**Political Science 455 US Foreign Policy**

**Fall 2019 Professor Volgy**

**Tuesdays/Thursdays 2:00-3:15 Harvill, 318**

**SYLLABUS**

**Office Hours**: Wedesday/Thursday 11:30-1:00 and by appointment.

**Office**: Social Sciences 330

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**Course Organization and Rationale**

This course proceeds in four stages. First, we will investigate the actors involved in the making of US foreign policy. Second, we will examine alternative theoretical conceptions and approaches to foreign policy. Third, we will examine a number of foreign policies, within the context of these actors and explanations. Finally, you will be asked to write a paper that integrates these different stages into a coherent examination of one U.S. foreign policy of interest to you.

We will be looking at US foreign policy at an unprecedented time: the movement of foreign policy from the Obama to the Trump Administration. Such changes are not novel in the history of US foreign policy. In fact, transitions of such type are the norm in democracies. What makes this an unprecedented time is that it is the first in memory when an incoming President lacks both any experience in government, and certainly any experience in the handling of U.S. foreign policy. Additionally, the incoming President had made campaign commitments, both in domestic and foreign policy (e,g., “to drain the swamp”), which are at variance not only with the outgoing administration, but as well with his own party. Through this course, we will be able to trace a) what, if any, fundamental changes are being made to the actors who direct foreign policy; b) the conceptual structure(s) that drives foreign policy; and c) any actual, substantial changes to extant foreign policy. ***So, an implicit (and explicit) dimension to everything we will do in this course will be to focus on these changes as they unfold before us***. Our primary objective will be to try to explain why these changes are occurring (or not occurring if change was promised).

(For illustrations of Trump’s views on foreign policy, see two interview with the New York Times, one as a candidate at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/27/us/politics/donald-trump-transcript.html> and as president elect: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/23/us/politics/trump-new-york-times-interview-transcript.html> )

**How to Get to our Goals**

We will do so several ways. Part of the work involves reading, and the assignments are noted below. There is a “text” of sorts, Cox and Stokes, *US Foreign Policy* (3nd edition). It is available in the book store in hard copy. Alternatively, it is also available as an e-book from the publisher at a significantly cheaper rate. It is also available on Amazon, but if you buy either the Amazon version or the online version, make sure you are using the 3rd edition. In addition, I’ve added additional articles that are also required reading and I will have those available for you on my web page ([www.volgy.org](http://www.volgy.org)) under Pol 455. You can click on the reading and it will download. However, if I’ve listed a reading followed by its url address, it means it could not be downloaded and you will need to go to that address to do the reading. CAUTION: I’m not using D2L, so please don’t look for the materials there.

The readings are meant to complement our class discussions, which will be the bulk of our learning experience in the class. Since this is a 400 level course, I expect that all of us will engage the readings ***before coming to class***, and then use those readings in class to participate in class discussion. Thus, I expect all of us to come to class, **well prepared** to discuss the week’s subject matter. In this sense I expect that I will learn from you and you will learn from each other as much if not more than what you will learn from me. ***To do so requires not only doing the readings in advance of the class session, but thinking critically about their contents, and coming to the seminar ready and prepared to discuss them.***

Finally, a substantial portion of this class will be devoted to not only analyzing the knowledge of others, but in creating our own knowledge base. Each of you will be asked to write an original paper, focusing on an aspect of the core theme of the seminar. To do a good job, we will talk about social science methods and you will be expected to dirty your hands with actual data and its analysis.

**Expectations**

***Please keep in mind that the syllabus acts as a contract between the faculty member and the student. By taking this course, you agree to read the requirements noted in the syllabus and agree to abide by them. By passing out the syllabus, likewise I agree to its terms with you. Changes to the syllabus then should only occur through mutual consent, and both instructor and student agree to act accordingly.***

***Class participation*:** This is an upper division course based on the discussion method. Therefore, I expect that you will come to class well prepared. By this, I mean that not only have you read the materials that are due for that day but also that a) you will have thought about them; and b) you are ready to discuss them. I have limited the readings so that you will not be reading a large volume for any given session; in turn, I expect that you will read what is assigned closely, and critically.

