

GVPT 457: American Foreign Relations

Fall 2022

Tu/Th 12:30PM – 1:45pm

Tydings 2102

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Office Hours: 3:30-4:30PM

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, it 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 semester will cover the major players in US foreign policy. This includes the President and members of Congress as well as interest groups, bureaucrats, the media, foreign public and leaders, and international institutions. We will consider how the backgrounds, social and racial identity, and interests of policymakers can impact the policies that result. 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 20th and 21st 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 immigration. 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 either be uploaded onto the course ELMS page or included as links.

Please familiarize yourself with the library resources available to you in order to access paywalled papers. Often, these can be difficult to access if you are not physically on campus. If at any point in this course you cannot access a journal article, there are a few steps you can take to gain access:

1- Enter the paper title into the search bar at <https://scholar.google.com/>. Often there are free versions of papers around the internet.

2- Enter the title into the library catalog at <https://www.lib.umd.edu/>. The library often has online versions of papers that you can access.

3- Download UMD’s Virtual Private Network client software at <https://terpware.umd.edu/Windows/title/1840>. This will not only allow you access campus resources remotely, it will also encrypt your connection.

4- When all else fails, contact a librarian at <https://umd.libanswers.com/>. UMD librarians are amazing resources and can generally answer your questions within minutes.

5- If you are still unable to access the reading after trying all of these steps, contact me. If you contact me, mention that you have tried all of the steps suggested in the syllabus.

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.

Class Discussions:

A major component of this seminar will involve in-class discussions of major concepts and events in foreign policy. I will disseminate suggested discussion questions prior to the class to give students the opportunity to prepare responses. 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.

If you are not comfortable speaking in the class, **please see me** at the beginning of the semester so that we can arrange an alternative way for you to participate.

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.

Course Overview:

PART I: Actors in US Foreign Policy

Week 1: Overview

TU *United States Institutions*

- *The United States Constitution*: <http://constitutionus.com/>

TH *History of Foreign Policy*

- <https://www.npr.org/2020/06/09/873495248/presidential-power>
- Various sections (see ELMS): <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/globalconflict>

Week 2: Who Makes Foreign Policy?

TU *Military Policy*

- <https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/radiolab/articles/nukes> (begins at minute 5)
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34.2 (2009): 119-161.

TH *War Powers*

- William G. Howell and Jon C. Pevehouse, *While Dangers Gather: Congressional Checks on Presidential War Powers*. Princeton University Press, 2007, 3-32.
- <https://www.npr.org/2020/01/14/796339253/new-war-powers-resolution-gains-key-gop-support-boosting-chances-of-senate-passa>

Week 3: The President

TU *Foreign Policy Doctrines*

- <https://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Doctrines.html>
- https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/05/04/create-your-own-foreign-policy-doctrine/?noredirect&utm_term=.af91051e8f34

TH *The President's Inner Circle*

- Lindsey, David, and William Hobbs. "Presidential Effort and International Outcomes: Evidence for an Executive Bottleneck." *The Journal of Politics* 77.4 (2015): 1089-1102.
- <https://hbr.org/2013/11/how-john-f-kennedy-changed-decision-making>

Week 4: Congress

TU *Congress's Role in Foreign Policymaking:*

- <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Deering.pdf>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/16/so-congress-is-challenging-the-president-about-sanctions-that-has-a-long-history/>

TH *Congress and Earmarks*

- <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/03/17/earmarks-are-back-and-americans-should-be-glad/>
- Chapter Five: Evans, Diana. *Greasing the Wheels: Using Pork Barrel Projects to Build Majority Coalitions in Congress*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Additional Reading (Optional):

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

Week 5: Special Interests and the Bureaucracy

TU *Lobbying and Military-Industrial Complex*

- Jentleson, Bruce W. *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*. WW Norton, 2004. pp. 56-66.
- Newhouse, John. "Diplomacy, Inc.-The Influence of Lobbies on US Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009).
- <https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/the-controversial-history-of-united-fruit>

