

INTL 8250: American Foreign Policy (Spring 2017)

University of Georgia, Department of International Affairs

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Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00pm-5pm (drop-in), or by appointment

Class Meetings: Thursday 3:30-6:15pm, Candler Hall 117

Course Description:

This graduate seminar is designed to introduce students to the academic study of foreign policy. As with most topics, there is a vast range of potential subjects that could be included in such a course. I have selected a fairly broad overview, with an eye toward the input side of the foreign policy equation: What factors shape American foreign policy? Which international dynamics or domestic actors influence its content and direction, and how do we know? Students are expected to engage and develop theoretical explanations, synthesize different classes of theory, and embrace the empirical challenge of how to assess arguments about foreign policy. The course starts with a discussion on how we, as political scientists, can study foreign policy, alongside an overview of American grand strategy in the 21st century, before turning to each input in turn.

Given this focus, some topics – e.g., diplomatic history, decision-making, or analysis of specific foreign policy outputs (counterinsurgency, U.S.-Russia relations, etc.) – are given less attention than they perhaps deserve, and some classic foreign policy scholarship that is more comparative in its focus is left off entirely. Nevertheless, this course should serve as a solid foundation for anyone interested in the topic. By the end of the course, you should:

- Be familiar with major arguments about the sources of American foreign policy, and understand how these relate to broader questions in international relations/IR theory.
- Be able to critically analyze, in writing and orally, both the theoretical and empirical contributions of foreign policy research.
- Understand current major research agendas in American foreign policy, and be able to apply your knowledge to new research questions.

Required Readings

Most required readings will be made available on the class eLC site, and are either academic journal articles or book chapters/selections. We will read a large selection from the following book, and as such you are required to purchase it (Currently \$29.95 hardcover/\$9.99 Kindle on Amazon.com):

Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth. 2016. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century*, New York: Oxford University Press.

We will also read selections from the following two books, and these selections will be available on the course site – but you may want to purchase them if you prefer the book-reading experience or simply want to read more:

Milner, Helen V. and Dustin Tingley. 2015. *Sailing the Water's Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rapport, Aaron. 2015. *Waging War, Planning Peace: U.S. Noncombat Operations and Major Wars*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Course Requirements/Grading

Participation

This is a graduate seminar, and as such depends heavily on student-led discussion and analysis. Each student is expected to a) come to class b) prepared to participate and to lead discussions. Preparation entails not simply reading all of the material, but thinking about it and arriving in class with specific points to contribute during a scholarly exchange of ideas.

Class sessions will be devoted to critical analysis of the reading material, though I will occasionally offer a short introduction. The following questions will help to shape our analysis, and are worth bearing in mind as you prepare. When the time comes, you should be ready (and excited) to answer them.

- What is the question/puzzle that the author addresses?
- What is the main argument?
- What are the hypotheses being tested?
- What is the research design, and what evidence is presented?
- What are the strengths of this argument/test/theory?
- What are the weaknesses of this argument/test/theory? And, equally important, how could these weaknesses be addressed?
- What open research questions remain? How could you envision applying the theoretical model to answer new questions in foreign policy analysis?

In addition, most assigned readings will be introduced by a student. The student will briefly summarize the piece and offer comments to launch the discussion. At the end of each meeting, I will ask for volunteers for the next week. In total, participation/reading presentations will account for **25%** of your final grade in the course.

Weekly Memos

Each student will write **three** short memos (1-2 pages, single-spaced), that critically and constructively engage the week's assigned reading. These should not be summaries – you can assume that the reader has read and understood the material. Instead, they should make a clear argument. You might compare and contrast opposing arguments or methodological approaches, critique research designs and offer fruitful alternatives, discuss the theory or policy implications of a set of arguments, suggest new research questions that emerge from your reading, etc. These memos are due 24 hours before class (3:30 Wednesdays). You may choose to write about whichever topics you find most interesting. Weekly memos comprise **15%** of your final grade in the course (5% each).

Midterm

There will be a take-home midterm exam, due February 27. It will account for **20%** of your final grade in the course.

Final Paper – Due May 1

There are two options for the final paper. For either option, a formal in-class presentation on the final day of class is required. For both options, you are required to email a short description of your plans for the paper and meet with me **prior to spring break (i.e. no later than March 3)**. The final paper comprises **40%** of your final grade.

