

School Of International Relations
Professor Lamy<lamy@usc.edu>
Spring 2005 SOS B-40 Thursday 2-5PM
Office hours: Thursday 10-Noon and by Appointment

IR 521: Foreign Policy Analysis

I have come across men of letters who have written history without taking part in public affairs, and politicians who have concerned themselves with producing events without thinking about them. I have observed that the first are always inclined to find general causes whereas the second, living in the midst of disconnected daily facts, are prone to imagine that everything is attributable to particular incidents, and that the wires they pull are the same as those that move the world. It is presumed that both are equally deceived. Alex De Tocqueville

This is an introductory course in the field of foreign policy analysis. It is also the introduction to the domain and only theoretically oriented course in the domain. The course is designed to do the following: 1) prepare students to critically evaluate the theoretical literature in the field of foreign policy; 2) to consider the various factors that influence the making of foreign policy by engaging in structured case discussions; and, 3) provide an opportunity for students to research and write their own foreign policy case study or conduct a comprehensive literature review.

There is a rather significant literature in foreign policy analysis that includes both theoretical and policy studies. With the exception of the case studies, most of the course will focus on studies that explore ways of explaining the behavior of states and evaluating foreign policy decisions. Most of the readings fall within the traditional empirical/positivist approach to the study of international relations including descriptive accounts of policy situations and decision-making processes, hypotheses generating studies aimed at explaining the actions of states; and, comparative evaluations of specific policy actions. The limitations and potential problems with this type of research are recognized; however, empirical studies tend to have more relevance in the policy world than do postmodern Marxist accounts of the meaning of power in foreign policy. Since the critical/reflectivist or post-positivist literature is covered in other graduate seminars and this course is a "gateway" to other regional foreign policy courses, the readings tend to favor more mainstream policy issues and questions. Readings and discussions are intended to familiarize seminar participants with the process of theory development, theory testing, and policy analysis and evaluation in the field of foreign policy.

The learning objectives for the seminar:

1. To provide an overview of the evolution of the study of foreign policy and introduce the student to the literature in this area.

2. To explore and assess various middle-range theoretical approaches related to the levels of analysis used in the study of state behavior.

3. To review different research orientations, both rationalist and reflectivist, and to develop skills of policy analysis and evaluation.

4. To explore new policy issues and research concerns that currently define debates in the general field of international relations and the in the specific area of foreign policy analysis.

5. To learn to think critically and analytically by inhabiting cases in foreign policy and participating in interactive discussions about foreign policy decision-making.

There will be no formal lectures in the course. Students will be expected to participate in each seminar. An important aspect of critical thinking is the development of intellectual courage and the confidence to express informed views in an open discussion. To facilitate this process, students will be assigned a few questions to answer each week. We will also be using retrospective and problem-based case studies that focus on foreign policy decision-making. In case classes the discussion is interactive and constant as participants *inhabit* the policy situation. You must participate to get credit for the course. If you do not volunteer, you will be called upon. There is **no place to hide** in this seminar.

Seminar Requirements

It's a typical situation in these typical times, too many choices.
Dave Matthews

Seminar participation/attendance.....5%

You are expected to be at all seminars. Once a week is not a hardship. I will deduct five points for each seminar missed without a valid medical or related excuse.

Case Questions.....45%

Case study or Review article.....30%

Final Examination.....20%

Seminar Outline:

Session #1: Overview of course, review of assignments, introduction to case process, student expectations, and discussion of the elections and foreign policy.

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Session #2 The fundamentals of foreign policy: Policy-maker and academic views

- Session #3 How it all started: Decision-makers and foreign policy
- Session #4 Decision-maker..continued
- Session #5 Domestic sources of foreign policy
- Session #6 Domestic sources..continued
- Session #7 Explaining the Hostage Crisis-an analytical model
- Session #8 Two-level games, second image reversed and systemic approaches
- Session #9 Globalization and foreign policy
- Session # 10 Review of analytical approaches and a discussion about US foreign policy in the second Bush Administration
- Session #11 Constructivism and foreign policy
- Session #12 Policy evaluation: From ethics to cost benefit analysis
- Session #13 Policy Evaluation continued
- Session # 14 Improving Decision-making
- Session #15 Okay, What just happened? Assessing what we have learned?

Required Texts (Available at USC Bookstore or Amazon.com)

Neustadt and May, **Thinking In Time** (Free Press, 1986)

David Patrick Houghton, **US Foreign Policy and the Iran Hostage Crisis** (Cambridge, 2001)

Snyder, Bruck and Sapin, **Foreign Policy Decision-Making** (Palgrave, 2002)

N. Woods, **Explaining International Relations Since 1945** (Oxford 1996)

C. Hill, **The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy** (Palgrave 2003)

If you cannot afford the books please check them out of the library. I will try to have copies in my office.

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Not Required but maybe helpful:

L. Neack, J. Hey, P. Haney(editors), **Foreign Policy Analysis. Continuity and Change in its Second Generation**

(Prentice Hall, 1995)

Case study reader includes Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard Business School, and Pew case studies.

All Pew case can be purchased on line but these and the Kennedy School and Harvard Business School cases are available in a course reader at the bookstore.

Reserve readings will be available to checkout in my office.

I do not expect you to do all of the assigned readings. However, you should try to read all of the books that you buy and please read all of the cases. I will point-out important readings and if you are not clear on a concept, **KEEP READING!**

Seminars and Readings

1. Seminar One: Introduction and Overview of Class and seminar process

Instructor's mapping of foreign policy
Introduction to case learning

Two short cases

Student expectations

War and foreign policy

1. The analytical/scholarly world: middle range theories and testable propositions

2. The policy world: programs and priorities

Assigned Readings for Session Two

V. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis. Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow", **Merston IS Review** (Oct. 1995) p 209-238

David Newsom, "Foreign Policy and Academia," **Foreign Policy**, Winter 1995-96, p 52-67.

C. Hill, **The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy**, Chapters 1 and 2

N. Woods, **Explaining IR**, Part I

A. George, "Knowledge for Statecraft" **International Security** Summer 1997, p 44-52.

Snyder, Bruck and Sapin, Foreign Policy Decision-making (Revisited) **This is the main reading for Session Three**

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Additional/Optional Readings:

Steve Smith, "Foreign Policy Theory and the New Europe," in Carlsnaes and Smith, **European Foreign Policy**, p 1-20.

J.N.Rosenau, "Introduction: New Directions and Recurrent Questions in the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy," in Hermann, Kegley, and Rosenau, **New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy**, p 1-10..

M. Light, "Foreign Policy Analysis," in Groom and Light, **Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory**, p 93-108.

Case Study: **Rockwood case** (To be distributed)

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**2. Seminar Two: The fundamentals of foreign policy
A brief history of foreign policy analysis
Methods and middle range theory**

- The classical Snyder approach-what are the various elements?
- Is this the future of foreign policy analysis?
- Agent-Structure or more than that? How do we know how we decide?

Readings listed above...

If you have no background in the core theoretical traditions in IR..consider the following readings:

Michael Doyle, **Ways of War and Peace** (Norton, 1997) Excellent coverage of realism, liberalism and socialism

J. Legro and A, Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" **International Security**, Fall 1999, p. 5-55.

A. Gamble, " Marxism After Communism: Beyond Realism and Historicism," **Review of International Studies**, Vol.25 1999, p. 127-144.

- Franceschet, " The Ethical Foundations Of Liberal Internationalism," **International Journal**, Summer 1999, 463-481.

Case: The Mind of the President (To be distributed)

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3. Seminar: Decision-makers and foreign policy- Agents, Structures, and levels of analysis

Assigned Readings:

C. Hill, The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy, Part I, Agency Page six/ IR 521-Spring 2005

Y. Vertzberger, **The World in Their Minds** (Pages to be determined)

Lisa Martin, "The Contributions Of Rational Choice: A Defense of Pluralism," **International Security**, Fall 1999, p. 74-83

A. George, "The Operational Code," **ISQ**, (December 1969), p 199-210.

Case: **Keeping the Cold War Cold** (Harvard-JFK School)

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4. Seminar Four: Decision-maker..continued

Assigned Readings:

Finish Previous readings

Case: **Getting to Dayton** (Harvard-JFK School)

Your Decision on whether you plan to write a case study or review article is due today.

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5. Seminar Five: Second Image: Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy

Assigned Readings:

C. Hill, **The Changing Politics Of Foreign Policy**, Chap 9 & 10

Graham T. Allison, **Essence of Decision**, Chapters 3-6.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important?(Or Allison in Wonderland)" **Foreign Policy** Summer 1972, p. 159-179.

W.Sewell, "The Concept(s) of Culture" In Bonnel and Hunt, **Beyond the Cultural Turn**.

J.Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy"

Additional/Optional Readings:

C. Farrands, "The Context of Foreign Policy Systems: Environment and Structure" in Clarke and White, **Understanding Foreign Policy**.

R. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventative War: Are Democracies more Pacific?" **World Politics** (January 1992)

P.J. Katzenstein, **Small States in World Markets**, Ch 2.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," **World Politics**, (July, 1991)

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S.Smith, "Perspectives on the Foreign Policy System: Bureaucratic Politics Approaches," in Clarke and White, **Understanding Foreign Policy**.

Valerie Hudson, **Culture and Foreign Policy**

Case Study: **The Dutch in Srebrenica** (Parts A & B)

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6. Seminar Six: Domestic Sources..continued

Assigned Readings:

N. Woods, Explaining IR, Part II

David Welch, "The Organizational and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms: Retrospect and Prospect," **International Security** (Fall 1992)

M.Sampson, "Cultural Influences on Foreign Policy," in Hermann, Kegley, and Rosenau, **New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy**.

Ebel, Taras and Cochrane, **Political Culture and Foreign Policy in Latin America**, Chapters 1 and 3.

