

POLITICAL SCIENCE 790-395-08
POLITICAL SCIENCE SEMINAR
DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY
Spring 2014
W 9:15am – 12:15pm
Hickman Hall Rm.114 (HCK-114 DC)

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Course webpage: On Sakai
Office Hours: Thursday 11:00am-Noon (or by appointment)

Course Description

“There are two things which a democratic people will always find very difficult—to begin a war and to end it.” – Alexis de Tocqueville

“The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings.” – Winston Churchill

The course takes as a starting point these two historical quotations in order to examine the impact of domestic politics on foreign policy. What role do domestic actors play in the policy making of their governments in the international arena? How does what happens within a country’s borders affect the ways in which a government chooses to conduct itself abroad? Why are certain types of regimes better able to achieve their international goals and further their interests than others?

This course seeks to provide a framework for thinking about and addressing these and related questions. The course is organized into three main sections. Part I investigates three of the core claims surrounding the purported distinctiveness of democracies in international relations: that democracies have been able to establish a separate peace amongst themselves; that democracies win the wars they fight; and that democracies are more successful in their crisis diplomacy. In this section we will consider what specific attributes seem to endow democracies with these advantages compared to other types of regimes. Part II turns to investigating in greater detail specific domestic actors and their impact on the foreign policy making process, including the public, interest groups, the media, legislatures, and leaders. Part III then focuses on the impact of domestic politics surrounding several contemporary issues, including international trade, foreign aid, and immigration.

We will approach these and other issues from a rigorous theoretical as well as empirical perspective. Throughout the course we will pay special attention to evaluating both the logic and evidence supporting various arguments concerning domestic politics and foreign policy. Upon completing the course, students will not only be acquainted with the main actors and institutions explaining the domestic sources of foreign policy, but will also be able to evaluate evidence supporting or impugning these explanations. Students should also be able to apply this knowledge to hypothetical or real-world scenarios in order to assess the prospects for peace and conflict in the current and

future world order.

All the information found in this syllabus, as well as readings, assignments, and announcements will be posted on the Sakai course website (available at <https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal>). It is the student's responsibility to check the website on a frequent basis.

Readings

There are no required books for purchase. All readings are available in electronic format and will be posted on the Sakai course website.

Please be warned, the reading load is quite substantial and often verges on 100 pages per week. The readings are also quite challenging theoretically and/or empirically, which means they cannot be casually skimmed. Students should allot appropriate time for completing the readings and plan ahead accordingly. For each week, students are encouraged to briefly look over the assigned readings to get a sense of how they relate to each other and the broader themes in the course. As you go through each reading in greater detail, you should consider the following general issues: are the claims the author makes surprising? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Next ask yourself: what type(s) of evidence does the author use? How convinced are you that the evidence supports their claims? Are there alternative explanations that are also consistent with the evidence? What other types of evidence might you find more convincing? What are the implications of the author's argument and evidence for other aspects of wartime violence? It is rare to find a piece of writing that you agree (or disagree) with entirely. So, as you come across issues that you do not find convincing or seem confusing, write them down as you take notes and bring them to class for discussion.

Although there are no required books, students must regularly read the *New York Times* throughout the semester. Free online access to the newspaper is available through the following website, <http://www.nytimes.com/Pass> (use your university email and follow the instructions on the webpage). Reading a daily news source is not only useful for keeping abreast of current events, but will also be central for the course by providing a valuable opportunity to grasp and apply key concepts involving the intersection between domestic politics and foreign policy.

We will regularly integrate ongoing news stories into the course material. Students are required to read the international news section of the paper on a daily basis, and be prepared to discuss and apply current events during classroom discussion and exercises.

Course Requirements

Participation (25%)
Leading News Discussion (5%)
Two Debates (20%; 10% each)
Public Opinion Survey Assignment (20%)
Research Paper (30%)

Participation (25%)

This course is a seminar, meaning all students are expected to actively participate. During most class meetings the instructor will lecture little, if at all. Students are required to come prepared to discuss the weekly readings, which means all assigned readings must be completed before class meets, unless otherwise noted by the instructor. Participation will be evaluated both on the quantity and quality of participation from students during class. An open environment for discussion is encouraged, but comments and questions should be directly related to the themes of the course. This is not an attendance grade; students are required to contribute to class discussion to receive points for this component of the course.