TH *The Bureaucracy*

- <https://www.npr.org/2019/10/18/771412641/how-much-do-ambassadors-who-were-political-donors-actually-influence-foreign-pol>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/02/14/the-top-10-reasons-to-keep-political-ambassadors/>
- <https://www.wnycstudios.org/podcasts/radiolab/episodes/60-words>

Week 6: The Public and the Media

TU *Public Opinion*

- 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.
- 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 *The Media:*

- Baum, Matthew A. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96.1 (2002): 91-109.
- Baumgartner, Jody, and Jonathan S. Morris. "The Daily Show Effect: Candidate Evaluations, Efficacy, and American Youth." *American Politics Research* 34.3 (2006): 341-367.

Additional Readings (Optional):

- Murray, Shoon. "The 'Rally-'Round-the-Flag' Phenomenon and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2017.
- Broockman, David E., and Christopher Skovron. "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites." *The American Political Science Review* 112.3 (2018): 542-563.
- Butler, Daniel M., and David W. Nickerson. "Can Learning Constituency Opinion Affect How Legislators Vote? Results from a Field Experiment." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6.1 (2011): 55-83.
- Gadarian, Shana Kushner. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *The Journal of Politics* 72.2 (2010): 469-483.
- <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2014/07/16/331743569/episode-552-the-dollar-at-the-center-of-the-world>
- Kersting, Erasmus K., and Christopher Kilby. "With a Little Help from My Friends: Global Electioneering and World Bank Lending." *Journal of Development Economics* 121 (2016): 153-165.

Week 7: Mid-Term (30%)

TU *Mid-Term Review*

TH *Mid-Term Exam*

PART II: Topics in US Foreign Policy

Week 8: Nuclear Policy

TU *Nuclear Deterrence*

- https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/perspectives/PE200/PE295/RAND_PE295.pdf
- *Thirteen Days*, 2000. Beacon Pictures.
- The X Telegram

TH *Nuclear Proliferation*

- Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better: Introduction." Taylor & Francis (1981): Chapter 1. (Only Section 1)
- 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 9: Trade and Monetary Policy

TU *Trade Policy*

- <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2018/03/30/598365735/episode-833-worst-tariffs-ever>
- <https://www.niskanencenter.org/a-border-adjustment-is-not-a-trade-policy/>

TH *Monetary Policy*

- <https://world101.cfr.org/monetary-policy-and-currencies/what-central-bank-and-what-does-it-do-you>
- <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/us-trade-deficit-how-much-does-it-matter>
- <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 10: Introduction to Kyrgyzstan Project

TU *US Relations with Central Asia*

- Readings TBA

TH *Cross-Cultural Interactions*

- Readings TBA

Week 11: Preventing War

TU *War in the 21st Century*

- <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/oct-2001-president-george-bush-announces-strike-afghanistan-49337131>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AplABHpuzqE>
- <https://mwi.usma.edu/proxy-wars-part-1-war-through-local-agents-in-africa/>

DEADLINE: Pros and Cons of Central Asian Engagement (Due Tuesday, November 8, 11:59 PM)

TH *Afghanistan and Ukraine*

- Guest Lecturer
- Readings TBA

Week 12: New Topics in Foreign Policy

TU *Cyber Security*

- <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/12/world/panetta-warns-of-dire-threat-of-cyberattack.html>
- Gartzke, Erik. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth." *International Security* 38.2 (2013): 41-73.

TH *Economic Statecraft*

- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/08/06/heres-how-we-know-sanctions-against-russia-are-working/>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/07/17/why-did-iran-make-a-nuclear-deal-now/?arc404=true>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-nicholas-mulder.html>

Additional Reading (Optional)

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

Week 13: Immigration Policy

TU *Immigration*

- <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-postwar-immigration-policy>
- <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/white-u-s-immigration-policy>

TH Happy Thanksgiving!

