

POLS 633

Foreign and Security Policy

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Fall 2021

Office: LASB 321

Meeting Time: Wed. 9:00am – 11:50am

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Office Hours: by appointment

Course Description

This graduate seminar offers a survey of topics in the sub-field of foreign policy. The course is divided into two main parts. First, we will examine the sources of foreign policy. Why do leaders make the particular foreign policy choices that they do? In addressing this question, we will delve into topics such as beliefs, personality, bureaucratic politics, public opinion, and other domestic institutions. Second, we will examine the efficacy of policies that leaders design to influence the behavior of their counterparts. When do particular foreign policies “work” by achieving the desired outcome? We will study the range of tools in the foreign policy toolkit: the use of military force, threats, economic sanctions, positive inducements, and diplomacy.

Student Learning Outcomes

The course is designed to develop the following knowledge and skills:

- **Understanding the literature.** Students will learn what existing scholarship teaches us about particular foreign policy issues.
- **Critique existing research.** What are the limitations of this work? How could it be improved? When critiquing, always bear in mind that it is harder to build something than it is to tear it down.
- **Integrate knowledge on a given topic.** “We can group the vast literature on TOPIC X into the following three schools of thought...”
- **Identify original research questions.** What is worth explaining? How do you know?
- **Develop interesting theoretical arguments.** How can you build a compelling theory to explain some aspect of international politics?
- **Appropriately design scholarly research.** Any theory must generate testable predictions. Otherwise, it is not falsifiable. How do you design a study to test your theory’s predictions.
- **Writing effectively.** Being able to write clearly and succinctly is critical to succeeding as a social scientist.

- **Presenting social scientific work effectively.** In our field, you will be asked to give presentations on your research at conferences and internal workshops. Obtaining a tenure-track job in academia will depend, in part, on giving a 30-45 minute presentation of your research.

Course Policies

University-wide policies appear at the end of the syllabus. There are a few course-specific policies as well.

- **COVID Syllabus Statement for Fall 2021.** The following optional syllabus statement on the value of vaccinations and masking was developed by the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate and approved by the Administration on August 18, 2021:

To help protect Aggieland and stop the spread of COVID-19, Texas A&M University urges students to be vaccinated and to wear masks in classrooms and all other academic facilities on campus, including labs. Doing so exemplifies the Aggie Core Values of respect, leadership, integrity, and selfless service by putting community concerns above individual preferences. COVID-19 vaccines and masking – regardless of vaccination status – have been shown to be safe and effective at reducing spread to others, infection, hospitalization, and death.

- **Late work policy.** I will accept assignments after the deadlines indicated in the syllabus. If a student is unable to complete an assignment due to illness, there will not be a penalty for turning in late work. In that case, students can turn in the assignment once they have recovered and are able to complete it. More generally, missing class due to a university-excused absence does not constitute late work. In other cases, I will subtract 10 points for each day that an assignment is late. If extenuating circumstances not previously specified arise, the student can request that this penalty be waived. I will handle requests to waive late penalties on a case-by-case basis.
- **Re-grading policy.** Students may request that assignments be re-graded if they believe that they have been unfairly evaluated. Requests for such re-evaluations must be delivered to me in typewritten form (these requests cannot be e-mailed) along with the assignment within one week after assignments are returned. The written statement must include specific reasons why the student believes the assignment was graded unfairly as well as their assessment of what grade they deserve. I will then re-grade the assignment. Note that the new grade may be the same, higher, or lower than the original grade.

