

## **GVPT 457: American Foreign Relations**

Fall 2019

Tu/Th 12:30pm-1:45pm

Location: TYD 1101

Prof. Shannon P. Carcelli

Email: [carcelli@umd.edu](mailto:carcelli@umd.edu)

Office: 2117G Chincoteague

Office Hours: Tu/Th 3:20-5:20 and by appointment

### **Course Overview:**

This course is designed to provide a framework for analyzing and understanding the foreign policy process in the United States. We will consider the domestic political institutions that create the policy-making environment, and the historical context of foreign policy. Most importantly, I will challenge students to think about not only how foreign policy *should* be implemented, but *why* foreign policy outcomes are the way they are. I expect students to question rhetoric and consider the behind-the-scenes aspects of policy. Changes over time in public opinion, institutions, and leadership have discernable effects on foreign policy, which the class will consider in depth.

The first half of the class will uncover the major players in US foreign policy. This includes the President and members of Congress as well as interest groups, bureaucrats, the media, foreign leaders, and international institutions. We will scrutinize the domestic political processes behind foreign policy making in an attempt to understand when and why policy veers from the ideal.

The second half of the class will use this context to analyze major foreign policy events, especially of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. It will not only cover the “high politics” of defense and diplomacy, but also the equally important “low politics” of trade, monetary policy, and aid. The goal is to break down arbitrary boundaries between policy types in order to create a larger conceptual framework of how and why foreign policy looks the way it does.

### **Readings:**

There is no required textbook for the course. All weekly readings will be uploaded onto the course website or included as links.

In addition to required readings, students are expected to stay up-to-date on foreign policy headlines by reading a high-quality print news source (or its online equivalent) such as the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal* or the *New York Times*. For deeper analysis, students are also encouraged to look at *The Economist* or *Foreign Affairs*.

Students must also purchase a clicker (or clicker technology for the phone or laptop) and register it following the guidelines on [www.clickers.umd.edu](http://www.clickers.umd.edu).

### **Class Discussions:**

A major component of this seminar will involve in-class discussions of major concepts and events in foreign policy. Students are encouraged to think about issues beyond the rhetoric and talking points that often pepper the surface of policy debates in cable news and on Twitter. I expect students to use their

knowledge of the empirical research on foreign policy and American institutions to understand policy outcomes, whether they agree with them or not.

Policy debates will undoubtedly emerge, but they will be secondary to the goal of evaluating the assumptions and interests inherent in foreign policy. Personal attacks will not be tolerated, and questions of “should” will be redirected to (more interesting) questions of “why.” If a debate becomes negative or unnecessarily contentious, I will step in. Please respect your fellow students the way you would like them to respect you.

### **Campus Policies:**

It is our shared responsibility to know and abide by the University of Maryland’s policies that relate to all courses, which include topics like:

- Academic integrity
- Student and instructor conduct
- Accessibility and accommodations
- Attendance and excused absences
- Grades and appeals
- Copyright and intellectual property

Please visit [www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html](http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html) for the Office of Undergraduate Studies’ full list of campus-wide policies and follow up with me if you have questions.

### **Course Overview:**

*PART I: Actors in US Foreign Policy*

Week 1: Overview

Aug 27 - 29

TU – The Constitution

*Readings:*

The United States Constitution:

<http://constitutionus.com/>

TH – History of US Foreign Policy

*Readings:*

State Department Historical Summary (focus on 1913 onward):

<https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history>

Week 2: Who Makes Foreign Policy?

Sep 3 - 5

TU – Military Policy

*Readings:*

Who Controls Nuclear Weapons?:

Listen to: <https://www.wnycstudios.org/story/nukes-broadcast>

Leaders and Foreign Intervention:

Saunders, Elizabeth N. “Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy.”

*International Security* 34.2 (2009): 119-161.

## TH – Divided Government and Foreign Policy

### *Readings:*

#### Policy Domains:

Introduction: Milner, Helen V., and Dustin Tingley. *Sailing the Water's Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

#### President versus Congress:

William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton University Press, 2007, 3-32.

## Week 3: The Executive

Sep 10 - 12

### TU – The Doctrines

#### *Readings:*

#### History of Foreign Policy Doctrines:

<https://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Doctrines.html>

#### Create Your Own Foreign Policy Doctrine:

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/05/04/create-your-own-foreign-policy-doctrine/?noredirect&utm\\_term=.af91051e8f34](https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/05/04/create-your-own-foreign-policy-doctrine/?noredirect&utm_term=.af91051e8f34)

### TH – The President's Psychology

#### *Readings:*

#### Leader Psychology:

Levy, Jack S. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly*. 41.1 (1997): 87-112.