Option 1: Literature review

The basic requirement here is a completed literature review, roughly 15-20 pages, that builds off of material covered in the course. This paper should present a critical analysis of a well-defined theoretical and/or empirical question in foreign policy. It may focus on a subsection of the syllabus (e.g., Does public opinion matter in foreign policy?), an approach that is applied across actors (e.g., to what extent do material interests guide policy?), or a substantive issue (e.g. U.S. nuclear strategy, trade policy, etc.). Whatever your interests, if it has to do with foreign policy, it's probably appropriate. The required readings on the syllabus are a jumping off point – but you should read much more widely to adequately cover the topic that you choose to review. You should meet with me to discuss your topic well in advance, and you should feel free to ask if you need suggestions for additional reading.

For more on writing a critical literature review, see:

Knopf, Jeffrey W. 2006. "Dong a Literature Review," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 39(1), 127-1332.

For great examples of literature reviews in IR/Foreign Policy, read anything by Jack S. Levy (such as "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield" assigned for the final class meeting).

Option 2: Research Proposal

This option entails completing a proposal for a project that you might – and hopefully will – carry out later on. It might be the foundation of a journal article, dissertation, or master's thesis, for example. This is basically the first half of a research project – everything up to the results. It should be about 20 pages, demonstrate that you have a solid understanding of the topic, and that you have identified a tractable research question and design to extend existing knowledge of that topic. Components will include an introduction, literature review, research question, hypotheses, and research design (including operationalization, measures, specific plans for archival research, etc.). I'm open to a variety of approaches to research, and you should feel free to choose the research design and strategy that is best suited to your question (e.g., archival, qualitative interviews, large-n, existing survey data, original survey data, experiments, etc.), provided that it is feasible. You are strongly encouraged to consult early and often. You are welcome to complete a full research paper for this assignment, if it's appropriate given your stage in the program.

NB for both options: This should be a novel paper written explicitly for this course. That said, I am willing to consider *substantial* revisions to papers submitted in a previous class, but you must meet with me first.

Final Grade Breakdown:

25%	Class Participation
15%	3 Weekly Memos
20%	Midterm Exam
40%	Final Paper

100% Total

Other Course Information

Technology: All cell phones and other devices that make noise must be turned off or put on silent (not vibrate), and put away. Laptops are welcome for note-taking purposes, though I strongly discourage their use given that the best route to success in the course is engagement.

Communication and Email: The best way to communicate with me, and the primary method that I will use to communicate with you outside of class, is via email. I will provide updates about the course and changes to the syllabus using email, and you are expected to check your university email regularly. If I send an email about the course, I assume you have read it. My posted office hours are open, and you should feel free to stop by during those hours – no appointment is necessary. That said, an email 24 hours in advance with information about what you want to discuss can make meetings more efficient. I am also available by appointment.

Academic Dishonesty: As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Any student caught cheating or plagiarizing will be referred to Judicial Affairs, as required by university policy. I take this issue very seriously and will submit any cases of suspected academic misconduct to the university—if you are confused *at all* about what constitutes dishonest practice, please consult with me.

Students with Disabilities: UGA is committed to providing equal access to academic programs and university-administered activities and reasonable modifications to students with disabilities. Students in need of special accommodations need to request such services from the Disability Resource Center located at 114 Clark Howell Hall (for more information visit www.drc.uga.edu) and should make an appointment to see me with their appropriate paperwork from DRC within the first two weeks of classes.

Course Outline and Required Reading

NB: The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations may be necessary and will be announced via email or in class. Make sure to read all emails so that you have the latest information.

All readings are required, except for those explicitly listed as “supplemental.”

Section 1: Introduction

Week 1 (January 5): Introduction to the course

No reading required.

Week 2 (January 12): How should we study Foreign Policy?

Defining Foreign Policy

Milner, Helen V. and Dustin Tingley. 2015. “Introduction,” in *Sailing the Water’s Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1-32.

Theoretical Perspectives on Foreign Policy Analysis

Elman, Colin. 1996. “Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?” *Security Studies*, 61(1), 7-53.

and Waltz, Kenneth N. 1996. “International Relations is Not Foreign Policy,” *Security Studies* 6(1), 54-57.

Fearon, James D. 1998. “Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1, 289-313.

Goldgeier, J.M. and P.E. Tetlock. 2001. “Psychology and International Relations Theory,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4, 67-92.

Hudson, Valerie M. 2005. “Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*,

Houghton, David Patrick. 2007. “Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3, 24-45.

Supplemental:

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*, (esp. chapters 3 and 4)

Kauffman, Chaim D. 1994. “Out of the Lab and Into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Political Decision Making,” *International Studies Quarterly*, 38, 557-586.

Hatemi, Peter K. and Rose McDermott. 2012. “A Neurobiological Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis: Identifying Individual Differences in Political Violence,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 8, 111-129.