Course Requirements

There are six main requirements for this seminar:

- **Weekly “ideas papers.”** Students will write a short paper (1-2 pages) every week (starting on September 15) that describes an original research idea that emerged from the course readings. These write-ups should lay out a paper that could be written if the student chose to pursue the idea. Students will be graded based on three criteria: (1) thoughtfulness, (2) creativity, and (3) the potential to advance knowledge on the topic. Each student will present their research ideas to the class each week. This will constitute **20 percent of your grade**. This must be submitted to me via email prior to the start of class.
- **Class Participation.** I expect that students will come to class prepared, having read all of the assigned readings. Class participation represents **10 percent of your grade**. I will record participation scores at the end of each class based on the following 5-point scale:
 - 4: The student did the following: (1) participated consistently throughout the session; (2) showed that they have read and comprehended all of the readings; (3) displayed an ability to integrate the literature; and (4) demonstrated that they can identify shortcomings in the research and articulate how one might do better in the future.
 - 3: One of the above areas is lacking.
 - 2: Two of the above areas are lacking.
 - 1: Three or more of the above areas are lacking.
 - 0: The student did not attend class and did not have a legitimate reason for being absent.
- **Literature Review.** Students will write a 2,000 word literature review that (1) identifies an important research question, (2) synthesizes existing scholarly research on that question, (3) critiques the work that has been done to date, and (4) identifies new opportunities for research. The literature review should serve as the foundation for your research paper in the class; a revised version of the literature review will be part of your final paper. This will constitute **15 percent of your grade**.
- **Initial Research Paper Submission.** Students are required to write an original research paper on a topic related to foreign policy broadly defined. All research proposals must be approved by me in advance. Students will submit an initial version of their paper. This represents **20 percent of their final grade**.
- **Revise and Resubmit.** I will review the initial submission as if I were serving as an anonymous reviewer for a journal. Through this process, you will receive detailed feedback from me. You will then revise the paper to address my feedback. When submitting your revised paper, you must include a revision memo that details that changes you have made to the paper in response to my feedback. The revised paper constitutes **30 percent of your grade**. My goal is that you will eventually submit a revised version of your paper for publication in peer-reviewed journals, and present your work at professional conferences.

- **Presentation.** You will give a presentation of your research paper at the end of the semester that will represent **5 percent of your grade.**
- **Final letter grade.** Your final letter grade will be determined based on the following scale:
 - A: 89.5–100
 - B: 79.5–89.49
 - C: 69.5–79.49
 - D: 59.5–69.49
 - F: below 59.5

Key Deadlines

- Start of each seminar meeting: weekly ideas papers due.
- October 29: Literature review due.
- November 19: Initial paper submission due.
- December 8: Class presentations.
- December 12: Final paper due.

Course Readings

All of the assigned articles are available through the TAMU library in databases such as JSTOR or Google Scholar. Please let me know if you have questions about how to access the articles. We will read portions of several books. You may purchase these books, but the relevant excerpts will be available through the online course management system.

Course Outline

- September 1: Course Overview
 - PART I: SOURCES OF FOREIGN POLICY
- September 8: Foundations
- September 15: Beliefs, Personality, and Biology
- September 22: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender
- September 29: Public Opinion

- October 6: Legislatures and Other Domestic Institutions
PART II: GETTING WHAT YOU WANT
- October 13: Grand Strategy
- October 20: Military Alliances
- October 27: Use of Force
- November 3: Deterrence and Foreign Policy Signaling
- November 10: Nuclear Weapons
- November 17: Sanctions and Inducements
- November 24. Reading Day – No Class
- December 1: Diplomacy and Personal Relationships
- December 8: Student Presentations

Detailed Course Schedule

Course Overview

- No readings.

Foundations

- Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. “Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*.
- Colin Elman, “Horses for Courses: Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy,” *Security Studies*, 6(1): 7-53.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. 1996. “International Relations is Not Foreign Policy,” *Security Studies* 6(1), 54-57.
- Rose, Gideon. 1998. “Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy,” *World Politics*, 51(1), 144-172.

Beliefs and Personality

Background reading: James W. Davis and Rose McDermott. 2021. “The Past, Present, and Future of Behavioral IR,” *International Organization* 75(1): 147-177.