W. Stroebel, **Late-Breaking Foreign Policy**, Chapter 2

Other readings on public opinion and foreign policy and the role of the media will be added

Case: **Sunk Costs**

7. Seminar Seven: Decision-making in a long crisis: The Iran Hostage Crisis

Readings: David Patrick Houghton, **US Foreign Policy and the Iran Hostage crisis**

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ISA is March 2-5th. Our Thursday Seminar will move to Friday, time and place TBA

8. Seminar Eight: Two-level games, second image reversed, and systemic approaches

- Hill, **The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy**, Part II

N. Woods, Explaining IR, Part III

R. Jervis, **System Effects. Complexity in Political and Social Life**, Chapter 7, p 253-295

J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions" in Brown, et al, p 332-376.

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M. Karns and K. Mingst, "International Organization and Foreign Policy: Influence and Instrumentality," in Hermann, Kegley, and Rosenau, **New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy**, p 454-474.

T.G. Weiss and L. S. Hayes Holgate, "Opportunities and Obstacles for Collective Security after Cold War," in Dewitt, Haglund, Kirton, **Building a New Global Order**, p 258-283.

M. List and Volker Rittberger, "Regime Theory and International Environmental Management," in Hurrell and Kingsbury, **The International Politics of the Environment**, p 85-109.

R. Putnam, "Two-Level Games: The Impact of Domestic Politics on Transatlantic Bargaining", in Haftendorn and Tuschhoff, **America and Europe in An Era of Change**(1993)

M. Kahler, "Bargaining with the IMF: Two-Level Strategies and Developing Countries", in Evans, et al. **Double-Edged Diplomacy** (1993)

Case: **The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War** (Harvard-JFK School)

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Seminar Nine: Globalization and foreign policy

Assigned Readings:

P.G. Cerny, "Globalization and Other Stories: The Search for a New Paradigm of IR," **International Journal**, Vol 51, #4. Autumn 1996, p 617-637.

Hans-Henrik Holm and George Sorenson, **Whose World Order. Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War.**p 1-18.

Lloyd Axworthy and Sarah Taylor, "A Ban for All Seasons," **International Journal**, Spring 1998, p. 189-203.

M. Keck and K. Sikkink, **Activists beyond Borders**, Chapter 1

K. Rodman, "Think Globally and Punish Locally..." **Ethics and International Affairs**, 1998. p.19-41

W. Reinicke, "The Other Worldwide Web," **Foreign Policy**, Winter 1999-2000.

M. Libicki, " The Mouse's New Roar," **Foreign Policy**, Winter 1999-2000.

Case: **Credible Warnings**

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10. Seminar Ten: Reviewing Analytical Approaches and US foreign policy and the Bush Doctrine

Assigned Readings:

Readings will be distributed

Case: **Pakistan in the Bush Years: What a Difference a Decade makes!**

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Seminar Eleven: Constructivism and Foreign Policy

P. Katzenstein, **Culture of National Security**, Chapter 2

J. Goldstein and R. Keohane, **Ideas and Foreign Policy**, p 3-30

T. Hopf, " The Promise of Constructivism," **International Security**, Summer 1998.

Case: **Debt Relief For Poor Nations**

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12. Seminar Twelve: Policy Evaluation: Ethical frameworks to cost benefit analysis

Assigned Readings:

Bemelmans-Videc, et al. Carrots, **Sticks and Sermons. Policy Instruments and Their Evaluation**, Chapter 1.

A.Wildavsky, **Speaking Truth to Power. The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis**, p 1-19, 212-237.

Readings evaluating Bush and Clinton's foreign policy

Case: **Carrots, Sticks and Question Marks: Negotiating the North Korean Nuclear Crisis**

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13. Seminar Thirteen: Policy Evaluation continued

14. Seminar Fourteen: What is good decision-making in foreign policy?

Assigned readings:

Neustadt and May, **Thinking in Time**

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Session 15: Okay, what just happened? Assessing our work and our understanding of the foreign policy process.

Additional cases and a couple of films may be added.

There will be a dinner and a movie night(my treat) where we will watch *The Fog War* and discuss McNamara as a decision-maker.

An important note on the **culture of a case class:**

- Generally each case will take up about half of our seminar. No one will be allowed to enter the class after our discussion has begun. Arrive on time!
- Do not come to class if you have not read the case. You all must participate during every case session. If you generally do not participate in classes, do not take this one.
- Learn to listen to your classmates and to yourself. Think before you open your mouth and do not repeat what has already been said. Link your comments to those made by your classmates.

Grading your case participation

I will grade your participation in this seminar after each case study. This happens in the best policy programs and law schools in this country. If you think about it, it happens everyday in any professional position. I will use the following four categories to evaluate your work:

1. Substance
 - a. Was the answer correct?
 - b. Did the student use case information in their response?
 - c. Does the student understand the case and its relation to other course readings?
2. Critical Listening
 - a. Relevance of comment?
 - b. Does the student link comments to others already made by colleagues?
 - c. Does the comment take us in a productive direction or does it pull us away from the case or the discussion on the table?
3. Creative and critical thinking
4. Clarity of responses
 - a. Clear, concise, coherent and appropriate responses