

International Relations INR 5315  
**Foreign Policy Analysis**

Spring 2012  
Wed. 2:00 - 4:40 pm  
SIPA 502

Dr. Paul A. Kowert  
Office: SIPA 431  
Email: kowert@fiu.edu

This course investigates the ways that foreign policy is made in different interpersonal, organizational, national, and international contexts. Within each of these "contexts," this course focuses explicitly on the foreign policy making process. Its objective is to introduce a range of theories that seek to explain how decision makers formulate and implement their policy goals. The course begins with a series of micro-theoretical approaches to foreign policy decision making; the second part of the course then considers different structural constraints on policy making. Each of these approaches is comparative in perspective, focusing on generalized theory pertinent to foreign policy in different regions of the world.

**Course Requirements**

As in any graduate seminar, active participation is essential. Required readings, indicated by an asterisk (\*) on the syllabus, should always be completed before class. As a prelude to each week's discussion, students should be prepared to summarize the central points of each required reading.

The course requires two brief (about 4 pages) review essays summarizing scholarly work on a topic relevant to the course (more details will be provided in class). **A review essay is not a book report:** it should summarize the reviewed work only as necessary. Its objective is to state your own, original argument (reacting to the argument in the reviewed work). The review essays and all other written work for this class *must* be typed and double-spaced with one-inch margins. **No written work will be accepted by email.** Your work should conform stylistically to the standards of a prominent international relations journal (such as *International Organization* or *International Studies Quarterly*). Style manuals such as Kate Turabian's *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* or William Strunk and E. B. White's *The Elements of Style* may also be helpful. Papers should also conform to university and professional standards for academic honesty and integrity (review the relevant sections of the Student Handbook).

The course also requires a series of policy reports (most will be very short—one or two pages), which will describe aspects of the foreign policy making process in a country chosen at the beginning of the semester (not the United States). Each policy report assignment will be distributed in class, and the report will be due at the beginning of the following class (or as noted in the assignment). In producing these reports, be certain to document **all** sources meticulously.

All written work is due at the beginning of class on the assigned dates. Late papers will be accepted only at the professor's discretion and will be penalized. Grades will be determined on the basis of these course requirements as follows:

Participation	10%
First Review Essay	25%
Second Review Essay	25%
Policy Reports	40%

You are always welcome to discuss this course or other academic issues with me during my office hours. I will also be happy to make an appointment for another time if you cannot see me during office hours. Don't hesitate to ask if you have any questions or problems.

## Syllabus

### Week 1 (Jan. 11) — *Problems of Foreign Policy Analysis*

- \*Jervis, Robert, "Perception and the Level of Analysis Problem," in Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapter 1 (pp. 13-31).
- Carlsnaes, Walter, "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 245-270.
- Eckstein, Harry, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 7 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 79-137.
- George, Alexander, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Paul G. Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 43-68.
- Gerner, Deborah J., "The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy," in Laura Neack, Jeanne Hey and Patrick Haney, eds. *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 17-33.
- Herrmann, Richard, "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 175-203.
- Millar, T. B., "On Writing About Foreign Policy," in James N. Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 57-64.
- Singer, J. David, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, *The International System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).
- Snyder, Jack, "Richness, Rigor, and Relevance in the Study of Soviet Foreign Policy," *International Security* 9 (1984/85), pp. 89-108.
- Walker, Stephen G., Akan Malici, and Mark Schafer, *Rethinking Foreign Policy Analysis: States, Leaders, and the Microfoundations of Behavioral International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
- Waltz, Kenneth, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

### Part I — Foreign Policy Decision Making (The Problem of Choice)

### Week 2 (Jan. 18) — *Differences among Leaders*

- \* Greenstein, Fred, "Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically?" *Political Psychology* 13 (1992), pp. 105-128.
- \* Winter, David, "Personality and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview of Research," in Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson, *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview, 1992), pp. 79-101.
- \* Dyson, Stephen Benedict, "Personality and Foreign Policy: Tony Blair's Iraq Decisions," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2, 3 (2006), pp. 289-306.
- Barber, James David, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972).
- Davies, James C., *Human Nature in Politics* (New York: John Wiley, 1963).
- DiRenzo, Gordon, *Personality, Power, and Politics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).
- Etheredge, Lloyd, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968," *American Political Science Review* 72 (1978), pp. 434-451.
- Feldman, Ofer and Linda O. Valenty, eds., *Profiling Political Leaders: Cross-cultural Studies of Personality and Behavior* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).
- George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George, *Presidential Personality and Performance* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998).
- Glad, Betty, "Why Tyrants Go Too Far: Malignant Narcissism and Absolute Power," *Political Psychology* 23 (2002), pp. 1-37.
- Greenstein, Fred, *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization* (Chicago: Markham, 1969).
- Greenstein, Fred and Michael Lerner, *A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics* (Chicago: Markham, 1971).
- Hermann, Margaret G., "When Leader Personality Will Affect Foreign Policy: Some Propositions," in James Rosenau, *In Search of Global Patterns* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 326-333.
- Hermann, Margaret G., ed., *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders* (New York: The Free Press, 1977).
- Hermann, Margaret G., "Assessing the Personalities of Members of the Soviet Politburo," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 6 (1980), pp. 332-352.

- Hermann, Margaret G., "Personality and Foreign Policy Decision Making," in Donald Sylvan and Steve Chan, eds., *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 53-80.
- Knudsen, Olav and Maurice East, "Leeway for Personal Impact: The Case of Foreign-Policy Making in Norway," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 8 (1985), pp. 1-18.
- Kowert, Paul A., "Where Does the Buck Stop?: Assessing the Impact of Presidential Personality," *Political Psychology* 17 (1996), pp. 421-452.
- Runyan, William McKinley, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (New York: Oxford, 1982).
- Shephard, Graham, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1969-1984: A Second Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 91-123.
- Simonton, Dean Keith, *Why Presidents Succeed: A Political Psychology of Leadership* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
- Simonton, Dean Keith, "Personality and Politics," in L. A. Pervin, ed., *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research* (New York: Guilford, 1990), pp. 670-692.
- Wayne, Stephen, "Bad Guys and Bad Judgments," in Stanley A. Renshon and Deborah Welch Larson, eds., *Good Judgment in Foreign Policy: Theory and Application* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 103-124.
- Weinberg, Ashley, ed., *The Psychology of Politicians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Winter, David, "Leader Appeal, Leader Performance, and the Motive Profiles of Leaders and Followers," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52 (1987), pp. 196-202.
- Young, Michael D. and Mark Schafer, "Is There Method in Our Madness? Ways of Assessing Cognition in International Relations," *Mershon International Studies Review* 42 (1988), pp. 63-96.

### **Week 3 (Jan. 25) — Choice I (Parametric Rationality)**

- \* Elster, