Seminar in Foreign Policy

PLSC 661A

Spring 2024

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Office hours: Thursday, 8:00-10:00, and by appointment

This class has two goals. The first is to introduce you to some of the major issues in research on foreign policy in a variety of settings. Theories of foreign policy focus on the preferences and choices of political actors, including states, state leaders, and political factions, about international matters. This focus is somewhat different than studying the outcome of interactions among these actors, though these are obviously related. Scholars have suggested many possible reasons for these actors' choices and preferences, according very different roles to international pressures, domestic political considerations, rational calculation, psychological processes, and the like. In order to give you a better understanding of the current state of research on each topic, most of the works we will read are recent. This fact should not be taken to mean that older work is irrelevant or inferior. I have included a few classic older works to underscore this point. The second--and arguably more important--goal of the course is to help you identify topics for your own research. Each week we will spend some of our time explicitly discussing what the week's readings suggest for future research. Hopefully, each student with relevant interests will come away from the class with a few workable research ideas that could be developed into conference papers, articles, or a dissertation project. Identifying research topics is more important in this class than it would be in a core seminar, such as PLSC 650, which is primarily intended to introduce students to the literature in the field.

Course Materials

Most of the articles listed on the syllabus are available through databases maintained by the library. I will post PDF versions of the book chapters and articles that are difficult to access on the Brightspace page for the course. We will read the 2 books below in their entirety. They are available for purchase at the University bookstore as well as from the usual online sources.

McNamee, Lachlan. 2023. *Settling for Less: Why States Colonize and Why They Stop*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Terman, Rochelle. 2023. *The Geopolitics of Shaming: When Human Rights Pressure Works--and When It Backfires.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance and participation. Attendance and participation are critically important. Graduate seminars simply do not work if participants are not prepared to discuss the reading. Moreover, discussing research intelligently is a major part of academic life. It is an indispensable skill, and one that improves with practice. Attendance and participation will count for 35 percent of your final grade.

2. Short papers. Each student will write two short papers during the semester. Each paper should identify a research question related to the reading for one week, and set out a research design for answering it. You may write a paper about any two weeks you choose, though no more than one paper per week. The papers are due by 5pm on the day before the seminar meeting. I will try to read them before the seminar meeting and return them then. I may ask you to give the class the gist of your research idea during the seminar. The paper should have the following parts:

1) Statement of the research question
2) Explanation of why the question is important
3) Brief summary of at least one theoretical argument that might answer the question
4) List of one or more observable implications of the theoretical argument(s)
5) Plan for gathering data to test these observable implications

Although the precise length of these papers is not particularly important, 3-6 pages is a good target zone. Each of these two papers will count for 10 percent of your final grade.

3. Term Paper or Take-Home Final Exam. Students may complete the course by either by submitting a term paper or by taking a final exam.

3a. Term Paper Option. The research paper should be appropriate for presentation to a professional conference. In the case of especially ambitious topics, the paper may be a plan for future research rather than a presentation of actual results. (Such papers are often presented at professional conferences, so these two criteria do not conflict.) You should show that the plan for gathering the data is feasible, perhaps by collecting a small sample of it. The paper may deal with any subject related to the course. You should select your topic and write a brief prospectus by the March 21st class meeting. The prospectus should follow the format set out for the short papers. If you choose to work on one of the topics you selected for a short paper, you may use one of them as your prospectus. As with the short papers, the length is not a very important issue, but 20-30 pages is a reasonable target. The prospectus will count for 5 percent of your course grade. The paper will count for 40 percent of the course grade. The paper is due by 5:00pm on May 13th.

3b. Final Exam Option. This option is intended mainly for students whose principal research interests lie outside the scope of this class. The final exam will consist of an essay written in response to one of several questions available after the final class meeting on May 2nd. You may consult any sources you like to complete, subject to the usual restrictions against plagiarism. The final exam will count for 45 percent of your final grade. It is due by 5pm on May 9th.