\*\*\*\*\* Specifically, you are asked to do the following with respect to the readings:\*\*\*\*\*

1. You need to read each assigned reading closely, and critically. By critically, I’m asking you to ask yourself at each major argument: Why is this? What evidence is there for this assertion? Can I think of an example that weakens this argument? To what extent is the argument refuted or contradicted by what we’ve discussed/read earlier? How good is the quality of evidence being used?
2. You need to take notes BEFORE COMING TO CLASS on both the key concepts/issues/ideas in the readings and on your criticism of them;
3. Your notes should be sufficiently thorough and clear to allow you to use them to: a) respond to questions/challenges/issues raised in class about the readings; and b) as the source with which to review the readings later without going back to the actual readings;
4. If you have to start looking back at the actual readings when class is taking place, you have not done a good enough job of taking notes!
5. Consult your notes BEFORE coming to class; this allows you to prepare for our class discussions. Think about the day’s subject before class starts!
6. Keep current with current events regarding US foreign policy. I anticipate that the foreign policy world will be changing dramatically (or not) as we proceed through the course. A good way to do this is to read the *New York Times* daily (electronic version).

These basic points will allow you to do a good job in discussing the materials in class; they will allow you as well a strategy of getting the most out of the readings we have. It is a strategy all graduate students use in the social sciences.

***Examination policy:***There is a mid-term exam, scheduled for Week 8 (March 2nd ). There is a time and place for a final exam, but the ***final is*** ***optional***: ***I have the option*** of requiring you to take it if our class discussions do not turn out as well as I expect and I’m having trouble evaluating you on your in-class performance. Otherwise, ***if I make it optional***, ***you may choose to take it*** if you feel that taking it would compensate for deficiencies either on the mid-term, class participation, or on the paper that is due.

I assumed that you will plan your schedule according to the schedule for the exams, and will take these exams on the assigned dates. If you cannot, for any reason, attend the midterm or the final (assuming that you wish to take it or if I choose to make it non-optional), you must notify me at least one week **prior** to the exam. I will not give make-up exams unless your failure to take the exam involved an extremely unusual hardship or unavoidable circumstance.

***Attendance policy:*** I consider what goes on during class to be a crucial component of this course. Just as importantly, as a 400 level discussion class, missing a class is a serious “no-no”. Missing class will mean that it will be virtually impossible for you to do well in the course. Therefore, it is assumed that you will come to every class. While attendance is generally on the honor system, I reserve the right to take attendance on occasion. The UA’s policy concerning class attendance is available at: <http://catalog.arizona.edu/2015-16/policies/classatten.htm>. Absences pre-approved by the UA Dean of Students (or Dean designee) will be honored. See <http://hr.arizona.edu/policy/appointed-personnel/7.04.02>. The UA policy regarding absences on and accommodation of religious holidays is available at <http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/policies-and-codes/accommodation-religious-observance-and-practice>.

So, COME PREPARED and THINKING ABOUT THE WEEKLY ASSIGNMENT; COME ON TIME; COME EVERY WEEK, and while in class, ENGAGE the topic every week.

***Plagiarism***: I’m assuming that you are well aware of the University’s policies regarding plagiarism. In the academic world, stealing the work of others, or failing to give full credit where it is due (and not using full citations), is a capital, criminal offense, punishable—if not by guillotine—by expulsion from the course, and depending on the severity of the crime, from the University. If you don’t know what plagiarism is…or you are in doubt at any point in your work…feel free to ask before it is too late. The University’s plagiarism policy is located at: <http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/academic-integrity/students/academic-integrity>. Assistance with what is and what is not plagiarism is provided at: <http://www.library.arizona.edu/help/tutorials/plagiarism/>

***Other issues***: I hope I don’t need to remind you of this, but just in case, it is expected that we treat each other with respect and dignity. University policies regarding these issues can be found at: <http://policy.arizona.edu/human-resources/nondiscrimination-and-anti-harassment-policy> and at: <http://policy.arizona.edu/education-and-student-affairs/threatening-behavior-students> . Additionally, respect for all of us includes not coming to class late and interrupting others; turning off cell phones before arriving to class, ***not using laptops during class session for anything unrelated specifically to the materials being addressed that day in class***, etc.

