

SEMINAR ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING

w3961
Fall 2007
Thurs 4:10-6:00
1302 IAB

Professor Barbara Farnham
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Office hours: Weds. 2-4
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How can we account for the foreign policies of states in the international system? Why do they behave the way they do? This seminar focuses on a critical examination of the major explanations for foreign policy outcomes. Our main emphasis is on decision-making. However, we will begin with explanations operating at other levels of analysis, such as the international system and domestic politics. We then explore decision-making explanations, including those derived from cognitive and social psychology, theories of motivation and personality, the impact of the political context, and the role of group dynamics. Throughout, we will be looking at these different approaches in the light of actual episodes taken largely, but not exclusively, from American foreign policy.

Prerequisites:

All students must have taken the introductory course in international politics.

Requirements:

1. Participation in class discussion.

Students are expected to attend all seminar meetings and participate in the discussion by contributing informed questions and comments and responding constructively to those of others. **Note** that seminars differ from other classes with mid-term and final exams in that it is not possible to skip readings and do them all at once before the exam. Your only chance to contribute the discussion of the readings is during the class for which they are assigned. It is also my only opportunity to assess your understanding of the material.

2. Introduce readings from one or two week's selections and lead class discussion.

3. Prepare a research paper (approximately 30 pp).

This will be based on a short **research proposal** (2 pp, double spaced) and a **preliminary bibliography** (1p) to be discussed with me in individual meetings.

Proposals are due October 11 and meetings will be scheduled for the following week.

Papers are due December 12 by 5pm. Extensions will be given only in cases of emergency (death in the family, documented illness, etc.) Late papers will be marked down. **Those**

who would like to have comments should provide a stamped, self-addressed envelope (home address).

4. A brief presentation of your preliminary findings to the class (no more than 15 minutes).

This should be based on a **research note** specifying the question you are exploring, your hypothesis, the evidence on which it is based, the main competing explanations, and what is left to do to complete the paper (4-5 pp, double spaced and numbered). To ensure that your presentation is polished and conversational and that it fits within 15 minutes, you should practice your remarks in advance. **The research note will serve as the basis for discussion and must be distributed to class members no later than November 8.** It need not have formal footnotes but should include a bibliography and some indication of your sources

Grading:

Class participation 20%
 Presentation of readings 10%
 Research paper and discussion 70%

Readings

Books marked with an asterisk (*) have been ordered at the Labyrinth bookstore. All readings are on reserve in Butler Library. Readings marked with a double asterisk (**) are on e-reserves. The e-journals in which some articles may be found are also indicated.

September 6. Introduction

Explaining foreign policy. How to write a research paper.

Cameron Thies. "A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations." International Studies Perspectives. November 2002. **
INGENTA. Be sure to read this before your proposals are due. It will be helpful in framing your topic and choosing your source material

Paul Gordon Lauren, Gordon A. Craig, and Alexander L. George. Force and Statecraft 2006. Ch. 7.

Deborah Larson. Origins of Containment. "Conclusions."

*Stephen Van Evera, A Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science. Especially the Appendix

Leslie Hoffmann, "Data Collection Online." International Studies Perspectives. May 2007. EBSCO. For a more detailed analysis of how to use the Internet for research, see

Wayne Selcher, "Use of Internet Sources in International Studies Teaching and Research." International Studies Perspectives. May 2005. EBSCO.

Anyone who needs to review basic social science terms and concepts will find a good short treatment in *Van Evera, A Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science. Especially pp. 5-21.

September 13. Levels of Analysis; the International System and Domestic Politics Explanations of State Behavior

What are the Levels of Analysis?

- "Introduction." G. John Ikenberry, ed.. * American Foreign Policy. 4th ed. **Hereafter (I)**.
 Robert Jervis. Perception and Misperception in International Politics. ch. 1.
 Kenneth Waltz. Man, the State, and War. ch. 1.
 Ole R. Holsti. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." (I).

International system and domestic politics explanations of state behavior.

- Kenneth Waltz. "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power." (I).
 Alexander George. "Domestic Constraints on Regime Change." (I)
 Ole Holsti. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy." International Studies Quarterly (1992) 36,
 439-466. ** JSTOR

SUPPLEMENTARY

- J. David Singer. "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations" World
 Politics. October 1961.** JSTOR
 Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War.
 John Mearsheimer. The Tragedy of Great Power Politics
 Thomas Knecht and M. Stephen Weatherford. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: the
 Stages of Presidential Decision Making." International Studies Quarterly. September
 2006 EBSCO

September 20. Cultural and Domestic Structure Explanations of State Behavior

Culture

- Samuel P. Huntington. The Clash of Civilizations, Ch. 1, pp. 19-39.**

SUPPLEMENTARY

- Anastasia Xenias. "Can a Global Peace Last Even If Attained? Huntinton and the
 Democratic Peace. International Studies Review. September 2005. EBSCO.