Course Schedule and Readings

The readings for each week are listed in alphabetical order. Some deal with the same question and speak directly to one another, while others focus on somewhat different issues. I will discuss how the next set of readings can be grouped together at the end of each class meeting. The reading list for each week may be changed during the semester.

1. Introduction (18 January)

Ellsberg, Daniel. 1972. "The Quagmire Myth and the Stalemate Machine." In Daniel Ellsberg, *Papers on the War* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster). 42-135.

2. Generalizing about the State as an Actor (25 January)

Block, Fred. 1977. "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State." *Socialist Revolution* 33: 6-28.

Cederman Lars-Erik, Paolo Galano Toro, Luc Girardin, and Giy Schvitz. 2023. "War Did Make States: Revisiting the Bellicist Paradigm in Early Modern Europe." *International Organization* 77(2): 324-362.

Grynaviski, Erik, and Sverrir Steinsson. 2023. "Wisdom Is Welcome Wherever It Comes From: War, Diffusion, and State Formation in Scandinavia." *International Organization* 77(2): 294-323.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. New York: Cambridge University Press. 169-91.

3. Leaders and Advisers (1 February)

Carson, Austin, and Matthew J. Conklin. 2022. "Co-Optation at the Creation: Leaders, Elite Consensus, and Postwar International Order." *Security Studies* 31(4): 634-66.

Jost, Tyler, Joshua Kertzer, Eric Min, and Robert Schub. 2021. "Advisers and Aggregation in Foreign Policy Decision-Making." Working Paper. https://people.fas.harvard.edu/~jkertzer/Research_files/adviser_hawkishness_web.pdf.

Jost, Tyler. 2022. "Leaders, Bureaucracy, and Miscalculation in International Crises." Working Paper. http://www.tylerjost.com/uploads/1/1/0/4/110425699/leaders_bureaucracy_and_miscalculation_in_international_crises.pdf

Saunders, Elizabeth. 2018. "Leaders, Advisers, and the Political Origins of Elite Support for War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (10): 2118–49.

4. Economic Sources of Foreign Policy Preferences (8 February)

Bearce, David H. 2003. "Societal Preferences, Partisan Agents, and Monetary Policy Outcomes." *International Organization* 57(2): 373-410.

Fordham, Benjamin O. 2019. "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-91." *International Organization* 73(2): 435-68.

Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 107-23.

Markowitz, Jonathan, Christopher Fariss, and R. Blake McMahon. 2019. "Producing Goods and Projecting Power: How What You Make Influences What You Take." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(6): 1368-1402.

5. Ideational Sources of Foreign Policy Preferences (15 February)

Danielle L. Lupton. 2022. "Military Experience and Elite Decision-Making: Self-Selection, Socialization, and the Vietnam Draft Lottery" *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1).

Jost, Tyler, Kaine Meshkin and Robert Schub. 2022. "The Character and Origins of Military Attitudes on the Use of Force" *International Studies Quarterly* 66(2).

Sakamoto, Takuto. 2023. "Threat Conceptions in Global Security Discourse: Analyzing the Speech Records of the United Nations Security Council, 1990–2019." *International Studies Quarterly* 67(3).

Thérien, Jean-Philippe, and Alain Noël. 2000. "Political Parties and Foreign Aid." *American Political Science Review* 94(1): 151-62.

6. Explaining Settler Colonialism (22 February)

McNamee, Lachlan. 2023. *Settling for Less: Why States Colonize and Why They Stop*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

7. Democracy and Political Competition (29 February)

Chiozza, Giacomo, and H. E. Goemans. 2003. "Peace through Insecurity: Tenure and International Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(4): 443-67.

Myrick, Rachel. 2021. "Do External Threats Unite or Divide? Security Crises, Rivalries, and Polarization in American Foreign Policy." *International Organization* 75(4): 921-58.

Rickard, Stephanie J., and Teri L. Caraway. 2014. "International Negotiations in the Shadow of National Elections." *International Organization* 68(2): 701-20.

Week, Jessica L. P., and Michaela Mattes. 2019. "Hawks, Doves, and Peace: An Experimental Approach." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 53-66.

