): 613-633.
- Friedman, Uri, “The CNN effect dies in Syria,” *The Atlantic*, March 1, 2018. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/03/cnn-effect-syria/554387/>
- Glazier, Rebecca A., and Amber E. Boydston, “The President, the Press, and the War: A Tale of Two Framing Agendas,” *Political Communication* 29, no. 4 (2012): 428-446.

- **Further readings:**

- Hawkins, Virgil, “Media Selectivity and the Other Side of the CNN Effect: The Consequences of Not Paying Attention to Conflict,” *Media, War & Conflict* 4, no. 1 (2011): 55-68.
- Kull, Steven, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, “Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War,” *Political Science Quarterly* 118, no. 4 (2003): 569-598.
- Massing, Michael, “Now They Tell Us,” *The New York Review of Books*, February 26, 2004. <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2004/02/26/now-they-tell-us/>
- Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B.K. Potter, “Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media,” *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 2 (2019): 747-756.

III. MEANS

17. Public Diplomacy (5 Mar)

Is public diplomacy a useful national security policy tool?

- **Readings:**

- Nye Jr, Joseph S., “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94-109.
- Van Ham, Peter, “War, Lies, and Videotape: Public Diplomacy and the USA’s War on Terrorism,” *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (2003): 427-444.
- Harris, Britney, “Diplomacy 2.0: The Future of Social Media in Nation Branding,” *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy* 4, no. 1 (2013): 3.

- **Further readings:**

- Manheim, Jarol B. *Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The Evolution of Influence* (Oxford University Press, 1994).

- Seib, Philip, *Real Time Diplomacy: Politics and Power in the Social Media Era* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)
- Aronczyk, Melissa, *Branding the Nation: The Global Business of National Identity* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

18. Sanctions (10 Mar)

When do sanctions advance American national security policy goals?

- **Readings:**

- Drezner, Daniel. W., “Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2011): 96-108.
- Rosenberg, Elizabeth and Jordan Tama, “Strengthening the Economic Arsenal: Bolstering the Deterrent and Signaling Effects of Sanctions,” Center for a New American Security (CNAS), December 16, 2019.
- Temple-Raston, Dina and Harvey Rishikof, “The Department of the Treasury: Brogues on the Ground,” Chapter 8 of Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, eds. *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*, 2nd edition (Georgetown University Press, 2017), pp. 162-182.

- **Further readings:**

- Pape, Robert A., “Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work,” *International Security* 22, no. 2 (1997): 90-136.
- Nossal, Kim Richard, “International Sanctions as International Punishment,” *International Organization* 43, no. 2 (1989): 301-322.
- Baldwin, David A., “The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice,” *International Security* 24, no. 3 (2000): 80-107.
- Zarate, Juan, *Treasury’s War: The Unleashing of a New Era of Financial Warfare* (PublicAffairs, 2014).

19. Foreign Aid (12 Mar)

Does the United States need to reform foreign aid? How?

- **Readings:**

- Kennedy, John F., “Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Aid,” March 22, 1961, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961*, pp. 203-212.
- Veillette, Connie, *Foreign Aid: Issues for Congress and Policy Options* (Congressional Research Service, 2007).
- Atwood, J. Brian and Andrew Natsios, “Rethinking U.S. National Security: A New Role for International Development,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 1, 2016.
- Myers, Nathaniel, “How USAID’s Growing Relevance Could Destroy It,” *National Interest*, December 12, 2014. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/how-usaid%E2%80%99s-growing-relevance-could-destroy-it-11846>
- Whitlock, Craig, “Built to Fail,” *Washington Post*, December 9, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/investigations/afghanistan-papers/afghanistan-war-nation-building/>

20. No class, final exam due 17 March