

**Seminar in Foreign Policy**  
**PLSC 661A**  
**Fall 2021**

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Office hours: By appointment, in person or online

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 individual political actors rather than the outcome of their interactions, though these are obviously related. Scholars have suggested a diverse array of 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 added 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**

The articles and book excerpts listed on the syllabus will be available through databases maintained by the library. I will post PDF version of the book chapters on the Blackboard page for the course. We will read the 4 books below in their entirety. They will be available for purchase at the University bookstore as well as from the usual online sources. The O'Rourke book is available as an e-book through the university library.

Berinsky, Adam. 2009. *In Time of War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Grygiel, Jakub J. 2018. *Return of the Barbarians*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Horowitz, Michael C., Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. 2015. *Why Leaders Fight*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

O'Rourke, Lindsay A. 2018. *Covert Regime Change*. Ithaca: Cornell 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 November 3rd 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 December 18th.

**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 8 December. 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 14 December.

### **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. For your convenience, I will discuss the way 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 course of the semester.

### **1. Introduction (25 August)**

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 (1 September)**

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

Gennaioli, Nicola, and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2015. "State Capacity and Military Conflict." *Review of Economic Studies* 82(4): 1409-48.

Michael Mastanduno, David A. Lake and G. John Ikenberry. 1989. "Toward A Realist Theory of State Action." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(4): 457-74.

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. No class meeting (8 September)**

### **4. Leaders (15 September)**

Horowitz, Michael C., Allan C. Stam, and Cali M. Ellis. 2015. *Why Leaders Fight*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **5. Sources of Foreign Policy Preferences I (22 September)**

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

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.

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

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.

### **6. Sources of Foreign Policy Preferences II (29 September)**

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

Köstem, Seçkin. 2017. "When Can Idea Entrepreneurs Influence Foreign Policy? Explaining the Rise of the 'Turkic World' in Turkish Foreign Policy." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 13(3): 722-40.

Sagan, Scott D., and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2017. "Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants." *International Security* 42(1): 41-79.

Parsons, Craig. 2002. "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union." *International Organization* 56(1): 47-84.

### **7. Public Opinion I (6 October)**

Berinsky, Adam. 2009. *In Time of War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### **8. Democracy and Political Competition (13 October)**

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.

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

Tir, Jaroslav. 2010. "Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 413-25.

### **9. Domestic Institutions (20 October)**

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.

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

Lake, David A. 1992. "Powerful Pacifists: Democratic States and War." *American Political Science Review* 86(1): 24-37.

Hyde, Susan D., and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2020. "Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space." *International Organization* 74(2): 363-95.

### **10. International Institutions (27 October)**

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.

Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Alliance Reliability in Times of War: Explaining State Decisions to Violate Treaties." *International Organization* 57 (4): 801-27.

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.

### **11. Hierarchy and Status (3 November)**

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

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.

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

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

### **12. Influence and Asymmetry I (10 November)**

Keohane, Robert O. 1971. "The Big Influence of Small Allies." *Foreign Policy* 2: 161-182.

McKeown, Timothy J. 2009. "The Big Influence of Big Allies." In Helen Milner and Andrew Moravcsik, eds., *Power, Interdependence, and Nonstate Actors in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 204-22. [Note that the PDF contains the reference list for the entire edited volume. If you print it, you may not need this section.]

Hazleton, Jacqueline. 2017. "The 'Hearts and Minds' Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare." *International Security* 42(1): 80-113.

Sechser, Todd S. 2010. "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power." *International Organization* 64(4): 627-60.

### **13. Influence and Asymmetry II (17 November)**

O'Rourke, Lindsay A. 2018. *Covert Regime Change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

### **14. No Class (24 November)**

### **15. Non-State Actors I (1 December)**

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

Choi, Seung-Whan, and James A. Piazza. 2015. "Ethnic groups, political exclusion and domestic terrorism." *Defence and Peace Economics* 27(3): 37-63.

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.

**14. Non-State Actors II (8 December)**

Grygiel, Jakub J. 2018. *Return of the Barbarians*. New York: Cambridge University Press.