Week 3 (January 19): Grand Strategy & the Future of American Foreign Policy

Posen, Barry R. and Andrew L. Ross 1996/97. "Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21(3), 5-53.

Gholz, Eugene, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky. 1997. "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation." *International Security*, 21(4), 5-48.

Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth. 2016. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 8)

Supplemental:

Braumoeller, Bear F. 2010. "The Myth of American Isolationism," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 6(4), 349-371.

Kreps, Sarah. 2009. "American Grand Strategy after Iraq," *Orbis*, 53(4), 629-645. (and other essays in this issue)

Posen, Barry R. 2001/02. "The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics," *International Security*, 26(3), 39-55.

Posen, Barry R. 2013. "Pull Back: The Case for a Less Activist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, 92, 116-128.

Section 2: Sources of American Foreign Policy

Week 4 (January 26): International Factors

International System

Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, 32(4), 881-912.

Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, 51(1), 144-172.

Wohlforth, William. 1999. "The Stability of the Unipolar World," *International Security*, 24(1), 5-41.

Institutions

Ikenberry, G. John. 1989. "Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony," *Political Science Quarterly* 104, no. 3 (Autumn 1989), pp. 375-400.

Identity & Norms

Finnemore, Martha. 2009. "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All that It's Cracked up to Be," *World Politics*, 61(1), 58-85.

Buzas, Zoltan. 2013. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902-1923)," *Security Studies*, 22(4), 573-606.

Supplemental:

Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen V. Milner, and Xun Pang. 2015. "International Systems and Domestic Politics: Linking Complex Interactions with Empirical Models in International Relations," *International Organization*, 69, 275-309.

Miller, Benjamin. 2010. "Explaining Changes in U.S. Grand Strategy: 9/11, the Rise of Offensive Liberalism, and the War in Iraq," *Security Studies*, 19(1), 26-65.

Week 5 (February 2): The President

Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2009. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security*, 34(2), 119-161.

Rappoport, Aaron. 2015. *Waging War, Planning Peace: U.S. Noncombat Operations and Major Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (Chapters 1 and 2).

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.

Personality & Operational Codes

Renshon, Jonathan, 2008. "Stability and Change in Belief Systems: The Operational Code of George W. Bush," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52(6), 820-849.

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

Supplemental:

Byman, Daniel L. and Kenneth M. Pollack. 2001. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In," *International Security*, 25(4), 107-146.

Jervis, Robert. 1976. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

McDermott, Rose. 2014. "The Biological Bases for Aggressiveness and Nonaggressiveness in Presidents," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 10, 313-327.

Walter, Stephen G. 1977. "The Interface Between Beliefs and Behavior: Henry Kissinger's Operational Code and the Vietnam War," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 21(1), 129-168.

Week 6 (February 9): The Bureaucracy & Group Decision-making

Bureaucratic & Organizational Politics

Allison, Graham T. and Morton H. Halperin, 1972. "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," *World Politics*, 24, 40-79.

Bendor, Jonathan and Thomas H. Hammond, 1992. "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review*, 86, 301-322.

Drezner, Daniel W., 2000. "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics, and the Crafting of Foreign Policy," *American Journal of Political Science*, 44, 733-49.

Monten, Jonathan and Andrew Bennett. 2010. "Models of Crisis Decision Making and the 1990-91 Gulf War," *Security Studies*, 19(3), 486-520.

Small Groups

t'Hart, Paul. 1991. "Irving L. Janis' Victims of Groupthink," *Political Psychology*, 12(2), 247-278.

Garrison, Jean A. 2003. "Foreign Policymaking and Group Dynamics: Where We've Been and Where We're Going," *International Studies Review*, 5, 177-83.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. Forthcoming. "No Substitute for Experience: Presidents, Advisers, and Information in Group Decision-Making," *International Organization*.

Supplemental:

Halperin, Morton H. 1972. "The Decision to Deploy the ABM: Bureaucratic and Domestic Politics in the Johnson Administration," *World Politics*, 25, 62-96.

Jervis, Robert. 2006. "Reports, Politics, and Intelligence Failures: The Case of Iraq." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29(1), 3-52.

Week 7 (February 16): Congress

Lindsay, James M. 1992/93. "Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters," *Political Science Quarterly*, 107(4), 607-28.

Cronin, Patrick and Benjamin O. Fordham, 1999. "Timeless Principles or Today's Fashion? Testing the Stability of the Linkage between Ideology and Foreign Policy in the Senate," *Journal of Politics*, 61(4), 967-98.