Week 14: Human Rights

TH *Human Rights*

- <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/24/magazine/24FOB-Footbinding-t.html>
- <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/what-is-john-boltons-bully-pulpit-attack-on-the-international-criminal-court-really-about>
- <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/29/human-rights-groups-are-secretly-u-s-agents-true-or-false/>

Additional Reading (Optional)

- <https://www.cato.org/cato-journal/fall-2017/counterproductive-consequences-border-enforcement>

TH *Policy Memo Presentations*

DEADLINE: *Policy Memos and TLTC Surveys (Due Thursday, December 1, 11:59 PM)*

Week 15: Final Exam Review

TU *Applying Historical Analogies*

- <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/14/the-unknown-unknowns/>
- https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/history-could-be-a-deterrent-to-iranian-aggression/2012/02/15/gIQA6UVcGR_story.html
- <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/16/how-to-construct-an-inaccurate-historical-analogy/>

TH *Final Exam Review*

DEADLINE: *Take-Home Final Exam (Due Monday, December 19, 3:30pm)*

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.

Attendance and Participation: 10%

Students are expected to engage with assigned readings and lectures and attend class prepared to discuss them. Showing up is not enough—you also need to show me you are digesting the material. If

you are uncomfortable speaking up in class, **please see me** at the beginning of the semester so that we can arrange alternative ways for you to participate.

Weekly Quizzes: 10%

Once per week, on either Tuesday or Thursday, I will conduct an in-class clicker quiz that covers the week's readings (see below on accessing clicker software). Students must arrive to class on time in order to take the quiz. Students may drop their lowest two quiz scores in their final grade. I may occasionally offer extra credit quizzes.

Global Classroom: 25% (**relative percentages might be adjusted during the semester**)

Throughout the month of November, our class will be interacting with students in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. More details on this interaction will be available later in the semester. The grade breakdown for this "Global Classroom" Module will be as follows:

- 5%: Submission of list of pros and cons of US engagement with Eurasia
DEADLINE: Tuesday, November 8, 11:59PM
 - o 1-2 pages total
 - o Description of 3 benefits of US engagement with Eurasia and 3 costs
 - Costs and benefits may involve domestic or international politics or policy
 - o Each description must be 2-4 sentences
- 10%: Final policy memo and presentation
DEADLINE: Thursday, December 1, 11:59PM
 - o Two-page policy memo outlining costs and benefits of US engagement with Eurasia
 - o Must include a policy recommendation
 - o Must include ideas for overcoming the potential costs of carrying out the recommended policy
- 5%: Participation in group discussions
 - o Faculty and TA will be monitoring discussion groups
- 5%: TLTC survey of experiences
- **DEADLINE: Thursday, December 1, 11:59PM**
 - o External survey

Mid-Term Exam: 25%

The Mid-term will be composed of a fill-in-the-blanks section, a short-answer section, 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.

Take-Home Final: 30%

The take-home final will ask students to integrate multiple components of the class. The last class will be devoted to preparing for the final exam, which I will release after the class.

DEADLINE: Monday, December 19, 3:30pm

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 for the Office of Undergraduate Studies' full list of campus-wide policies and follow up with me if you have questions.

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). 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!

Communication:

Communication is an important life skill, and this course is no different. If you have any personal, health, or other barrier keeping you from succeeding in this class, please talk to me.

To reiterate: I want to do everything I can to support you. To do this, I need to know about a problem **when it arises**, not after it has already derailed your ability to keep up with the class. I don't need to know details, but letting me know sooner rather than later is key. It is MUCH harder to accommodate you if you wait until the end of the term.

Policy on Excused Absences related to COVID-19:

In light of the COVID-19 epidemic, please see the updated UMD excused absence policy at <https://policies.umd.edu/assets/section-v/V-100G.pdf>. I will consider absences on a case-by-case basis.