Attendance is mandatory. A significant portion of the overall course grade comes from participation and it is necessary to be present in class to have the opportunity to receive these points. If you expect to miss a class, please use the University absence reporting website <https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>, indicating the date and reason for your absence. More than one unexcused absence will severely affect the participation component of your final grade.

Leading News Discussion (5%)

This course seeks to integrate current events through regular reading of the *New York Times* in order to better grasp and apply key concepts related to domestic politics and foreign policy. Toward this end, students will work in small groups to present and lead discussion on recent current events as they relate to one or more themes from the course, and preferably those from the assigned week. Weekly responsibilities will be assigned early in the semester. Each group of students will be required to email the instructor and the other students two to three news articles by 8:00pm on the Monday before their assigned class. The email must be sent by this date and time to allow other students ample time to prepare – no exceptions. You should use the “Mailtool” in the left-hand menu on the Sakai website, and send to “All” so that everyone in the class receives your message. The email should have the subject line “PS395 Weekly News Articles”. The email should include an attached document with the following:

- 1) Start with a few brief introductory remarks (1-2 paragraphs) on how the articles relate to one or more themes in the course.
- 2) The bibliographic information (author, date, title, source, etc.) and URL for each of the chosen articles.
- 3) Under each article, include a few discussion questions other students should think about before class.

At the beginning of the assigned class meeting, the group of students responsible will then use these articles as a basis for leading discussion (~15-20 minutes) on the implications of recent events for thinking about domestic politics and foreign policy. Of course, this does not preclude either the presenters or other students from bringing up other recent material in the news, if relevant.

Two Debates (20%; 10% each)

Twice during the course, a debate will be held in class based on one of the weekly topics. The instructor will randomly assign students to groups expected to defend their assigned point of view, while also critiquing the opposing points of view. Assessment will be based on how well students marshal theory, readings, and evidence in crafting their (counter)arguments. Position assignments will be made well before the class meets, so students are encouraged to communicate and plan with others in their group accordingly.

Public Opinion Survey Assignment (20%)

Each student is required to complete a written assignment (5-7 pages) drawing on existing survey data dealing with a particular foreign policy issue. The assignment is due at the start of class on Wednesday, March 12, 2013. Further details will be provided later in a separate handout.

Research Paper (30%)

Each student is also required to complete a research paper (8-10 pages) examining the role of domestic actors and politics surrounding a particular foreign policy issue or event. Further details will be provided later in a separate handout. The paper is due by 11:00am on Monday, May 12, 2013. For general concerns about writing assistance, students are encouraged to contact the Rutgers Writing Center (<http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>).

Both written assignments involve a *significant* amount of original research, and should not be left to the last minute. Papers turned in after the deadline will be penalized 10% per day (weekends included), or any part thereof. No papers will be accepted after 72 hours past the deadline. It is your responsibility to ensure the late work reaches me (i.e., don't simply place something in my mailbox). Extensions are only available under the direst of circumstances, such as a *documented* illness or debilitating injury spanning much of the time when you could have worked on the assignment. Even in these exceptional cases, you are responsible for informing me well ahead of time, when circumstances permit, that an assignment will be late. Unnecessary delays in notification will disqualify you for an extension.

Grading Policy and Appeals

Final grades will be assigned according to the following scale:

90 and higher = A; 87 – 89 = B+; 80 – 86 = B; 77 – 79 = C+; 70 – 76 = C; 60 – 69 = D; 59 and below = F

A student wishing to appeal any grade must make their request in writing prior to meeting with the instructor. The written appeal must be typed and clearly state the reason(s) the student feels the grade they received is incorrect. Appeals must be made within two weeks of when the exam or assignment was originally returned to the class. Appeals simply asking for more points will not be considered. The instructor reserves the right to re-grade the entire exam or assignment once an appeal is made, which may result in an increase or decrease in the score a student receives.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by both the university and the instructor. Be aware that the instructor is apt to impose the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes but is not limited to issuing an automatic grade of 0.0 for the course.

If students have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, or other matters of academic integrity, the following link is helpful, <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources>.

Per the policy adoption in September 2011 to promote a strong culture of academic integrity, students are required to sign on examinations and major course assignments submitted for a grade “On my honor, I have neither received nor given unauthorized assistance on this examination (assignment)”.

