

GOVERNMENT 1782  
**Domestic Politics and International Relations**  
Spring 2011, Tues 10-11:30, Thurs 10-11:30  
Discussion section meetings to be announced

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Office Hours: Wednesday 9-11 by appointment (<http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/mupmr>)

*Description*

How will the November elections change the trajectory of US foreign policy? Are democratic countries better able to fight wars? Who benefits and gains from globalization and how does this affect their political beliefs? This course will examine the relationship between domestic politics and international relations. Our primary focus will be on domestic politics in the United States, but examples will be drawn from other contexts and the principles we study will often apply to other countries. Course material will cover both security and economic relations between states, and emphasize the ways domestic political groups influence these relations. Several specific substantive areas will be given special attention, including the domestic politics surrounding trade, foreign aid, immigration, and the use of military force.

*Assignments*

The class will have two short papers, a set of participatory tasks (e.g., participating in class discussion, filling out online surveys, taking part in experiments), a midterm and a final exam. The short papers will be 3 pages (double spaced) and will address a contemporaneous policy issue with reference to the course's content. Students will also participate in a range of "active" tasks. These will include keeping up with current events, answering surveys, participating in debates, and interactive decision-making simulations with your classmates.

*Grades*

20% Participation in discussion sections, lecture and "active" tasks  
15% X 2 Short Policy Memos  
20% Midterm (February 24<sup>th</sup>)  
30% Final exam

*Course Policies and Expectations*

Written assignments are to be double spaced with normal margins and submitted both electronically and in written form. Students are expected to hand in assignments on due dates unless receiving approval from the relevant University official (Dean, Doctor, etc.). Late assignments will not be accepted. Office hours will be by appointment. I hope within the first 5 weeks of class everyone will arrange a meeting with me! In addition to the graded assignments, there are also several small assignments that will not be graded but will help in building research skills. I will endeavor to answer emails within 24 hours during weekdays. I often find email less efficient than conversations. If your question requires a lengthy response please arrange to see me in person.

### *Accommodations for students with disabilities*

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the [Accessible Education Office](#) (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although Faculty are invited to contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

### *Required Textbooks*

Frieden, Jeff, David Lake and Kenneth Schultz, *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, and Institutions*, Norton (\$35 electronic version, \$87 print version) (FLS below)  
Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, *Principles of International Politics*, CQ Press, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (electronic version \$60.96, print version \$89.95) (BDM below)  
JFK Case studies (2), \$3.45 a piece

All additional readings will be available at [isites.harvard.edu](http://isites.harvard.edu) and will not pose an additional cost to the student.

## **Week 1 (January 25, class rescheduled January 27): Overview I**

### Lecture 1

#### Overview

- 1) Class expectations/syllabus review
- 2) A review of domestic politics and international relations in current events
- 3) What determines a state's foreign policy choices, domestic or international pressures?

### *Required Readings*

-FLS, Chapter 1

-Walt, Stephen, 1998, *International relations: one world, many theories*, *Foreign Policy*, Issue. 110

Lecture 2 (to be rescheduled)

## **Week 2 (February 1 and 3): How political institutions can influence policy choices**

### Lecture 1

#### *Interests, Institutions, and Interactions*

- 1) What are the barriers to international cooperation (why can't we all get along?)
- 2) How do international institutions facilitate cooperation?
- 3) How can we use game theory to answer these questions?

Required Readings  
-FLS, Chapter 2

Lecture 2

*Selectorates and Electorates*

1) How does voter eligibility influence the types of leaders that are elected and the policies they pursue?

Required Readings  
-BDM, Chapters 1 and 2

In Class Participatory Task: The selectorate-electorate experiment and public goods

Discussion section: Review of basic game theory, read “special topic for FLS chapter 2”.

## **Week 3 (February 8 and 10): Domestic Politics and War**

Lecture 1 *National versus Particular interests*

- 1) Does the US have a national interest?
- 2) Do interest groups determine US foreign policy?
- 3) How do certain institutions facilitate or block this influence?

Required readings  
-FLS, Chapter 3, 4  
-John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “The Israel Lobby”, London Review of Books, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>  
-Drezner, Daniel, Methodological Confusion, February 22, 2008, Chronicle of Higher Education

Lecture 2 *The Democratic Peace*

- 1) Are democracies less likely to fight each other? And if so, why?
- 2) Are countries with McDonalds less likely to fight each other (a capitalist peace)?

Required readings  
BDM, Chapter 6

Policy Memo 1: (Example, TBD) Should the US actively promote democracy in other countries? What domestic groups in the US might support or oppose this? What effect will other countries democratizing have on the US?

Discussion section: Review of class material

## **Week 4 (February 15 and 17): Bureaucracies, standard operating procedures, leader personalities, and two-level Games**

### Lecture 1 *Bureaucracies*

- 1) Does a state's bureaucratic organs prevent the pursuit of a national interest?
- 2) What is the bureaucratic structure of the US foreign policy establishment?

