

# January 4, 2018

## Understanding Trump's Foreign Policy

Spring 2018

Class Location:

Course Instructor: Daniel Byman (though see below)

Office Hours: By appointment

Office Location: ICC-301-I

**Class Time: 2:00-4:30**

**Class Dates: January 19, January 26, February 2, February 16, and February 23**

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Course TAs:

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### Course Description

The election of businessman Donald J. Trump may prove an historic election for the United States. It is difficult to predict the foreign policy agenda of any president, but the challenge was particularly profound for Trump's administration because he lacked a track record in government. Moreover, the campaign was bitter, and Trump ran against the Washington establishment, elements of his own party, and even the liberal democratic order as well as against Secretary Hillary Clinton. Among many other pronouncements, Trump questioned U.S. trade policy, America's acceptance of refugees (and immigrants in general), the importance of traditional alliances, and the effectiveness of U.S. counterterrorism policy.

In his first year, many traditional foreign policy goals and approaches of the United States have come under question. President Trump has publicly taunted the leader of North Korea, sided with Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states against U.S. ally Qatar, applauded Russia for many actions other Americans deemed hostile, threatened to withdraw from NAFTA, and otherwise taken a different course than his predecessors.

This class seeks to understand the Trump administration's foreign policy and its possible directions. Students will explore some of the determinants of foreign policy ranging from domestic politics to the specific challenges the administration is likely to face in the world today.

Other Georgetown experts will join Professors Byman to discuss aspects of the Trump presidency. Professor Michele Swers will discuss the domestic politics of Trump's foreign policy, Professor Michael Green will examine Trump's foreign policy in East Asia, Professor Katharine Donato will assess Trump's policies towards migration and refugees, and Professor Angela Stent will examine the U.S.-Russia relationship under Trump. Professor Byman will examine counterterrorism under the Trump administration.

Because much of the Trump foreign policy agenda is undecided, the professor reserves the right to change the syllabus dramatically.

Readings will be filled in as administration policies become clearer. Expect reading levels to be comparable to the first class.

The class will meet on five Fridays from 2:00-4:30. The class will begin in January and end the last Friday in February.

### **Important Dates**

1/22/18 - deadline to drop the course without penalty and for a full refund (no refunds after this date)

2/19/18 - deadline to withdraw from the course (with a W on transcript and no refund)

### **Office Hours and Library Chats**

Professor Byman's office hours are by appointment. Email [Daniel.byman@georgetown.edu](mailto:Daniel.byman@georgetown.edu).

The Course TAs will have office hours at 4:00-5:00 on the following dates:

- January 25 (Thursday)
- February 9 (Friday)
- February 27 (Thursday)

In addition to office hours, we will hold three "chat" sessions in McGhee on:

- January 18 (Thursday)
- February 1 (Thursday)
- February 15 (Thursday)

## Course Schedule

### **Class One (Jan 19): The Domestic Politics of Trump's Coalition and the Role of Congress (Lecturer: Professor Michele Swers)**

1. Jeffrey Toobin, "Is Tom Cotton the Future of Trumpism?" *The New Yorker*, November 13, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/11/13/is-tom-cotton-the-future-of-trumpism>
2. Andrew Rudalevige, "When Did Congress Authorize Fighting in Niger? That's an Excellent Question," *Washington Post Monkey Cage*, November 11, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/11/when-did-congress-authorize-fighting-in-niger-thats-an-excellent-question/?tid=a\\_inl&utm\\_term=.92921ebf7abf](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/11/when-did-congress-authorize-fighting-in-niger-thats-an-excellent-question/?tid=a_inl&utm_term=.92921ebf7abf)
3. Norman J. Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (6): 2006.
4. William G. Howell and John C. Pevehouse, "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power," *Foreign Affairs* 86 (5): 2007.

### **Class Two (January 26): Asia (Lecturer: Professor Michael Green)**

1. H. Andrew Schwartz, Michael J. Green, et al., "CSIS Press Briefing: President Trump's Trip to Asia," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, November 1, 2017. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/csis-press-briefing-president-trumps-trip-asia>
2. Robert Ayson, "The Economics-Security Nexus Under Trump and Xi: Policy Implications for Asia-Pacific Countries," *Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of Australian National University*, September 2017. [http://sdsc.bellschool.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/2017-09/cog\\_35\\_web.pdf](http://sdsc.bellschool.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/2017-09/cog_35_web.pdf)

### **Class Three (February 2): Migration and Borders (Lecturer: Professor Katharine Donato)**

1. Blas Nunez-Neto, "Broken Border or Broken Policy?" *U.S. News & World Report*, November 17, 2017. <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/civil-wars/articles/2017-11-13/us-must-change-approach-to-illegal-immigration-to-secure-border-with-mexico>
2. Additional readings to be added.