#### Group Psychology:

Janis, Irving L. "Groupthink." *IEEE Engineering Management Review* 36.1 (2008).

## Week 4: Congress

Sep 17 - 19

### TU – Congress Overview

#### *Readings:*

#### Congress's Role in Foreign Policymaking:

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Deering.pdf>

#### Polarization in Congress:

Lee, Frances E. "How Party Polarization Affects Governance." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 261-282.

### TH – Congress and Earmarks

**DEADLINE:** Paper Topic < 1 page (5%)

#### *Readings:*

#### Foreign Aid Contracts:

Fleck, Robert K., and Christopher Kilby. "Foreign Aid and Domestic Politics: Voting in Congress and the Allocation of USAID Contracts Across Congressional Districts." *Southern Economic Journal* (2001): 598-617.

#### Trade Negotiations:

Chapter Five: Evans, Diana. *Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

## Week 5: Special Interests and the Bureaucracy

Sep 24 - 26

TU – Lobbying and Military-Industrial Complex

### *Readings:*

Introduction to Lobbying:

Jentleson, Bruce W. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*. WW Norton, 2004. pp. 56-66.

Lobbying Think Piece:

Newhouse, John. "Diplomacy, Inc.-The Influence of Lobbies on US Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009).

Peruse:

Lobbyview Website: <https://www.lobbyview.org/>

TH – The Bureaucracy

### *Readings:*

Bureaucratic Politics in Conflict:

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63.3 (1969): 689-718.

Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid:

Arel-Bundock, Vincent, James Atkinson, and Rachel Augustine Potter. "The Limits of Foreign Aid Diplomacy: How Bureaucratic Design Shapes Aid Distribution." *International Studies Quarterly* 59.3 (2015): 544-556.

The Intelligence Bureaucracy:

Zegart, Amy B. "September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of US Intelligence Agencies." *International Security* 29.4 (2005): 78-111.

## Week 6: Media and the Public

Oct 1 - 3

TU – Public Opinion

### *Readings:*

Research on Foreign Policy Opinions:

Ole R. Holsti. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippman Consensus," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36.4 (1992).

Foreign Aid and Public Opinion:

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/04/americans-love-to-hate-foreign-aid-but-the-right-argument-makes-them-like-it-a-lot-more/?utm\\_term=.13c21d2ab8c2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/04/americans-love-to-hate-foreign-aid-but-the-right-argument-makes-them-like-it-a-lot-more/?utm_term=.13c21d2ab8c2)

TH – Importance of the Media

### *Readings:*

Soft News and Public Attention:

Baum, Matthew A. "Sex, Lies, and Aar: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96.1 (2002): 91-109.

The Daily Show:

Baumgartner, Jody, and Jonathan S. Morris. "The Daily Show Effect: Candidate Evaluations, Efficacy, and American Youth." *American Politics Research* 34.3 (2006): 341-367.

## Week 7: Norms and Institutions

Oct 8 - 10

TU – Soft Power in Foreign Policy

*Readings:*

Soft Power:

Nye Jr, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616.1 (2008): 94-109.

Evidence for Soft Power:

Goldsmith, Benjamin E., and Yusaku Horiuchi. "In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for US Foreign Policy?" *World Politics* 64.3 (2012): 555-585.

TH – Bretton Woods and Multilateralism

*Readings:*

Bretton Woods:

<https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2014/07/16/331743569/episode-552-the-dollar-at-the-center-of-the-world>

Multilateralism:

Stone, Randall W. "The Scope of IMF Conditionality." *International Organization* 62.4 (2008): 589-620.

Week 8: Mid-Term (30%)

Oct 15 - 17

*PART II: Topics in US Foreign Policy*

Week 9: Nuclear Weapons

Oct 22 - 24

TU – Strategy of Deterrence

*Readings:*

Deterrence Primer:

[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE295/RAND\\_PE295.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE295/RAND_PE295.pdf)

Cold War and Deterrence:

"The Diplomacy of Violence." *Arms and Influence*. Thomas C. Schelling, Yale University Press, 1966, pp. 1–34. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm52s.4](http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm52s.4).

TH – Nuclear Proliferation

*Readings:*

Pro-proliferation:

Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better: Introduction." Taylor & Francis (1981): 1-1.

Anti-proliferation:

Sagan, Scott D. "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." *International Security* 18.4 (1994): 66-107.