Domestic structures and Foreign Policy

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

SUPPLEMENTARY

- John Ikenberry. "America's Liberal Grand Strategy." (I)
 Michael Mastanduno. "The United States Political System and International
 Leadership." (I).
 Samuel Huntington. "American Ideals versus American Institutions." (I).
 Steve Chan and William Safran. "Public Opinion as a Constraint against
 War: Democracies' Responses to Operation Iraqi Freedom." Foreign Policy
 Analysis, April 2006.

Case study: Are democracies more peaceful than other states?

Bruce Russett. Grasping the Democratic Peace. chs. 1, 2.

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. "Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength and War." International Organization. Spring 2002. ** INGENTA SELECT

SUPPLEMENTARY

James Lee Ray. "Does Democracy Cause Peace?" American Review of Political Science. 1998

Spencer R. Weart. Never at War. 1998.

Stephen Rock, "Anglo-U.S. Relations, 1845-1930," in Paths to Peace, ed. Miriam Elman

John M. Owen. "Perceptions of the Liberal Peace," in Ibid.

Mark Schafer and Stephen G. Walker. "Democratic Leaders and the Democratic Peace: the Operational Codes of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton." International National Studies Quarterly September 2006. EBSCO

September 27. The Role of Ideas; Organizational and Bureaucratic Explanations of State Behavior.

The Role of Ideas

Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., Ideas and Foreign Policy, pp. 3-2

Organization Theory

Alexander George. Presidential Decisionmaking, ch. 5.

Case Study: Controlling Nuclear Weapons

Scott Sagan. "The Perils of Proliferation." International Security. Spring 1994.** JSTOR

Bureaucratic Politics

Graham Allison. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." (I).

Stephen Krasner. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)" (I).

October 4. No class. Prepare research proposals

October 11. Decision-making Explanations of State Behavior; How People are Supposed to Think, How They Really Think, and Whether it Matters

Research Proposals and Bibliography Due

Introduction

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack. "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." International Security

25, Spring 2001. ** EBSCO Read pp.107-14 and the case example on Saddam Hussein and Hafiz al-Asad. Skim the other cases.

George, Presidential Decisionmaking, "Introduction."

SUPPLEMENTARY

- Sidney Verba. "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System." World Politics. 14, 1961. ** JSTOR
- Deborah Larson. "Good Judgment in Foreign Policy: Social Psychological Perspectives," in Stanley Renshon and Deborah Larson. Good Judgment in Foreign Policy. Ch. 1.
- Jack Levy, "Political Psychology and Foreign Policy," Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, 2003.

Rationality and Bounded Rationality

- Barbara Farnham, * Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis, pp. 245-248.
- Bryan D. Jones. "Bounded Rationality." Annual Review of Political Science. 1999, pp. 297-312.**

SUPPLEMENTARY

- Herbert A. Simon. "Rationality and Political Behavior." Political Psychology. March 1995.**
- James March. "Bounded Rationality, Ambiguity, and the Engineering of Choice." in Jon Elster. ed.. Rational Choice.
- "Special Issue: Political Economy and Political Psychology." Political Psychology. March 1995.

Perception: Beliefs and Images

- Philip Tetlock and Charles McGuire. "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy." (I).
- George, Presidential Decisionmaking, ch. 3.
- Robert Jervis. "Hypotheses on Misperception." (I).
- Yuen Foong Khong. "Seduction by Analogy in Vietnam." (I).

Case Study: Impact of Beliefs on Perception

- Ole Holsti. "The Belief System and National Images: John Foster Dulles." Journal of Conflict Resolution. September 1962. ** JSTOR

SUPPLEMENTARY

- Jervis. Perception and Misperception. ch 6.
- Jerel Rosati. "The Power of Human Cognition in the Study of World Politics." International Studies Review. Fall 2000, pp.45-53.** INGENTA
- Richard Herrmann, "Image Theory and Strategic Interaction in International Relations," Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, 2003.

October 18. Preference Formation. Decision-making Explanations-- Personality and Motivation

The Decision-maker's Preferences (the National Interest)

George. On Foreign Policy, ch. 1.

Michael Roskin. "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam," (I)

Joshua Busby. "Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry." International Studies Quarterly June 2007.
EBSCO

SUPPLEMENTARY

Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol," in Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration

Personality

William McKinley Runyon. "Why Did Van Gogh Cut Off His Ear?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1981.**

David Winter et al. "The Personalities of Bush and Gorbachev Measured at a Distance." (I).

Case Study: Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev

Fred Greenstein. "Impact of Personality on the End of the Cold War." Political Psychology.
March 1998.** EBSCO

SUPPLEMENTARY

Barbara Farnham. "Ronald Reagan and the Gorbachev Revolution." Political Science Quarterly, Summer 2001.

Motivation

Farnham, Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis, pp. 254-258

Richard Ned Lebow, Between War and Peace, pp. 107-115.