**Class Four (February 16): Counterterrorism Policy (Lecturer: Professor Daniel Byman)**

1. Michael Flynn (Lt. Gen, ret.), *The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam and Its Allies* (St. Martin's Press, 2016): 113-156.
2. Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian. "Trump Administration Seeks to Slash Counterterrorism Funding." *Foreign Policy*, December 13, 2017.
3. "Remarks by President Trump on the Strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia." August 21, 2017. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-strategy-afghanistan-south-asia/>
4. Daniel Byman, "Treating Right-Wing Violence as Terrorism: What If Deeds Match Rhetoric?" *Lawfareblog*, October 17, 2017. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/treating-right-wing-violence-terrorism-what-if-deeds-match-rhetoric>
5. Alfredo Carrillo, "Q&A: Bruce Hoffman, Outgoing Security Studies Director, Talks IS and Counterterrorism." *The Hoya*, November 29, 2017. <http://www.thehoya.com/qa-bruce-hoffman-outgoing-security-studies-director-talks-isis-counterterrorism/>

**Class Five (February 23): The U.S.-Russia Relationship (Lecturer: Professor Angela Stent)**

1. Philip Bump, "What Trump was saying about Russia and Putin — and what the campaign was doing," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/12/14/what-trump-was-saying-about-russia-and-putin-and-what-the-campaign-was-doing/?utm\\_term=.c6292748e1d0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/12/14/what-trump-was-saying-about-russia-and-putin-and-what-the-campaign-was-doing/?utm_term=.c6292748e1d0)
2. Angela Stent, "At Valdai Putin Treats Trump Respectfully," *The National Interest*, October 23, 2017. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/valdai-putin-treats-trump-respectfully-22865>
3. Adam Goldman and Matt Apuzzo, "F.B.I. Warned Hope Hicks About Emails From Russian Operatives," *New York Times*, December 8, 2017. [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/08/us/politics/hope-hicks-russia-trump-fbi.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/08/us/politics/hope-hicks-russia-trump-fbi.html?_r=0)
4. Sharon LaFraniere, Mark Mazzetti and Matt Apuzzo, "How the Russia Inquiry Began: A Campaign Aide, Drinks and Talk of Political Dirt," *New York Times*, December 30, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/30/us/politics/how-fbi-russia-investigation-began-george-papadopoulos.html>

## **Class Logistics, Grading and Attendance Policy**

The class will meet five times during the semester. Each session will be two and a half hours. The first half of the class will be a lecture by a noted expert in the field with a short Q&A at the end. The second half of the class will be a discussion broken up into smaller sections led by the class professor, the guest lecturer, and graduate TAs.

Attendance is *mandatory* except for a serious illness or family issue confirmed by your dean. Remember that each class is effectively one fifth of the total class, so missing one session is comparable to missing five sessions of a traditional twice a week class. There will be an automatic half-grade penalty for any non-excused absence.

No laptops or electronic devices may be used in class without prior permission of the instructor. This permission will be granted if the student has a documented condition that warrants an exception.

### **Assignments**

Student will prepare several papers laying out the options a Trump administration might reasonably pursue. The conclusion of the memo will identify which option you think is most likely.

Students will write four short papers and one long paper:

3. The first two papers (Asia and migration) will be a one-page memos explaining which policy a Trump administration might pursue on the class in question.
4. The third paper (counterterrorism) will be a 700-800 word opinion piece laying out *your view* of a possible Trump policy and why (or why not) it should be pursued.
5. The fourth paper will be a one-page memo related to the final paper (see below) NOT to the class topic.

Each paper is due at the beginning of class in hard copy – please hand it to the TA in your section.

The final paper will be a five-page paper where students will take a foreign policy issue *not addressed in class* and make an argument as to how the administration's approach will be different from that of the previous administration of President Obama and/or traditional U.S. policy toward that issue.

The course will be one credit but letter-graded instead of pass/fail. To avoid any misconceptions, I expect the average grade to be a B+.

## Assessment

Course Assessment	Percentage of final grade
Participation	33%
Three one page memos/opinion pieces	33%
Final Assignment	33%

### Learning Goals of the Course:

- To critically examine the factors shaping foreign policy in general;
- To understand the leverage individual leaders may have in shaping foreign policy in the U.S. political system;
- To understand how U.S. domestic politics may (or may not) shape foreign policy;
- To gain in-depth and practical knowledge on an administration that will be in place after current students graduate from Georgetown;
- To understand key foreign policy concerns in critical regions;
- To learn to write short policy briefs; and
- To engage with other students in collaborative learning.

### Academic Integrity:

It is expected that all students will follow the Georgetown Honor Code. Those caught plagiarizing or cheating will be dealt with according to Georgetown University policies. All written work that is not the student's must be properly and thoroughly cited. If you have specific questions, please consult your instructor.