Section II specifically discusses the definitions of cheating and plagiarism. If you are having trouble assimilating outside information into your own ideas or have any other questions concerning academic writing, see the Rutgers Learning Center (<http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>), or come to my office hours.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability that requires academic accommodations, please see me as soon as possible during scheduled office hours or after lecture. In order to receive accommodations in this course, you must provide me with a Letter of Accommodation from the Office of Disabilities Services, Lucy Stone Hall, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Ave., Suite A145, (848) 445-6800 (<https://ods.rutgers.edu/>).

Classroom Expectations

Some of the material covered in this course may be controversial. While debate is expected and in fact encouraged, students are required to conduct themselves in a professional manner at all times. Students are expected to arrive on time and ready to start class. Even though the seminar allows us a larger block of time, the class only meets once weekly, and it is disrespectful to the instructor and your fellow classmates to show up late. All disruptive behavior is not permitted during class, including but by no means limited to sleeping, talking outside of regular discussion, using cell phones, and insulting classmates and/or the instructor. Laptops are permitted, but checking email, browsing the Internet, online chatting, or similar activities are prohibited without the instructor’s explicit approval. Failure to follow rules regarding the use of laptops or similar electronic devices will negatively affect the student’s participation grade. Repeated warnings will lead to the student being prohibited from bringing such devices to class.

Course Schedule

The following is a schedule of topics and readings for the course. The schedule is subject to change based on the pace of the class. The instructor will clearly announce changes to the course schedule should any occur. Please be mindful that some of the readings for a particular week may be split across separate pages in the syllabus.

Part I. Democratic Distinctiveness: Fact or Fiction?

Week 1 (January 22): Overview of the Course

Powner, Leanne C. 2007. "Reading and Understanding Political Science." (1-18). Read this article carefully, since it provides a firm foundation for more effectively reading and understanding all later readings in the course. The exercises included in-text are completely optional.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2011. *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*. Ch.1 "The Rules of Politics" (1-20). Skim to get a flavor of some of the ways regimes in which differ, and the consequences for the incentives facing leaders in their policy making.

Week 2 (January 29): The Democratic Peace – Are Democracies Really More Pacific?

Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 "The Fact of Democratic Peace" (3-23) and Chapter 2 "Why Democratic Peace?" (24-42).

Rosato, Sebastian. 2003. "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4):585-602.

Forsythe, David P. 1992. "Democracy, War, and Covert Action." *Journal of Peace Research* 29 (4):385-95.

Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. 2002. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (2):15-26. This is the first article we will encounter that uses quantitative/statistical evidence, so do not be too concerned initially with figuring out the specifics of the estimation techniques used. You should review the relevant sections from the Powner reading beforehand, and focus on understanding the substantive results of Peceny et al. Also, we will then use this article in class to learn how to interpret and evaluate quantitative results.

Week 3 (February 5): Regimes Going to War – Democracy and Victory

Reiter, Dan and Allan C. Stam. 2010. "Search for Victory: Why Democracies Win Their Wars." In *Do Democracies Win Their Wars?* Michael E. Brown et al., eds. Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press. (3-37).

Desch, Michael C. 2002. "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters." *International Security* 27 (2):5-47.

Kaufman, Chaim. 2004. "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War." *International Security* 29 (1):5-48.

Week 4 (February 12): Crisis Bargaining and Credibility – Which Regimes Have the Edge?

Fearon, James D. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3):577-592. Note: Do not get bogged down in the minutiae of the formal model; you should instead focus on the substantive implications of his argument.

Tomz, Michael. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61 (4):821-840.

Weeks, Jessica. 2008. "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve." *International Organization* 62 (1):35-64.

Part II. Domestic Actors and Foreign Policy Making

Week 5 (February 19): The Mass Public – Enabler or Constraint?

Markus Prior. 2002. "Political Knowledge After September 11." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 35 (3):523-530.

Hetherington, Marc J., and Michael Nelson. 2003. "Anatomy of a Rally Effect: George W. Bush and the War on Terrorism." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36 (1):37-42.

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.

Johnston, Alastair Iain and Daniela Stockmann. 2007. "Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans." In *Anti-Americanisms and World Politics*. Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (157-195).