Case Study: The Falklands War

David Welsh. "Culture and Emotion as Obstacles to Good Judgment: The Case of Argentina's Invasion of the Falklands/Malvinas." in Stanley Renshon and Deborah Larson. Good Judgment in Foreign Policy. Ch. 7. **

SUPPLEMENTARY

Lebow, "Miscalculation in the South Atlantic: The Origins of the Falklands War," in Robert Jervis et al., eds., Psychology and Deterrence, ch. 5.

George Marcus, "The Psychology of Emotion and Politics," Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, 2003.

October 25. Decision-making Explanations-- Decision-making Processes

Decision-making Processes

George. Presidential Decisionmaking. ch. 2.

Farnham. Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis. pp. 248- 254.

Charles Lindblom. "The Science of 'Muddling Through'." Public Administration Review.

Spring 1959.**

Farnham. "Introduction." in Farnham, ed.. Avoiding Losses\Taking Risks. 1994.

Jervis. "The Political Implications of Loss Aversion." in Ibid.

Case Study

Farnham. "Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis: Insights from Prospect Theory" in Ibid (also in Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis, ch. 4).

SUPPLEMENTARY

Philip Zelikow. "Policy Engineering." International Security. Spring 1994.**

"Special Issue on Prospect Theory." Ed. Rose McDermott. Political Psychology, vol. 25, no.s 2 and 3, April 2004 and June 2004.

November 1. Decision-making Explanations--the Impact of Context. The Importance of Individuals reprised

The Impact of the Political Context on Decision-making

Roger Hilsman. To Move a Nation, ch. 1.

Farnham, Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis, ch. 2 and Appendices B and C.

Case Study: Roosevelt and the Decision to Aid the Democracies Before World War II

Farnham. Roosevelt and the Munich Crisis, ch. 6.

The Importance of Individuals Reprised

Byman and Pollock, pp. 133-46.

SUPPLEMENTARY

Richard Neustadt, Presidential Power

November 8. Decision-making Explanations: the Group. Bridging the Gap

Research notes due

Advisory Systems and Group Processes

George. Presidential Decisionmaking, chs. 4,6.

Alexander George and Eric Stern. "Harnessing Conflict in Foreign Policy Making: from Devil's to Multiple Advocacy." Presidential Studies Quarterly, September 2002** EBSCO

Groupthink

Irving Janis. Groupthink, chs. 1, 2, pp, 174-77.

SUPPLEMENTARY

t'Hart et al., eds.. Beyond Groupthink

George. "From Groupthink to Contextual Analysis of Policymaking Groups." in t'Hart et al., eds., Beyond Groupthink. ch. 2.

Bridging the Gap

George. Bridging the Gap, Introduction, Chs 1,2

November 15.

Presentation of Reports

November 22. No class. Thanksgiving break.

November 29.

Presentation of reports.

December 6.

Presentation of reports.

Papers due December 12 no later than 5 pm.

GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR COURSE WORK

Preparing for Class Discussion and Presentations

In addition to doing the readings, you should prepare for class by **analyzing and critiquing the readings**, considering the following sets of questions:

1. What is the central question or problem and what is the author's answer or argument?
 What is the logic of the argument ? Does it make sense? Is it plausible?
 What evidence does the author use to support the argument? Is it convincing? What other evidence would weaken or support it?
 What is your position on this argument?
2. What are the themes connecting the readings in each section?
 How do the readings compete with or compliment eachother?
 Which do you find most interesting and convincing?
 How do the readings relate to those in other sections?
3. What questions (theoretical, empirical) have the readings raised for you that you would like to discuss in class?
 What insights (about theory, history, currents events) have you had reading and analyzing these selections?

Presentation of the readings

Weekly presentations should be clear, concise, and **brief** (no more than 10 minutes per reading), and should raise questions for the whole class to discuss (use the questions just outlined as well as the ones you will receive for each set of readings).

Preparing the Research Proposal

Your paper topic should fit into the overall focus of the course, but need not be limited to its specific subject matter. It should be based on detailed evidence beyond the readings. Research using primary sources is desirable.

Start thinking about your paper topic right away. If you do not already have some idea of what you would like to do, look ahead in the syllabus for topics that might interest you. **If you are uncertain about what to focus on or how to proceed, consult with me well before the proposal is due.**

Go to the library and investigate the articles and books that relate to your potential topic. There is no need to read them carefully at this point. Just scan them to see what is available and to put together your preliminary bibliography

The proposal itself should cover the following questions: 1. what is your research question? 2. what is your hypothesis? 3. what is the strongest competing explanation? 4. what is the evidence

for your argument and how will you use it to test your hypothesis? 5. why is your topic important and interesting? for policy? for theory?

Preparing the Research Paper

Research papers should be typewritten, double-spaced, and documented with **footnotes** and **bibliography**. **Pages must be numbered.** Those who have not written a research paper before, as well as those wishing additional guidance, should consult Stephen Van Evera,* A Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science, 1997, especially the appendix and list of recommended guides.

Citations must conform the standard academic forms. If you have any doubt about what these are, look one of the style manuals listed in Van Evera. With regard to placement, I prefer footnotes, but endnotes are also acceptable.