You will see that often I will use power points and a power point projector. I do this only because I have terrible handwriting and my scribbling on the board is difficult to read. So, it is a short-hand for what we are discussing. **WARNING**: there is nothing more dangerous than power points for learning…they are just an outline of ideas or a shorthand for ideas, not the ideas themselves. So, please be careful with them, and take notes on the ideas behind the outline. This is also why I don’t put the power points on my web page and please don’t ask for a copy of them

 On another note: if you need assistance or looking for support with special needs, they can be located at either the S.A.L.T center (<http://www.salt.arizona.edu/>) or at the Disability Resources center ([**http://drc.arizona.edu/**](http://drc.arizona.edu/)**). It is the University’s goal that learning experiences be as accessible as possible.  If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability or pregnancy, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options.  You are also welcome to contact Disability Resources (520-621-3268) to establish reasonable accommodations. Please be aware that the accessible table and chairs in this room should remain available for students who find that standard classroom seating is not usable.**

**GRADES:** Grades are unavoidable; in this course the final grade will be based on the following:

***Exams*:** the midterm (and the possible final exam) will count for 50% of the course grade.

***Final paper****:* this paper is designed to synthesize what you’ve learned, and apply it to an important, substantive case in international politics; it will be worth 40% of the course grade.

***Class participation****:* I am serious about the discussion format for this course. Therefore, the **quality** of your class participation will be worth 10% of the course grade. During all class periods come prepared to discuss the materials and to raise critical objections to the materials.

**Paper:**

You are being asked to write a paper at the end of the semester, on a key phenomenon in U.S. foreign policy. Your choice of topics is up to you, but with two suggestions: First, before proceeding, you clear the topic with me, and in the paper you will need to justify the topic/puzzle as a salient issue for international politics. Second, there is always a default option: What will be, and what should be the role of the United States in international politics? You may choose this option if you can’t find another, more salient puzzle to pursue. But you will need to justify this one as well, and the justification needs to be based on a theoretical framework that provides a broad explanation about how U.S. foreign policy works.

 The purpose of this paper is to give you an opportunity to synthesize and apply the materials—both theoretical and empirical—we developed in the course. You will need to have a good command of U.S. foreign policy (and this of course depends on the theoretical approach you choose to understand it), and data to back up your assertions and/or hypotheses.

 This assignment becomes manageable as long as you do two things: First, make a determination about what will be your topic of choice, very early in the semester. You can then use it as a skeletal device on which to hang alternative theoretical perspectives; second, at the end of each week’s seminar, you think about how the topic, our discussions, and how our common readings can apply to your paper.

 More information on the paper is available in Appendix B of this syllabus.

**DATE TOPIC and READINGS**

**Week 1**

(August 27) **Introduction to course: objectives and requirements**

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(August 29) ***Who Are the Actors That Make US Foreign Policy?***

***As you read and think about the section on “Actors”, please focus on the following question: How have the key actors changed after the 2016 elections? What is the likely impact on US foreign policy and in what areas?***

**READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapter 9, 10

DeYoung, Karen (2015) “How the Obama White House Runs Foreign Policy”. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runsforeign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4_story.html>.

 Bacevich, A. (2011) “The Tyranny of Defense Inc.” *Atlantic Magazine*, Jan/Feb.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/01/the-tyranny-of-defense-inc/308342/>

Tenpas et. al. (2018). “Tracking Turnover in the Trump Administration.” *Brookings*, <http://brook.gs/2FKYknT>

**Week 2**

(September 3) **Actors (continued): Congress, the Media and Public Opinion**

 **READINGS:** Cox and Stokes, Chapter 11

Berinsky, A. (2007) “Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites and American Support for Military Conflict,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol.69, No. 4.

