

Formulation and Conduct of United States Foreign Policy

What? POLI740, University of South Carolina, Fall 2014.

Who? Tobias Heinrich, heinricht@mailbox.sc.edu.

When and where? Tuesdays, 2.50–5.35pm, Gambrell 104.

Office hour? Thursdays, 1-2pm. Better just chat me up. Or email me.

Outline

This course offers a *focused* view on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The focus comes through conscientious omissions and choices with regard to the content of the course. Most crucially, this is neither a course on diplomatic history, nor about on whatever media outlets happen to be covering at this minute. It also not aimed at comprehensively conveying *de jure* features of U.S. politics. Further, the course will not treat the United States' foreign policy as anything inherently exceptional.

The focus of this course will be near-exclusively on research that defines the cutting edge in the study of (U.S.) foreign policy and International Relations. In most cases, articles will feature thorough, rigorous, and abstract theorizing and/or quantitative testing.

Modern day political science has advanced quite a bit with respect to the tools it employs to study phenomena of interest. It is the instructor's belief that these tools are what is improving inference. That means that a course on foreign policy has to address research design issues as well.

Substantively, what does this cover? We explore the principal actors (executive, parliament, bureaucracy, people) first by looking at research that places the explanatory locus at each, respectively. Then, we move on to examine various fields or areas of foreign policy, from economic engagement with the world (migration, sanctions, economic agreements). After that, we see how states use substitutes for military force, try to (ostensibly) make the world a better place (humanitarian interventions, foreign aid), and how they act in and through international organizations. Last, we look at the often neglected domestic repercussions from the pursuit of foreign policy.

If you participate meticulously and fully in the course, by the end you will

- learn about the landscape of the recent research on foreign policy analysis;
- learn the cutting-edge of foreign policy analysis;
- have written a paper that develops a novel take on a problem in current foreign policy research and take ought to contribute to one's future research progress (for Ph.D. students);

- have examined from a academically rigorous, non-talking head perspective a contemporary policy issue (for M.A. students);
- learn about problems in applied foreign policy research, be they with regards to theoretical modeling, data sources, or inference.

Required material

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph Siverson, and James D. Morrow, 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*.
- Jack Goldsmith, 2012. *Power and Constraint*. This is required for M.A. students only.

Expectations

It is expected that students meticulously study all assigned readings. Participation and the voicing of one's thoughts in the seminar are a *sine qua non* for the entire course.

Almost all of the readings feature either game theoretic models or elaborate statistical models. While the course is mostly about the substance of the research, modern day foreign policy analysis requires technical expertise. Students should therefore be comfortable with reading and understanding advanced statistical methods and game theoretic models. In case you are not, talk to me.¹

There are four types of graded exercises in this course.

- Ten times, write a brief **memo** (1 - 1 1/2 pages) that to about 80% synthesizes all the readings and to 20% proposes a thought-through idea for further research. Grading is simple: 100 for nicely thought-out memos; 70 for sloppy memos; 0 for the absence of a memo. Memos have to be in the instructors mailbox or office by 3pm the Monday before class.
- Write a full **research paper** that identifies a gap in the existing literature, proposes a novel theoretical idea, and then conducts an empirical test or develops a game theoretic model that "solves" the gap. The paper needs to, in principle, be publishable in a standard journal of political science. It is highly encouraged to talk extensively with the instructor about the paper, and do so very early on. Ideally, the paper is something that can become a conference paper or even the basis or a part of a dissertation.
- Read *Power and Constraint: The Accountable Presidency After 9/11* by Jack Goldsmith, and answer in a self-contained long **review essay** (about ten pages) essay questions that will be handed out about halfway during the semester.
- Answer a set of questions that largely mirrors comprehensive exams in International Relations in a Ph.D. program. The date for the **mock comps** is open to discussion, but no later than two weeks before classes end.

¹ Ph.D. students have to be proficient at using at least one of either as part of the paper.

Students enrolled in the PhD program have to and may only write memos, research paper, and take the mock comps for their grade. Those in the M.A. program have to and may only submit the memos, the mock comps, and the review essay. The paper and review essay are due the last day of class. As the semester is long, all assignments are herewith announced, and you have plenty of time, there will not be any extension of deadlines.

The weighting for memos, paper, review essay, and mock comps are 1, 3, 3, and 3, respectively. The final grade is simply the weighted average.

Grading, Rules, etc.

By and large, students are strongly encouraged to collaborate on all matters related to class. That said, all writing has to be your own. You may not collaborate on the mock comps and the review essay.

I will use the following grading scale to map between percentages and letter grades. A 92-100, B+ 87-91, B 80-86, C+ 77-79, C 70-76, D+ 67-69, D 60-66, and F 0-59. The standard rules of rounding are applied. The University of South Carolina Honor Code applies.