Milner, Helen V. and Dustin H. Tingley. 2009. "The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Aid: American Legislators and the Domestic Politics of Aid," *Economics and Politics*, 22(2), 200-232.

Angevine, Sara, 2016. "An Analysis of Congress, Foreign Policy, and the Boundaries of Women's Surrogate Representation," *Political Research Quarterly*, 1-13.

Executive-Legislative Relations

Lindsay, James M. 2003. "Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 33(3), 530-46.

Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2005. "Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force," *International Organization*, 59, 209-232.

Week 8 (February 23): NO CLASS – ISA MEETING

Week 9 (March 2): Other Elites

Herrmann, Richard K. and Jonathan W. Keller, 2004. "Beliefs, Values, and Strategic Choice: U.S. Leaders' Decisions to Engage, Contain, and Use Force in an Era of Globalization," *Journal of Politics*, 66(2), 557-80.

Rathbun, Brian C. 2007. "Hierarchy and Community at Home and Abroad: Evidence of a Common Structure of Domestic and Foreign Policy Beliefs in American Elites," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51(3), 379-407.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie, Brad L. LeVeck, David G. Victor, and James H. Fowler. 2014. "Decision Maker Preferences for International Legal Cooperation," *International Organization*, 68(4), 845-876.

Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2015. "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force." *Security Studies*, 24(3), 466-501.

Gelpi, Christopher and Peter D. Feaver, 2002. "Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick? Veterans in the Political Elite and the American Use of Force," *American Political Science Review*, 96(4), 779-93.

Sechser, Todd S. 2004. "Are Soldiers Less War-Prone than Statesmen?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5), 746-774.

Supplemental:

Horowitz, Michael C. and Allan C. Stam. 2014. "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders," *International Organization*, 68, 527-559.

Shannon, Vaughn P. and Jonathan W. Keller. 2007. "Leadership Style and International Norm Violation: The Case of the Iraq War," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3, 79-104.

Week 10: SPRING BREAK

Week 11 (March 16): Interest Groups

The Israel Lobby?

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy*, 13(3), 29-87.

Slater, Jerome. 2009. "The Two Books of Mearsheimer and Walt," *Security Studies*, 18(1), 4-57.

Haglund, David G. and Tyson McNeil-Hay. 2011. "The 'Germany Lobby' and US Foreign Policy: What, if Anything, Does It Tell Us About the Debate over the 'Israel Lobby'?" *Ethnopolitics*, 10(3/4), 321-344.

Interest Groups

Milner, Helen V. and Dustin Tingley. 2015. "Follow the Sand Dollars: Interest Groups and American Foreign Policy Instruments," in *Sailing the Water's Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review*, 99(1), 107-123.

Fordham, Benjamin O. and Timothy J. McKeown. 2003. "Selection and Influence: Interest Groups and Congressional Voting on Trade Policy," *International Organization*, 57(3), 519-549.

Supplemental:

Brooks, Stephen G. 2013. "Economic Actors' Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace," *International Organization*, 67, 83-88.

Mearsheimer, J.J. and S.M. Walt, 2009. "Is it Love or the Lobby? Explaining America's Special Relationship with Israel," *Security Studies*, 18(1), 58-78.

Lieberman, Robert C. 2009. "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(2). 235-257.

Week 12 (March 23): Public Opinion I

Structure, Values, Information

Hurwitz, Jon and Mark Peffley. 1987. "How are Foreign Policy Attitudes Structured? A Hierarchical Model," *American Political Science Review*, 81(4), 1099-1120.

Wittkopf, E. 1986. "On the Foreign Policy Beliefs of the American People: A Critique and Some Evidence," *International Studies Quarterly*, 30, 425-445.

Herrmann, Richard K, Philip E. Tetlock and Penny S. Visser. 1999. "Mass Public Decisions to Go to War: A Cognitive-Interactionist Framework," *American Political Science Review*, 93(3), 553-573.

Baum, Matthew A. and Tim Groeling. 2010. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality," *International Organization*, 64(3), 443-479.

Brooks, Deborah Jordan and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2011. "A War of One's Own: Understanding the Gender Gap in Support for War," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(2), 270-286.

Elite Cues or Principled Publics?

Berinsky, Adam J., 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics*, 69(4), 975-97.

Kertzer, Joshua D. and Thomas Zeitzoff, 2016. "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion About Foreign Policy," Unpublished Manuscript. (to be distributed)

Supplemental:

Almond, G. 1950. *The American People and Foreign Policy*, New York: Harcourt Brace.

Lippmann, W. 1955. *Essays in the Public Philosophy*, Boston: Little Brown.