Week 10: Trade Policy

Oct 29 - 31

TU – Trade and Monetary Policy

*Readings:*

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act:

<https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2018/03/30/598365735/episode-833-worst-tariffs-ever>

Divided Government and Trade:

Lohmann, Susanne, and Sharyn O'Halloran. "Divided Government and US Trade Policy: Theory and Evidence." *International Organization* 48.4 (1994): 595-632.

TH – The Trade Deficit and Monetary Policy

*Readings:*

Council on Foreign Relations Module on Monetary Policy:

<https://world101.cfr.org/monetary-policy-and-currencies/what-central-bank-and-what-does-it-do-you>

Primer on Current Account Deficit:

<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-trade-deficit-how-much-does-it-matter>

Khan Academy Review of Trade and Monetary Policy:

<https://www.khanacademy.org/economics-finance-domain/ap-macroeconomics/ap-open-economy-international-trade-and-finance/real-interest-rates-and-international-capital-flows/v/introduction-to-currency-exchange-and-trade-ap-macroeconomics-khan-academy>

Week 11: War and Counterinsurgency

Nov 5 - 7

TU – Preventing War in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

*Readings:*

Watch:

*Thirteen Days*, 2000. Beacon Pictures.

Soviet Containment:

The X Telegram

TH – Preventing War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

*Readings:*

Proxy Wars:

Chapter 1: Berman, Eli, and David A. Lake, eds. *Proxy Wars: Suppressing Violence Through Local Agents*. Cornell University Press, 2019.

The Global War on Terror:

<https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/oct-2001-president-george-bush-announces-strike-afghanistan-49337131>

Ten Years Later:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AplABHpuzqE>

Week 12: Immigration and Human Rights

Nov 12 - 14

TU – Immigration

*Readings:*

History of Immigration:

<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-postwar-immigration-policy>

Explaining Immigration Policy:

Peters, Margaret E. "Trade, Foreign Direct Investment, and Immigration Policy Making in the United States." *International Organization* 68.4 (2014): 811-844.

TH – Human Rights Treaties

**DEADLINE:** C-SPAN/Event Assignment

*Readings:*

International Criminal Court:

Kelley, Judith. "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Nonsurrender Agreements." *American Political Science Review* 101.3 (2007): 573-589.

Trade and Human Rights:

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." *International Organization* 59.3 (2005): 593-629.

Week 13: Aid and the Environment

Nov 19 - 12

TU – Foreign Aid

*Readings:*

Foreign Aid Overview:

<https://world101.cfr.org/development/brief-history-us-foreign-aid>

Congressional Voting in Foreign Aid:

Milner, Helen V., and Dustin H. Tingley. "The Political Economy of US Foreign Aid: American Legislators and the Domestic Politics of Aid." *Economics & Politics* 22.2 (2010): 200-232.

Foreign Aid in Counterinsurgency:

The Strategic Prevention Project: Assessing the Role of Foreign Assistance in Preventing Violent Conflict in Fragile States. (2019). Office of US Foreign Assistance Resources.

TH – Global Environmental Politics

*Readings:*

The Paris Agreement:

<https://world101.cfr.org/climate-change/paris-agreement>

Politics of Climate Change:

Dunlap, Riley E., and Aaron M. McCright. "Organized Climate Change Denial." *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* 1 (2011): 144-160.

Week 14: Economic Statecraft

Nov 26 - 28

TU – US Sanctions Policy

*Readings:*

When Do We Use Sanctions?"

Drury, A. Cooper. "Sanctions as Coercive Diplomacy: The US President's Decision to Initiate Economic Sanctions." *Political Research Quarterly* 54.3 (2001): 485-508.

When Do US Sanctions Work?:

Peterson, Timothy M. "Sending a Message: The Reputation Effect of US Sanction Threat Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly* 57.4 (2013): 672-682.

TH – THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

Week 15: New Topics in Foreign Policy

Dec 3 - 5

TU – Cyber Security

*Readings:*

Why We Should Worry:

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Cyber power*. Harvard University, Cambridge MA, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2010.

Why We Shouldn't Worry:

Gartzke, Erik. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth." *International Security* 38.2 (2013): 41-73.