Week 6 (February 26): Whose Interests Matter? Lobbying and Interest Groups

Berry, Jeffrey M. 1997. *The Interest Group Society*. New York, N.Y.: Longman. Ch.1 "Madison's Dilemma" and Ch.2 "The Advocacy Explosion."

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. 2006 "The Israel Lobby." *London Review of Books* 28 (6): 3-12. (53 pages).

Little, Douglas. 2008. "David or Goliath? The Israel Lobby and Its Critics." *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (2):151-156.

Drezner, Daniel. 2008. "Methodological Confusion." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54 (24):B5.

Week 7 (March 5): Messenger or Playmaker? The Media and Foreign Policy

Kalb, Marvin, Thomas W. Kelly, and Bernard C. Cohen. "Provocations." In *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, eds. (3-11).

Iyengar, Shanto. 2011. *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide*. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton. Ch.4 "Reporters, Official Sources, and the Decline of Adversarial Journalism." (92-112).

Baum, Matthew A. 2004. "Circling the Wagons: Soft News and Isolationism in American Public Opinion." *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2):313-338.

Baum, Matthew A. 2010. "Trust and Perception: Powerful Factors in Assessing the News." *Nieman Reports*. Fall. (3 pages).

Hayes, Danny, and Matt Guardino. 2011. "The Influence of Foreign Voices on U.S. Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (4):831-851.

****PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY ASSIGNMENT DUE
AT THE START OF CLASS ON MARCH 12, 2013****

Week 8 (March 12): Congress and Legislatures – Between Gridlock and Governance

- James M. Lindsay. 1992-1993. "Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters." *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (4):607-628.
- Mead, Walter R. 2011. "The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (2):28-44.
- Broz, J. Lawrence and Michael B. Hawes. 2006. "Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund." *International Organization* 60 (2):367-399.
- Ornstein, Norman J. and Thomas E. Mann. 2006. "When Congress Checks Out." *Foreign Affairs* 85 (6): 67-82.

Week 9 (March 19): **No Class Meeting – Spring Break**

Week 10 (March 26): **No Class Meeting – Professor Wallace away at a conference**

Week 11 (April 2): Leaders or Followers? Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Dictators in World Affairs

- Nelson, Michael. 2012. "Person and Office: Presidents, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*. James M. McCormick, ed. New York, N.Y.: Rowman and Littlefield. (179-188).
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2009. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34 (2):119-161.
- Weeks, Jessica L. 2013. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106 (2):326-347.
- Horowitz, Michael, Rose McDermott, and Alan C. Stam. 2005. "Leader Age, Regime Type, and Violent International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (5):661-685.

Part III. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Issues

Week 12 (April 9): International Trade and Economic Relations

- Destler, I.M.. 2012. "American Trade Policymaking: A Unique Process." In *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence*. James M. McCormick, ed. New York, N.Y.: Rowman and Littlefield. (301-318).
- Frieden, Jeffrey A. 1988. "Sectoral Conflict and Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940." *International Organization* 42 (1):59-90.
- Milner, Helen V. and Benjamin Judkins. 2004. "Partisanship, Trade Policy, and Globalization: Is There a Left–Right Divide on Trade Policy?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (1):95-120.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2006. "Learning to Love Globalization: Education and Individual Attitudes toward International Trade." *International Organization* 60 (2):469-498.

Week 13 (April 16): **No Class Meeting – Professor Wallace away at a conference**

Week 14 (April 23): Foreign Aid

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2011. *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*. Ch.7 "Foreign Aid" (161-194).
- Lancaster, Carole. 2008 "Danish and US Foreign Aid Compared: A View from Washington." *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook*. (31-54).
- Milner, Helen and Dustin Tingley. 2011. "Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy." *International Organization* 65 (1): 37-68.

Week 15 (April 30): Immigration

- Massey, Douglas S. and Magaly Sanchez R. 2012. *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times*. New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation. Ch.3 "The Rise of Anti-Immigrant Times" (58-80).
- Malhotra, Neil, Yotam Margalit, and Cecilia H. Mo. 2013. "Economic Explanations for Opposition to Immigration: Distinguishing between Prevalence and Conditional Impact." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2):391-410.
- Money, Jeannette. 1999. *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.1 "The Political Geography of Immigration Control" (47-65).
- Andreas, Peter. 2000. *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.1 "The Escalation of Border Policing" (3-14) and Ch.5 "The Escalation of Immigration Control" (85-112).