Baum (2013) “The Iraq Coalition of the Willing and (Politically) Able…” *American Journal of Political Science*

“Public Uncertain, Divided Over America’s Place in the World” at <http://www.people-press.org/2016/05/05/public-uncertain-divided-over-americas-place-in-the-world/>

Optional: Jacobs and Page (2005) “Who Influences US Foreign Policy?” *APSR*

 Trumbore and Dulio (2013) “Running on Foreign Policy”. *Foreign Policy Analysis*

Baum and Potter (2019) “Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media, *Journal of Politics*.

Also, for data on recent public opinion toward U.S. foreign policy, see: <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/issue/public-opinion> and

<https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/series/4>

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 (September 5) **Actors (continued)**

 **READINGS:** Colgan (2013). “Domestic Revolutionary Leaders and International Conflict.” *World Politics*.

 On the role of inexperienced presidents and their advisors see <https://profsaunders.files.wordpress.com/2016/07/nosubstitute3.pdf>

Optional: Donald Trump’s Foreign Policy appointments: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-administration-appointee-tracker/database/>

 and/or

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_appointments_of_Donald_Trump>

Astor (2019) “How much political experience does it take to be elected President?” *New York Times* at<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/05/23/us/politics/presidential-experience.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage>

And a comment by The Economist[[1]](#footnote-1)

 Hirsch, M. (2016) “Why George Washington Would Have Agreed With Donald Trump,” Politico. http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/05/founding-fathers-2016-donald-trump-americafirst-foreign-policy-isolationist-213873

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**Week 3**

(September 10) **Actors: the Principal-Agent Problem**

 **READINGS**: Bueno de Mesquita, *Principles of International Politics*, pps. 157-170

 Groves, 2015. “Principal-Agent Problems…,” *International Journal of Political Science and Development*.

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(September 12) **Actors: the Principal-Agent Problem (continued)**

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**Week 4**

(September 17) **Explanations of US Foreign Policy: Realism**

 **READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapters 2, 25

 Schmidt, B. & Williams, M. (2008) “Bush Doctrine & the Iraq War: Neoconservatives vs. Realists.” *Security Studies*. April: 191-220.

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(September 19) **Realism (continued)**

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**Week 5**

(September 24) **Explanations of US Foreign Policy**: **Liberalism and NeoConservativism**

**READINGS:**

 Ikenberry, G. John (2009) “Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemma of Liberal World Order.” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, pp. 71-87.

 Cox and Stokes, Chapter 22, 7

 Amorim Neto and Malamud (2015) “Who Determines Foreign Policy in Latin America?” *Latin American Politics and Society* 57, 4.

Brook, Yaron and Epstein, Alex (2007) “Neoconservative Foreign Policy: An Autopsy.” The Objective Standard. (Summer). [https://www.theobjectivestandard.com/issues/2007-summer/neoconservative-foreign-policy/#](https://www.theobjectivestandard.com/issues/2007-summer/neoconservative-foreign-policy/)

(September 26) **Liberalism and NeoConservativism (continued)**

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**Week 6**

(October 1) **Explanations (continued): Decision Making Models**

 **READINGS**:

 (Rational Model) Bergen, P. (2009) “The Account of How We Nearly Caught Osama bin Laden in 2001”, *New Republic*. December. <https://newrepublic.com/article/72086/the-battle-tora-bora>

 (Bureaucratic Model) Marsh, K. (2013) “Obama’s Surge: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* (February).