TH – To Be Decided; Final Paper Review

Final Paper: 10-12 pages

**DEADLINE** Dec 17 5:00 PM

**Grading:**

The grading scale will be as follows, and will be based on the percentage of total assessment points earned. When grades fall between cutoffs, I will round up at 0.5:

A = 93-100	A- = 90-92	
B+ = 87-89	B = 83-86	B- = 80-82
C+ = 77-79	C = 73-76	C- = 70-72
D+ = 67-69	D = 63-66	D- = 60-62
F = < 60		

Students will have up-to-date access to their current grades throughout the semester through the course site on ELMS. I will also send out periodic messages updating students on their progress.

Participation: 5%

Students are expected to engage with assigned readings and current events and come to class and/or my office hours prepared to discuss them.

Paper Topic: 5%

In order to ensure that paper topics are relevant and appropriate, students must submit a ½ - 1 page summary of their research topic. The deadline for this submission is September 19, 2019.

Weekly Quizzes: 15%

Once per week, on either Tuesday or Thursday, I will conduct an in-class quiz that covers both current events and the week's readings. Students should attend each class prepared, having read the major foreign policy headlines and the class readings. Students may drop their lowest two quiz scores in their final grade.

C-SPAN/Event Assignment: 15%

Washington, DC, is replete with events, lectures, and panels focusing on foreign policy. For this assignment, students must attend one foreign-policy-related event (or watch a congressional debate or hearing on C-SPAN) and write up their observations. This event may be on campus, on another University campus, or elsewhere in Washington.

The write-up will be 5 pages and must list each host and panelist for the event, summarize their specific interests and what they said at the event, and evaluate their foreign policy suggestions. Finally, the student must conclude with his or her suggestion for the policy in question, based on the current research. The deadline for this assignment is November 14, 2019.



Find something that interests you! Some of the many organizations hosting foreign policy events in the city include:

American Enterprise Institute: <https://www.aei.org/events/>

Brookings Institution: <https://www.brookings.edu/events/>

Cato Institute: <http://www.cato.org/events>

Center for American Progress: <https://www.americanprogress.org/events/upcoming-events/>

Center for Strategic and International Studies: <https://www.csis.org/events>

Heritage Foundation: <http://www.heritage.org/events>

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/events>

Peterson Institute: <https://www.pie.com/events>

Hudson Institute: <https://www.hudson.org/events>

Center for New American Security: <https://www.cnas.org/events>

United States Institute of Peace: <https://www.usip.org/events>

Center for Global Development: <https://www.cgdev.org/section/events>

#### Mid-Term Exam: 30-35%

The Mid-term will be composed of a fill-in-the-blanks section, a short-answer question, and one essay question. I will reveal a set of potential essay questions the weekend before the mid-term to allow students to prepare an answer, but no notes will be allowed into the exam. The Tuesday before the mid-term will consist of a preparation section, in which we will discuss the class topics and potential essay questions.

#### Final Paper: 30- 35%

Students have the option of allocating either 30% or 35% of their final grade to the final paper or to their mid-term (not to both). For example, if a student allocates 30% to their final grade, they must allocate 35% to their mid-term, and vice versa. The paper will be a research paper approximately 10-12 pages in length, on a foreign policy topic of the student's choice.

#### **Course Policies and Expectations:**

1. Assignments that are turned in past the due date will be penalized one letter grade per day.
2. Absences for valid reasons such as medical or family emergencies will be excused with appropriate documentation, but you will still be responsible for missed material, such as quizzes. Please contact me if you know you will be late or absent.
3. Make-up exams are not permitted unless: 1) there is an official excuse for having missed an exam (with proper documentation); or 2) a prior arrangement is made.
4. Neither cheating nor plagiarism in any form will be tolerated. The penalty for having committed either one of these violations is a failing grade for the course. Familiarize yourself with the campus policies on academic honesty, and when in doubt, ask me.
5. Recent findings in social psychology discourage the use of laptops and phones in class (see [youtu.be/WwPaw3Fx5Hk](https://youtu.be/WwPaw3Fx5Hk)). However, the nature of this course leads me to provisionally accept technology in the classroom, to allow for a broader discussion. If it seems that students are spending more time online shopping than having productive discussions, I will revoke those privileges, so be responsible.
6. Any student with disabilities/special needs or who will miss class due to a religious observance should contact me during the first week of classes so that the proper arrangements can be made.

7. Class participation is challenging for some. If you have particular concerns or anxieties about participating in class discussion, please come to my office hours early on. We can work to find a less stressful and more effective way for you to participate.

8. While I am happy to answer brief questions by email, I will not respond right away and may ask you to come to my office hours for broader questions and issues, whether they be about the class, the field more generally, or even about your career. I hope to see you at my office!