Reasonable accommodations are available for students with a documented disability. If you have a disability and may need accommodations to fully participate in this class, contact the Office of Student Disability Services: 777-6142, TDD 777-6744, email sasds@mailbox.sc.edu, or stop by LeConte College Room 112A. All accommodations must be approved through the Office of Student Disability Services.

Course schedule

This is a rough schedule of the sequence of what will be covered. The instructor will most probably amend things quite a bit. So, always check what will be next.

WEEK 1: HOWDY Y' ALL

- Read the Wikipedia article on "Foreign policy of the United States".
URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_policy_of_the_United_States.

WEEK 2: APPROACHING THE SUBJECT

- Valerie Hudson, 2005. "Foreign policy analysis: actor-specific theory and the ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lbb6ac3>.
- Margaret G. Hermann, 2001. "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Framework." *International Studies Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ou5ruac>.

WEEK 3: FOREIGN POLICY FROM THE EXECUTIVE

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph Siverson, and James D. Morrow, 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Chapters 1-3. Skip 'n' skim the heavy technical parts. Reading more of the book is highly encouraged.
- Thomas Knecht & M. Stephen Weatherford, 2006. "Public opinion and foreign policy: the stages of presidential decision making." *International Studies Quarterly*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/q36t7ap>.
- James Meernik & Elizabeth Oldmixon, 2008. "The president, the senate, and the costs of internationalism." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nvxjqv8>.

WEEK 4: FOREIGN POLICY FROM PARLIAMENT

- Jon Pevehouse & Felicity Vabulas, 2014. "The informational role of foreign lobbying in U.S. foreign aid." Unpublished.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/m8pddwp>.
- Ryan M. Powers, David Leblang, and Michael J. Tierney, 2010. "Overseas economic aid or domestic electoral assistance." Unpublished.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nry9sa8>.
- J. Lawrence Broz, 2005. "Congressional Politics of International Financial Rescues." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/pm6xeqd>.
- Douglas L. Kriner & Francis X. Shen, 2007. "Iraq Casualties and the 2006 Senate Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/qcskvf6>.
- Douglas L. Kriner & Francis X. Shen, 2014. "Responding to War on Capitol Hill: Battlefield Casualties, Congressional Response, and Public Support for the War in Iraq." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/q7qh96f>.

WEEK 5: PUBLIC OPINION AND NEWS

- John H. Aldrich, Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson Sharp, 2006. "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection." *Annual Review of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/pnqvaf8>.
- James M. Snyder & David Ströberg, 2010. "Press coverage and political accountability." *Journal of Political Economy*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mntmw46>.

- Thomas Eisensee & David Strömberg, 2007. "News droughts, news floods, and U.S. disaster relief." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/n9gakl7>.
- Matthew A. Baum, 2002. "Sex, lies, and war." *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nxjpfj5>
- Tim Groeling & Matthew A. Baum, 2008. "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon." *The Journal of Politics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/n3brr69>.

WEEK 6: BUREAUCRACY, INTELLIGENCE, AND FOREIGN POLICY

- Zeev Maoz, 1990. "Framing the National Interest: The Manipulation of Foreign Policy Decisions in Group Settings." *World Politics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/l1elawrd>.
- Nancy Qian & David Yanagizawa, 2009. "The strategic determinants of U.S. human rights reporting." *Journal of the European Economic Association*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nhbcrd3>.
- Tiberiu Dragu, 2011. "Is there a trade-off between security and liberty?" *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/q45t3hm>
- Arindrajit Dube, Ethan Kaplan, and Suresh Naidu, 2011. "Coups, corporations, and classified information." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nmb9zf8>
- Read up on the NSA, elliptical curves, NIST.
 - Kim Zetter, 2013. "How a Crypto Backdoor Pitted the Tech World Against the NSA."
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/l39ty92>
 - The Economist, 2013. "Cracked credibility."
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/q7bcg97>.

WEEK 7: ECONOMIC FOREIGN POLICY I

- Jens Hainmueller & Michael J. Hiscox, 2010. "Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration." *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mwfs9bl>.
- Jens Hainmueller & Daniel Hopkins, 2012. "The hidden american immigration consensus." Unpublished.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/m7zzj7f>.
- Margaret Peters, 2014 (?). "Trade, foreign direct investment, and immigration policy in the U.S. Senate." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/p8duktd>.

- Daniel Y. Kono, 2006. "Optimal obfuscation?" *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lcbgvtz>
- Robert A. Galantucci, 2013. "Who promotes protection? Influences on Trade-Related Position Taking in the Senate." *International Interactions*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kehn27n>.
- Daron Acemoglu, James A. Robinson, and Thierry Verdier, 2014. "Asymmetric Growth and Institutions in an Interdependent World." Working paper. Rapidly skim the tricky technical stuff.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/km71jb6>.