#### Required Readings

- Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis". 1969. [American Political Science Review](#) 63(3): 689-718.
- Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* 7, (1972), pp. 159-179

### Lecture 2 *International Bargaining and domestic constituencies*

- 1) Are leaders constrained at the international bargaining table by their domestic constituents?

#### Required reading

- Putnam, Robert. 1988. Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization* 42: 427-460.

### Lecture 3 [Make-up from January 27 cancellation—held in evening, location TBD]

Screening of "Dr. Strangelove or: How I learned to stop worrying and love the bomb"

Note: this movie is 1 hour 33 minutes long. Pop-corn provided.

#### Discussion section

JFK case study: SS-9 Controversy: Intelligence as Political Football, \$3.95 from <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/casetitle.asp?caseNo=884.0>

## **Week 5 (February 22 and 24): Public opinion and international relations**

### Lecture 1

Public opinion and foreign policy

- 1) Does public opinion matter or can leaders pursue whatever foreign policy they want
- 2) How should we try to observe public opinion?

#### Required readings

- 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](#) 83:123-141;
- Baum, Matt, Sex, lies, and war: How soft news brings foreign policy to the inattentive public *American Political Science Review* (2002), 96: 91-109\*
- Berinsky, Adam, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics*. 2007. 69(4): 975-997. \*
- Hiscox, Michael J. Through a Glass and Darkly: Framing Effects and Individuals' Attitudes towards International Trade, *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Summer, 2006): 755-780. (optional)

Meeting 2: Midterm

Midterm will include some material from Week 5 lecture 1. Review session will be scheduled.

Discussion section: Meet about policy memos.

## **Week 6 (March 1 and 3): Trade Policy**

Lecture 1

Why trade? Why protect?

- 1) Who gains and loses with free trade? Who favors and opposes it?
- 2) Do political institutions privilege the interests of certain groups when it comes to making trade policy?

Required reading

FLS, Chapter 6

BDM, Chapter 10

Lecture 2

Partisan politics, culture and trade policy

Required reading

-Milner, Helen, 2004, "Partisanship, Trade Policy, and Globalization: Is There a Left-Right Divide on Trade Policy?" *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 48, pp. 95-119

- Mansfield, Edward and Diana C. Mutz "Support for Free Trade: Self-Interest, Sociotropic Politics, and Out-Group Anxiety," *International Organization*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 425-57.

Discussion section: Review class material and Case study: Fast Track and trade,

<http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/casetitle.asp?caseNo=1660.3>

## **Week 7 (March 8 and 10): Foreign aid**

Lecture 1

The Political Economy of Foreign Aid

- 1) Does foreign aid work, and if doesn't why?
- 2) What types of recipient governments are likely to make aid work?

Required reading

-BDM, Chapter 9

Lecture 2

The politics of aid from the donor's perspective

- 1) How is aid policy determined in the US?

2) Should donors “untie” their aid or send it all through multilateral institutions?

Required readings

-Lancaster, Carole, “Danish and US Foreign Aid Compared: A View from Washington”, *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook*, 2008, available at:

[http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Books2008/Yearbook08/DIIS\\_Yearbook\\_2008.pdf](http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Books2008/Yearbook08/DIIS_Yearbook_2008.pdf)

-Milner, Helen and Dustin Tingley, “Who Supports Global Economic Engagement? The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy”, 2011, *International Organization*, 65, Winter, pp 37–68\*

## March 12-20: Spring Break

Assignment: Where are you going for spring break? When you get there, examine how that place fits into the global economic and security system. This might include the industries people tend to work in, presence of immigrant populations, or proximity to armed conflict. What are the domestic politics surrounding this relationship? What are the opinions of the people around you (you can ask them if need be)? Post a short “blog” entry via i.sites at some point before our next meeting (no names!). Before the next lecture read what your fellow classmates wrote.

## Week 8 (March 22 and 24): Domestic Politics and International Financial Institutions

Lecture 1

- 1) What are international institutions and why were they created?
- 2) Who supports international institutions and who opposes them?

Required reading

-FLS, Chap 7

-Broz, Lawrence, *Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund* (with Michael Brewster Hawes). 2006. *International Organization* 60, 2 (Spring): 367-399.

Lecture 2

International Monetary Relations

- 1) Who cares about currency politics (you should!)
- 2) Should China revalue its currency and why hasn't it already? Can the US really do anything about it?
- 3) What constrains governments from doing whatever they want with their currency?