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(October 3) **Explanations (continued): Constructivism, Identity, and Global Leadership**

**READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapters 19, 20, 3

 Corn, David (2016) “Donald Trump Says He Doesn’t Believe in ‘American Exceptionalism’”.http://m.motherjones.com/politics/2016/06/donald-trump-americanexceptionalism

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**Week 7**

(October 8) **Explanations (continued): Strategic/Elite Survival Theory**

 **READINGS**: Bueno de Mesquita, “Selectorate Theory.” In *Principles of International Politics*.

Siverson and Bueno de Mesquita. 2017. “The Selectorate Theory and International Politics,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Empirical International Relations Theory*

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(October 10) **Prepping the Midterm Exam**

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**Week 8**

(October 15)

 **No Class this week: I’m in China for a workshop**

October 17)

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**Week 9**

(October 22) **MIDTERM EXAM**

**(**October 24**) Debriefing the Midterm Exam**

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**Week 10**

(October 29) **Is There a Grand Strategy to US Foreign Policy?**

**READINGS:** Feaver (2009) “What is Grand Strategy and why do we need it?”

 Drezner (2011) “Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy?”

 Miller (2012) “Global Politics and Strategy…Five Pillars.”

 Ferguson (2016) “Donald Trump’s New World Order.” *The American Interest*

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(November 1) **Geography based Foreign Policy: The Middle East\***

 **READINGS:** Cox and Stokes, Chapter 12

 Charountaki (2014) “US Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice: From Soviet Era Containment to the Era of Arab Uprising(s).” *American Foreign Policy Interests*.

\*In looking at regions, read and keep in mind Cox and Stokes, Chapter 9

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(November 5) **Geography Based Foreign Policy: Europe (European Union)/ Russia**

 **READINGS:** Cox and Stokes, Chapter 13

 Cox and Stokes Chapter 14

 Monaghan (2013) “Russia’s Grand Strategy.”

 Optional: Kotkin (2019) “What Mueller Found—and Didn’t Find—About Trump and Russia” *Foreign Affairs*, at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-05-21/american-hustle?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=paywall_free_share&utm_campaign=paywall_free_reading_american_hustle__subscribers&utm_content=2019521&utm_term=paywall-free-reading-American-Hustle-subscribers>

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(November 7) **Europe/Russia (continued)**

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**Week 12**

(November 12) **Geography: Asia, the Famous Pivot, and China**

 **READINGS:**  Cox and Stokes, Chapter 15

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(November 14) **Geography: Africa**

 **READINGS:** Cox and Stokes, Chapter 17

 Pham (2014) “The Development of the US Africa Command and its Role in America’s Africa Policy…” *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*

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**Week 13**

(November 19) **Issue Focus: Security Policy and Deterrence**

 **READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapter 23, 6

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(November 21) **Issue Focus: Security Policy (Terrorism)**

 **READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapter 18,

 Olidort (2016). “Theology and Foreign Policy,” Foreign Affairs <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-03-29/theology-foreign-policy>

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**Week 14**

(November 26) **NO CLASS: Thanksgiving Recess**

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(November 28)

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**Week 15**

(December 3) **Issue Focus: Managing the Global Economy?**

 **READINGS**: Cox and Stokes, Chapter 22

 Lew (2016) “America and the Global Economy: The Case for US Leadership.” *Foreign Affairs*

Optional*:* Milner and Tingley (2011) “Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy.” *International Organization*

 Trump’s appointments on trade and the economy:

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-names-pete-navarro-to-head-house-national-trade-council-1482353955>

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(December 5) **Issue Focus: Dealing with the Environment**

 **READINGS:** Cox and Stokes, Chapter 21

 Trump’s position on climate change:

 <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/11/us/politics/donald-trump-climate-change.html?_r=0>

and <http://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2016/11/what-does-trump-think-about-climate-change-he-doesnt-know-either/508541/>

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**Week 16**

(December 10) **Wrap Up and Discussion of Final Exam**

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**Final Exam: Monday, December 16th, 3:30-5:30**

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**Appendix A: Additional Resources:**

Cockburn (2016) “The New Red Scare.” *Harpers*.

“Global Trends, 2030.” A Publication of the National Intelligence Council

Hooker (2014) “The Grand Strategy of the United States.”

Hooker (ed.) (2016) *Charting a Course: Strategic Choices for a New Administration*. National Defense University Press.