- Gallagher, Maryann E. and Susan H. Allen. 2014. “Presidential Personality: Not Just a Nuisance,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 10, 1-21

- Renshon, Jonathan, 2008. “Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52(6), 820-849.
- A. Burcu Bayram. 2017. “Due Deference: Cosmopolitan Social Identity and the Psychology of Legal Obligation in International Politics,” *International Organization* 71(S1).
- Brian Rathbun, Joshua Kertzer, and Mark Paradis, 2017. “Homo Diplomaticus: Mixed-Method Evidence of Variation in Strategic Rationality,” *International Organization* 71(S1).
- Matthew Fuhrmann, 2020. “When Do Leaders Free-Ride? Business Experience and Contributions to Collective Defense,” *American Journal of Political Science* 64(2): 416-431.

Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

Background reading: Errol A Henderson. 2013, “Hidden in plain sight: racism in international relations theory.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 71-92.

- Austin Carson, Eric Min, and Maya Van Nuys. 2021. “Racial Tropes in Foreign Policy: A Computational Text Analysis.” Working paper.
- Baker, Andy. 2015. “Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence from US Public Opinion.” *American Political Science Review* 109(1):93–109.
- Charles King and Neil J. Melvin. 1999/2000. “Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia,” *International Security*, 24(3): 108–138
- Joslyn Barnhardt, Robert Trager, Elizabeth Saunders, and Allan Dafoe. 2020. “The Suffragist Peace,” *International Organization* 74(4).
- Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark. 2020. “Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross-National Study of Gender and International Conflict,” *Security Studies* 29(3): 515-548

Public Opinion

- Joshua D. Kertzer and Thomas Zeitzoff, “A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Public Opinion about Foreign Policy”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 61:3 (July 2017), 543-558.
- Jessica Chen Weiss and Allan Dafoe, 2019. “Authoritarian Audiences, Rhetoric, and Propaganda in International Crises: Evidence from China,” *International Studies Quarterly* 63(4): 963-973.
- Alexandra Guisinger, Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2017. “Mapping the Boundaries of Elite Cues: How Elites Shape Mass Opinion across International Issues,” *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 425-441.

- Michaela Mattes, Jessica L. P. Weeks. 2019. “Hawks, Doves, and Peace: An Experimental Approach.” *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 53-66.
- Matthew Baum and Philip Potter, *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy*, Princeton University Press, 2015. Chapters 1-3.

Legislatures and Other Domestic Actors

- Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2005. “Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force,” *International Organization*, 59, 209-232.
- Helen Milner and Dustin Tingley, “Sailing the Water’s Edge: The Domestic Politics of Foreign Policy,” Princeton University Press, 2015. Chapters 1-3.
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin Page, “Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?” *American Political Science Review*, Volume 99, Issue 1 February 2005.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2017. “No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision-Making,” *International Organization* 71(S1).

PART II: GETTING WHAT YOU WANT

Grand Strategy

- Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, 2016. *America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21st Century*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-5.
- Barry Posen, 2014. *Restraint: A New Foundation for U.S. Grand Strategy*. Cornell University Press. Introduction and Chapters 1-2.

Military Alliances

- James Morrow. 1991. “Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances.” *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (4): 904-933.
- Brett Ashley Leeds, 2003. “Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes,” *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3).
- Michael Kenwick, John Vasquez and Matthew Powers. “Do Alliances Really Deter?” *Journal of Politics* 77(2): 943-954.
- Quan Li and Tatiana Vashchiko, 2010. “Dyadic Military Conflict, Security Alliances, and Bilateral FDI Flows,” *Journal of International Business Studies* 41(5).
- Joshua Alley and Matthew Fuhrmann. 2021. “Budget Breaker? The Financial Cost of U.S. Military Alliances,” *Security Studies*, forthcoming.

The Use of Force

- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis Kalyvas. Aerial bombing and counterinsurgency in the vietnam war. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2):201–218, 2011.
- Jason Lyall, 2009. “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks?: Evidence from Chechnya” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3).
- Alexander B. Downes and Lindsey A. O’Rourke, 2016. “You Can’t Always Get What You Want: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Seldom Improves Interstate Relations,” *International Security* 41(2).
- Vipin Narang and Caitlin Talmadge, 2017. “Civil-military Pathologies and Defeat in War: Tests Using New Data” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(7).