Required reading

-Chan, Sewell, The US-China Exchange Rate Squeeze, *New York Times*, 9/19/10\*

-Excerpt from Chinn and Frieden, *The Lost Decades*, pg. 369-376, On Chinese renminbi policy.\*

-Frieden, Jeff, *Global Imbalances, National Rebalancing, and the Political Economy of Recovery*,

[http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CGS-IIGG\\_Working\\_Paper\\_9\\_Recovery.pdf](http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CGS-IIGG_Working_Paper_9_Recovery.pdf)

Discussion section: Review class material and DEBATE. Policy proposition: The US should mount a more aggressive response to Chinese currency policy. Pro and anti discussion section teams are assigned randomly. Come prepared to discuss both sides. Draw on material covered in class and from cited editorial accounts or other sources.

## **Week 9 (March 29 and 31): Immigration**

### Lecture 1

- 1) Why do some people oppose immigration and others support it?
- 2) What role does culture play, economics?

-Wayne A. Cornelius and Marc R. Rosenblum, 2005 Immigration and Politics, Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 8: 99-119

-Jack Citrin, Donald P. Green, Christopher Muste and Cara Wong, Public Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivations. The Journal of Politics (1997), 59:858-881

### Lecture 2

- 1) What role did immigration play in the November elections? What happened to the “Dream Act”?
- 2) What are the electoral strategies of parties on immigration?
- 3) What are the national and international politics around Arizona’s SB1070?

### *Required Readings*

- Hanson, GH, K Scheve, MJ Slaughter, Public finance and individual preferences over globalization strategies, Economics & Politics, 2007

-The Economist, An Unappetising Menu, May 22, 2010 (hand out)

- Jens Hainmueller and Michael Hiscox “Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment” American Political Science Review, 2010, 104:61-84

In Class Participatory Task: Survey Experiment

Discussion Section, DEBATE. Policy proposition: The US should adopt an amnesty program AND open its border to more immigration. Pro and anti discussion section teams are assigned randomly. Come prepared to discuss both sides. Draw on material covered in class and from cited editorial accounts or other sources.

## **Week 10 (April 5 and 7): Use of force**

### Lecture 1

The use of force by democratic states

- 1) Who controls the use of force in the United States? The President, Congress, political parties, the military?
- 2) Do domestic political constraints make democracies “stronger”/”weaker”?

### Required Readings

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson and Alastair Smith, An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace, *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 93, No. 4 (Dec., 1999), pp. 791-807 (optional)
- Tomz, Mike, Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach. *International Organization* 61, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 821–40.
- Fordham, Benjamin, 1994, The Politics of Threat Perception and the Use of Force: A Political Economy Model of U.S. Uses of Force, 1949–1994, *International Studies Quarterly* 42(3): 567-590

### Lecture 2

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### Required Readings

- Friedberg, Aaron, 1991, “Is the US Capable of Acting Strategically? Congress and the President”, *Washington Quarterly*, 14(Winter), 5-23
- James M. Lindsay, Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 107, No. 4 (Winter, 1992-1993), pp. 607-628
- Monten, Jonathan, “The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy, *International Security* 29, no. 4 (Spring 2005): 112-156
- WG Howell, JC Pevehouse - Presidents, Congress, and the use of force, *International Organization*, 2005 (optional)

Discussion section: Review class material and JFK case study, US Marines in Lebanon  
Available for purchase at <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/casetitle.asp?caseNo=1045.0>

Policy Memo 2: (Example, TBD) You are either President Obama’s advisor or an advisor to Chinese President Hu Jintao. There has been a small skirmish between Chinese and US naval vessels along the international maritime border. Recently the two countries have established improved trade relationships. What should you suggest the next response be? What tradeoffs might they face in choosing one approach versus another? Be sure to succinctly identify, and base your analysis on, the relevant actors, interests, and institutions.

## **Week 11 (April 12 and 14): Domestic politics and development**

### Lecture 1: Development

#### Required Reading

- FLS, Chapter 9

In Class Participatory Task: The tragedy of the commons

Lecture 2: Use of force in non-developed and non-democratic countries



- 1) What determines alliance choices in the third world
- 2) Are autocracies really all that different from democracies?

#### Required reading

- Weeks, Jessica, "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve," *International Organization*, Winter 2008 (62.1)
- Bates, Robert. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In *State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, ed. Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola. Boulder, CO: Westview. Pgs 152-171.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*, 97(1): 75–90.
- Steven R. David, Explaining Third World Alignment, *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jan., 1991), pp. 233-256 (recommended)

Discussion Section: Meet about policy memos

### **Week 12 (April 19 and 21): Survey of other Topics**

Required reading

FLS, Chap 12

Topics surveyed: human rights, transnational networks, drugs; status of "Grand theory" debates, are the domestic politics around foreign policy in the EU different from the US?

Discussion section: WTO and beef hormones,

<http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/casetitle.asp?caseNo=1677.3>

### **Week 13 (April 26): Continued survey and wrap-up, review for final**