WEEK 8: ECONOMIC FOREIGN POLICY II

- Timothy M. Peterson, 2012. "Sending a message: The Reputation Effect of US Sanction Threat Behavior." *International Studies Quarterly*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/11b58y7>.
- Dursun Peksen, Timothy M. Peterson, and A. Cooper Drury, 2014. "Media-driven Humanitarianism? News Media Coverage of Human Rights Abuses and the Use of Economic Sanctions." *International Studies Quarterly*. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/myzv8k6>.
- Taehee Whang, 2011. "Playing to the home crowd? Symbolic Use of Economic Sanctions in the United States." *International Studies Quarterly*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kxjfrbe>.
- Michael J. Hiscox, 2002. "Commerce, Coalitions, and Factor Mobility: Evidence from Congressional Votes on Trade Legislation." *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lgaquhz>.
- Jeffrey Kucik & Eric Reinhardt, 2008. "Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mxdujpt>.

WEEK 9: USE OF FORCE AND SUBSTITUTABILITY

- Glenn Palmer & T. Clifton Morgan, *A theory of foreign policy*, Chapters 1–3.
- David H. Clark and William Reed, 2005. "The strategic sources of foreign policy substitutability." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/1913amk>.
- David H. Clark, Tim Nordstrom, and William Reed, 2008. "Substitution is in the variance." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mwmmr2yx>.
- Jesse C. Johnson & Tiffany D. Barnes, 2011. "Responsibility and the diversionary use of force." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*.
URL: <http://cmp.sagepub.com/content/28/5/478.short>.

- Jonathan W. Keller & Dennis M. Foster, 2012. "Presidential leadership style and the political use of force." *Political Psychology*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/klj497q>.

WEEK 10: MAKING THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE

- James Meernik, 1996. "United States military intervention and the promotion of democracy." *Journal of Peace Research*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ptvn7qt>.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, 2006. "Intervention and democracy." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kwl9sza>.
- Bernd Beber, 2009. "The Effect of International Mediation on War Settlement: An Instrumental Variables Approach." Unpublished.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mq5h5r4>.
- Robert K. Fleck & Christopher Kilby, 2010. "Changing aid regimes? U.S. foreign aid from the Cold War to the War on Terror." *Journal of Development Economics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/q7txb9o>.
- Christopher J. Fariss, 2010. "The strategic substitution of United States foreign aid." *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/owm4aa4>.

WEEK 11: AT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

- Kenneth W. Abbott & Duncan Snidal, 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/p69hajk>.
- Songying Fang, 2008. "The informational role of international institutions and domestic politics." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/qez5nb9>.
- Terrence L. Chapman, 2009. "Audience beliefs and international organization legitimacy." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nn8f8o5>.
- Randall W. Stone, 2004. "The political economy of IMF lending in Africa." *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/oc7gc3x>.
- Randall W. Stone, 2008. "The scope of IMF conditionality." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/pdowaa>.
- J. Lawrence Broz, 2008. "Congressional voting on funding the international financial institutions." *The Review of International Organizations*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lf9xy4o>.

WEEK 12: EFFECTS AT HOME FROM FOREIGN POLICY I

- William G. Howell and Jon C. Rogowski, 2012. "War, the presidency, and legislative voting behavior." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/p5n7spp>.
- Kenneth Scheve & David Stasavage, 2010. "The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation." *International Organization*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/mwoc42a>.
- Kenneth Scheve & David Stasavage, 2012. "Democracy, War, and Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation." *American Political Science Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/klv9frf>.
- Philippe Aghion, Torsten Persson, and Dorothee Rouzet, 2012. "Education and military rivalry." NBER Working Paper No. 18049. Only skim the extensive case studies.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/jvtvwza>.
- Lee Epstein, Daniel E. Ho, Gary King, and Jeffrey A. Segal, 2005. "The supreme court during crisis." *New York University Law Review*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ny4e42q>.
- John Mueller & Mark G. Stewart, 2014. "Evaluating Counterterrorism Spending." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/npw9j9l>.

WEEK 13: EFFECTS AT HOME FROM FOREIGN POLICY II

- Steven V. Miller, 2013. "Territorial disputes and the politics of individual well-being." *Journal of Peace Research*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ngkjou6>.
- Pierrick Bourrat, Nicolas Baumard, and Ryan McKay, 2011. "Surveillance cues enhance moral condemnation." *Evolutionary Psychology*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/kvmehq8>.
- Tabitha Bonilla & Justin Grimmer, 2013. "Elevated threat levels and decreased expectations: how democracy handles terrorist threats." *Poetics*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/o29ebkq>.
- Leonie Huddy, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav, 2005. "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/puywoh9>.
- Marc Hetherington & Elizabeth Suhay, 2011. "Authoritarianism, Threat, and Americans Support for the War on Terror." *American Journal of Political Science*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/pqa6qcy>.

- Samuel J. Best, Brian S. Krueger, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, 2012. "Al Qaeda Versus Big Brother: Anxiety About Government Monitoring and Support for Domestic Counterterrorism Policies." *Political Behavior*.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/oebhr76>.