Converse, PE. 1964. "The Nature and Origin of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in *Ideology and Discontent*, David Apter ed., New York: The Free Press, 206-261.

Holsti, Ole R. 1992. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus." *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(4), 439-466.

Gartner, Scott. 2008. "The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach," *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 95-106

Fordham, Benjamin O. and Katja B. Kleinberg. 2012. "How Can Economic Interests Influence Support for Free Trade?" *International Organization*, 66, 311-328.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Diana C. Mutz. 2009. "Support for Free Trade: Self-interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Outgroup Anxiety," *International Organization*, 63(3), 425-57.

Kertzer, Joshua D. "Making Sense of Isolationism: Foreign Policy Mood as a Multilevel Phenomenon," *Journal of Politics*, 75(1), 225-240.

Week 13 (March 30): Public Opinion II: Does it Matter?

Foreign Policy & Elections?

Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'?" *American Political Science Review*, 83(1), 123-141.

Karol, David and Edward Miguel. 2005. "The Electoral Costs of War: Iraq Casualties and the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election," *Journal of Politics*, 69(3), 633-648.

Gelpi, Christopher and Joseph M. Grieco, 2014. "Competency Costs in Foreign Affairs: Presidential Performance in International Conflicts and Domestic Legislative Success, 1953-2001," *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(2), 440-56.

Public Opinion & Policy

Baum, M. 2004. "How Public Opinion Constrains the Use of Force: The Case of Operation Restore Hope," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34, 187-227.

Stein, Rachel M. 2015. "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies," *American Political Science Review*, 109(3).

Global Public Opinion & U.S. Policy

Goldsmith, Benjamin E. and Yusaku Horiuchi. 2012. "In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for U.S. Foreign Policy?" *World Politics*, 64(3), 555-585.

Supplemental:

Aldrich, John H., Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thompson Sharp, 2006. "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 477-502.

Chaudoin, Stephen. 2014. "Promises or Policies? An Experimental Analysis of International Agreements and Audience Reactions." *International Organization*, 68, 235-256.

Week 14 (April 6): The Media

Oneal, John R. and Anna Lillian Bryan. 1995. "The Rally 'Round the Flag Effect in U.S. Foreign Policy Crises, 1950-1985," *Political Behavior*, 17(4), 379-401.

Robinson, Piers. 1999. "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies*, 25(2), 301-309.

Howell, William G., Jon C. Pevehouse, and Douglas L. Kriner. 2007. "Congress and the Media," in *While Dangers Gather*, 155-191.

Iyengar, Shanto and Adam Simon. 1993. "News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion: A Study of Agenda-setting, Priming, and Framing," *Communication Research*, 20(3), 365-383.

Baum, Matthew. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to an Inattentive Public," *American Foreign Policy Review*

Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes," *Journal of Politics*, 72(2), 469-483.

Supplemental:

Althaus, Scott L. 2011. "Priming Patriots: Social Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Public Support for War," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(1), 65-88.

Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B.K. Potter. 2008. "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 39-65.

Groeling, Tim and Matthew A. Baum. 2008. "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon," *Journal of Politics*, 70(4), 1065-1085.

Robinson, Piers. 2005. "The CNN Effect Revisited," *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22(4), 344-349.

Section 3: Foreign Policy Change?

Week 15 (April 13): Foreign Policy Change (and Continuity) **OR TBD**, based on class Input

Welch, David A. 2005. *Painful Choices: A Theory of Foreign Policy Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p. 10-71)

Levy, Jack S. 1994. "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization*, 48(2), 279-312.

Hermann, Charles F. 1990. "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly*, 34(1), 3-21.

Shifting Consensus?

Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen V. Milner, and Dustin H. Tingley. 2010. "The Center Still Holds: Liberal Internationalism Survives," *International Security*, 35(1), 75-94.

Busby, Joshua W. and Jonathan Monten, 2016. "Without Heirs? Assessing the Decline of Establishment Internationalism in U.S. Foreign Policy," *Perspectives on Politics*, 6(3), 451-472.

Supplemental:

Krebs, Ronald R. "How Dominant Narratives Rise and Fall: Military Conflict, Politics, and the Cold War Consensus," *International Organization*, 69, 1-37.

Erickson, Jennifer, 2015. "Saint or Sinner? Human Rights and U.S. Support for the Arms Trade Treaty," *Political Science Quarterly*, 130(3), 449-474.

Breuning, Marijke, 2013. "Roles and Realities: When and Why Gatekeepers Fail to Change Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9(3), 307-325.

Brooks, Stephen and William Wohlforth. 2016. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chapter 3)

Week 16 (April 20): Class Presentations