Deterrence and Foreign Policy Signaling

- James Fearon, 1997. “Signaling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands versus Sinking Costs,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(1).
- Keren Yarhi-Milo, Joshua D. Kertzer and Jonathan Renshon, “Tying Hands, Sinking Costs, and Leader Attributes”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62:10 (November 2018), 2150-2179.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, 2013. “Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China,” *International Organization* 67(1).
- Azusa Katagiri and Eric Min, 2019. “The Credibility of Public and Private Signals: A Document-Based Approach.” *American Political Science Review* 113(1).
- Matthew Fuhrmann and Todd S. Sechser. Signaling alliance commitments: Hand-tying and sunk costs in extended nuclear deterrence. *American Journal of Political Science*, (forthcoming), 2014.

Nuclear Weapons

Background reading: Alexander Debs and Nuno Monteiro. 2017. “Conflict and Cooperation on Nuclear Nonproliferation,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 331-349.

- Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Fuhrmann. Crisis bargaining and nuclear blackmail. *International Organization*, 67(4):173–95, 2013.
- Matthew Kroenig. Nuclear superiority and the balance of resolve: Explaining nuclear crisis outcomes. *International Organization*, 67(1), 2013.
- Mark Bell, 2015. “Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy,” *International Security* 40(1): 87-119.
- Vipin Narang. *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Power Nuclear Postures and International Conflict*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2014. Chapters 1-2 and 9.

Sanctions and Inducements

- Nikolay Marinov, 2005. "Do Economic Sanctions Destabilize Country Leaders?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 564-576.
- Nicholas Miller, 2014. "The Secret Success of Nonproliferation Sanctions," *International Organization* 68(4): 913-944.
- Daniel Drezner, 1999. "The Trouble with Carrots: Transaction Costs, Conflict Expectations, and Economic Inducements," *Security Studies* 9(1-2).
- Miroslav Nincic, 2011. *The Logic of Positive Engagement*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-3.
- Lyall, Jason, 2019. *Civilian Casualties, Humanitarian Aid, and Insurgent Violence in Civil Wars*. *International Organization* 73(4).

Diplomacy and Political Relationships

- Holmes, Marcus and Keren Yarhi-Milo, 2016. "The Psychological Logic of Peace Summits: How Empathy Shapes Outcomes of Diplomatic Negotiations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 1-16.
- Todd Hall and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "The Personal Touch: Leaders' Impressions, Costly Signaling, and Assessments of Sincerity in International Affairs." *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 56, Issue 3, September 2012, Pages 560–573.
- Roseanne McManus, "Making It Personal: The Role of Leader-Specific Signals in Extended Deterrence" *Journal of Politics*, 2018.
- Elizabeth Saunders and James Lebovic, 2016. "The Diplomatic Core: The Determinants of High-Level US Diplomatic Visits, 1946–2010," *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(1): 107-123.
- Nicholas Wheeler, 2018. *Trusting Enemies*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-2.

University Policies

This section outlines the university level policies that must be included in each course syllabus. All of the language used here was taken directly from text provided by the TAMU Faculty Senate, which established the wording of these policies.

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments. Please refer to Student Rule 7 in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to Student Rule 7 in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See Student Rule 24.)

Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

"An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do."

"Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one's work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case" (Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at aggiehonor.tamu.edu.

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact Disability Resources in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu. Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences,

observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

—The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.

—The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University. Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University’s goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University’s Title IX webpage.

Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student’s academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

Department of Political Science’s Diversity Statement

The Department of Political Science supports the Texas A&M University commitment to diversity, and welcomes individuals from any racial, ethnic, religious, age, gender, sexual orientation, class, disability, and nationality. (See <http://diversity.tamu.edu/>). In the spirit of this vital commitment, in this course each voice in the classroom has something of value to contribute to all discussions. Everyone is expected to respect the different experiences, beliefs and values expressed by fellow students and the instructor, and will engage in reasoned discussion that refrains from derogatory comments about other people, cultures, groups, or viewpoints.