Martel (2012) “Why America Needs a Grand Strategy.” The Diplomat

McDougal (2010) “Can The United States Do Grand Strategy? FPRI

Miller (2012) “Global Politics and Strategy.” *Survival*

Norpoth and Sidman (2007) “Mission Accomplished: The Wartime Election of 2004.” *Political Behavior*

Norrlof and Wohlforth (2016) Is US grand strategy self-defeating? Deep engagement, military spending and sovereign debt.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science*.

Pentagon (2014) “Quadrennial Defense Review.”

State Department (2015) “Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review”

Stratfor (2011) *The Geopolitics of the United States*.

“U.S. National Security Strategy, 2015.” U.S. White House

“U.S. National Security Strategy, 2017.” U.S. White House (available on my web page)

The annual budgets of the United States: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/Overview>

Stratfor 2017 “2017 Annual Forecast” (on the possibility of a Turmp Grand Strategy)

*Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2019 issue)

For discussions and analyses of the effects of U.S. trade agreements, see:

<https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/ec201406a.pdf>

<http://www.cfr.org/trade/naftas-economic-impact/p15790>

<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42965.pdf>

<http://papers.nber.org/tmp/37109-w21906.pdf>

<http://www.epi.org/publication/standard-models-benchmark-costs-globalization/>

<http://papers.nber.org/tmp/13487-w21027.pdf>

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/12/12/business/economy/tariff-man-origin-story.html>

**APPENDIX B: The Final Paper**

For this project you should focus on one of two types of policies: either a geography-based policy (i.e. US/Russian relations, US relations towards the Middle East, etc.), or on a subject-based foreign policy (i.e. US foreign policy regarding climate change, or, international trade, or human rights, etc.).

There are several objectives for this paper:

1. Synthesize and apply the theoretical frameworks we discussed in class to a specific foreign policy area. Doing so will require you to choose among competing theoretical approaches, by first developing a set of criteria as to which theoretical approach would be most useful; then, applying that approach to the issue at hand.
2. Show how you can generate data to make your arguments;
3. Apply the research design outline we will discuss in class to your assignment

Sooner or later the nasty question of “What’s the length limit of this paper?” arises. I don’t have a good answer for you since some of you write very succinctly while others of you (like me) take much longer to communicate in writing. In general, I would offer the following: a) no one has done well on this paper writing less than about seven to eight pages; and b) I will not read anything longer than 20 pages.

I will evaluate your paper on the following criteria:

* How well did you synthesize and apply our readings and discussion to the topic?
* How well did you integrate data/observations with your theoretical perspective in your essay?
* How creative and insightful were you in developing your answer, while keeping within the bounds of what can be realistically expected in the emerging new US administration?

CAUTION: 1) You will need permission from me before finalizing your choice of topics. This should occur early in the semester, and ***no later than the fourth week of class***;

 2) Don’t leave this assignment sitting there until the end of the semester. The best way to be successful on this paper is to ask yourself each week of our class: “How does this apply to my topic? How can I use it to construct a thorough essay and analysis of my topic?

The paper is due no later than on **December 13th**. You are, of course, encouraged to turn it in earlier if possible. I need you to send me the final version of the paper in WORD, and as an attachment via email to me to volgy@email.arizona.edu

1. **From the Economist (December 24, 2016): “**As the Trump era dawns in America, the composition of the cabinet and inner circle taking shape around Donald Trump is too ideologically incoherent to define the next president’s policy agenda. There are bomb-throwers and hardliners…and an alarming number of men who see no harm in threatening a trade war or two. But it also has figures from the oak-panelled, marble-pillared heart of the Republican establishment. When it comes to national security, Mr Trump’s nominee to run the Pentagon is a retired general, James Mattis, who has called Russia’s annexation of Crimea a “severe” threat and accused President Vladimir Putin of wanting to “break NATO apart”. His pick to run the State Department, Rex Tillerson, is CEO of an oil firm, ExxonMobil, who argued against sanctions imposed on Russia after the Crimean invasion. It is equally easy to imagine headlines, years from now, that call President Trump a revolutionary who took America down the path to hard-edged nationalism, as it is to imagine a hapless incompetent paralysed by factional in-fighting and plunging poll ratings. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)