

## GVPT 457: American Foreign Relations

Spring 2023

TuTh 2:00pm - 3:15pm

Tydings 1102

Prof. Shannon P. Carcelli

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Office Hours: 3:30-4:30PM

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### 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 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 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](http://www.clickers.umd.edu).

### **Discussions:**

A major component of this seminar will involve in-class and online discussions of major concepts and events in US foreign policy. I will disseminate suggested discussion questions prior to the class and ask students to prepare responses. Students are encouraged to think about issues beyond the rhetoric and talking points that often pepper the surface of policy debates. I expect students to use knowledge of the research on foreign policy to drive their understanding of policy outcomes.

Policy debates will undoubtedly emerge, but they will be secondary to the goal of evaluating the causes and effects of US foreign policy. **Personal attacks will not be tolerated.** I do not expect it, but if a debate becomes negative or unnecessarily contentious, I will step in. Be respectful and professional.

Discussions in this class come in two forms, and all students are expected to participate in both.

1- *Online Discussions* will take place on ELMS before each class. Each student will be expected to contribute to online discussions four (4) times as a primary poster and four (4) times as a respondent.

- Primary posters will provide their (1-2 paragraph) analysis of one or more of the posted discussion questions, which should take into account the class readings.

- Respondents will provide a (1-5 sentence) response to another student's analysis, in order to further the discussion.

All discussion will be public and closely monitored by TAs and the professor. I might bring some students' postings forward to the class discussion, so be prepared to hear your ideas described in class and, hopefully, to expand on them.

2- *In-Class Discussions* will carry on from the online postings. They will involve a component of small-group discussion, and I expect each student to participate in some way. If you are not comfortable speaking up in class, **please see me** at the beginning of the semester so that we can arrange an alternative way for you to get a participation grade.

### **Course Overview:**

## PART I: Actors in US Foreign Policy

### Week 1: Overview

#### TH *United States Institutions*

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

### Week 2: History of US Foreign Policy

#### TU *State Department History*

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

#### TH *Foreign Policy Doctrines Over Time*

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

### Week 3: Rationality, Psychology, and Foreign Policy

#### TU *Theories of History*

- <https://www.villanovau.com/resources/leadership/great-man-theory/>
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34.2 (2009): 119-161.

#### TH *Theories of Foreign Policy*

- McDermott, Rose. *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision Making*. Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapter 1: Introduction

### Week 4: The Presidency

#### TU *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>

#### 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 5: 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 6: Special Interests

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 *Guest Lecture: Daniel Tuke on Central Asian Politics*

- See readings on ELMS

Week 7: The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy

TU *Guest Lecture: Central Asia Bureau, United States Agency for International Development*

- See readings on ELMS

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 8: Mid-Term

TU *Mid-Term Review*

TH *Mid-Term Exam*

Week 9: The American Public and the Media

TU *Public Opinion*

- Murray, Shoon. "The 'Rally-'Round-the-Flag' Phenomenon and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2017.
- [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 *The Media and Foreign Policy*

- 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):*

- 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 10: Public Diplomacy

##### TU *Public Diplomacy in Theory*

- 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.
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E., Yusaku Horiuchi, and Kelly Matush. "Does Public Diplomacy Sway Foreign Public Opinion? Identifying the Effect of High-Level Visits." *American Political Science Review* 115.4 (2021): 1342-1357.

##### TH *Public Diplomacy in Practice*

- Readings on ELMS

#### Week 11: Preventing War

**DEADLINE:** Policy Memos (Due Saturday, April 8, 11:59 PM)

##### TU *War in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

- <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/oct-2001-president-george-bush-announces-strike-afghanistan-49337131>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AplABHpuzqE>
- <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://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 *Guest Lecture: Waheed Ahmad*

- Readings on ELMS

#### Week 12: Nuclear Policy

##### TU *Nuclear Deterrence*

- [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)
- *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 13: Sanctions, Trade, and Monetary Policy

TU *Trade and Sanctions*

- <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/>
- <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.

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 14: Immigration and Human Rights

TH *Immigration and Human Rights*

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

- No reading assignments

**DEADLINE:** *Final Projects and TLTC Surveys (Due Thursday, May 4, 11:59 PM)*

Week 15: 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 *Final Exam Review*

**DEADLINE:** *Take-Home Final Exam (Due Wednesday, May 17, 12:30pm)*

**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: 5%**

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.

**Online Discussions: 10%**

Students are expected to take part in discussions on ELMS, which will take place before each class. Each student must contribute to online discussions four (4) times in the semester as a primary poster and four (4) times as a respondent.

- Primary posters will provide their (1-2 paragraph) analysis of one or more of the posted discussion questions. In doing so, they must discuss **at least one** of the week's readings.
- Respondents will provide a (1-5 sentence) response to another student's analysis, in order to further the discussion. This response need not cite a class reading, although citing readings as evidence in responses is strongly encouraged.
- All primary posters and respondents should be prepared to discuss their posts and responses in class.

**Global Classroom: 30% (\*\*relative percentages might be adjusted during the semester\*\*)**

A major component of the class involves a real-world module on foreign policy in Central Asia. This module involves two major group assignments: a policy memorandum and a public diplomacy campaign. Although the assignments are turned in as a group, I will also ask group members to rate their peers' participation. The grade breakdown for this "Global Classroom" Module will be as follows:

- 10%: Policy memorandum  
**DEADLINE: Saturday, April 8, 11:59 PM**
- 15%: Public diplomacy campaign and presentation  
**DEADLINE: Thursday, May 4, 11:59 PM**
- 5%: TLTC survey of experiences
- **DEADLINE: Thursday, May 4, 11:59 PM**

### Mid-Term Exam: 20%

The Mid-term will be composed of a multiple-choice 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: 25%

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:** Wednesday, May 17, 12:30pm

### **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](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 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](http://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.