No class meeting on 7 March (Spring Break)

8. Domestic Institutions (14 March)

Croco, Sarah E., and Jessica L. P. Weeks. 2016. "War Outcomes and Leader Tenure." *World Politics* 68(4): 577-607.

Dietrich, Simone. 2016. "Donor Political Economies and the Pursuit of Aid Effectiveness." *International Organization* 71(1): 65-102.

Mattes, Michaela and Mariana Rodriguez. 2014. "Autocracies and International Cooperation." International Studies Quarterly 58(3):527–538.

Mattes, Michaela, Brett Ashley Leeds, and Royce Carroll. 2015. "Leadership Turnover and Foreign Policy Change: Societal Interests, Domestic Institutions, and Voting in the United Nations." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(2): 280-90.

9. Public Opinion (21 March)

Abbasov, Namig, and Cameron G. Thies. 2023. "Between the West and Russia: Explaining Individual Foreign Policy Preferences in the Small States." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 19(2).

Berinsky, Adam J. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 69(4): 975-997.

De Vries Catherine E., Sara B. Hobolt, and Stefanie Walter. 2021. "Politicizing International Cooperation: The Mass Public, Political Entrepreneurs, and Political Opportunity Structures." *International Organization* 75(2): 306-332

Kertzer Joshua D., Marcus Holmes, Brad L. LeVeck, and Carly Wayne. 2022. "Hawkish Biases and Group Decision Making." *International Organization*. 76(3): 513-548.

10. International Institutions (28 March)

Appel, Benjamin J. 2018. "In the Shadow of the International Criminal Court: Does the ICC Deter Human Rights Violations?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(1): 3-28.

Morrow, James D. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 559-72.

Pelc, Krzysztof J. 2010. "Constraining Coercion? Legitimacy and Its Role in U.S. Trade Policy, 1975-2000." *International Organization* 64(1): 65-96.

Tingley, Dustin, and Michael Tomz. 2022. "The Effects of Naming and Shaming on Public Support for Compliance with International Agreements: An Experimental Analysis of the Paris Agreement." *International Organization* 76 (2): 445-468.

11. Hierarchy and Status (4 April)

Nieman, Mark David. 2016. "The return on social bonds: Social hierarchy and international conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 665-79.

Renshon, Jonathan. 2016. "Status Deficits and War." *International Organization* 70(3): 513-50.

Sample, Susan G. 2018. "Power, Wealth, and Satisfaction: When Do Power Transitions Lead to Conflict?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(9): 1905-1931.

Ward, Steven Michael. 2017. "Lost in Translation: Social Identity Theory and the Study of Status in World Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(4): 821-34.

12. Influence and Asymmetry I (17 April)

Blankenship, Brian. 2020. "Promises under Pressure: Statements of Reassurance in U.S. Alliances." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(4): 1017–1030.

Lee, James. 2022. "Foreign Aid, Development, and US Strategic Interests in the Cold War." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1).

Myrick, Rachel, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2022. "Making Sense of Human Rights Diplomacy: Evidence from a US Campaign to Free Political Prisoners." *International Organization* 76(2): 379-413.

Sullivan, Patricia L., Brock F. Tessman, Xiaojun Li. 2011. "US Military Aid and Recipient State Cooperation." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7(3): 275-94.

13. Diplomatic Pressure and Human Rights (25 April)

Terman, Rochelle. 2023. *The Geopolitics of Shaming: When Human Rights Pressure Works--and When It Backfires.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

14. Non-State Actors I (2 May)

Fortna, Virginia Page, Nicholas J. Lotito, and Michael A Rubin. 2018. "Don't Bite the Hand that Feeds: Rebel Funding Sources and the Use of Terrorism in Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(4): 782-94.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. "Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51(159): 89-101.

Savun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(6): 878-904.

Srivastava, Swati. 2022. "Navigating NGO–Government Relations in Human Rights: New Archival Evidence from Amnesty International, 1961–1986." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1).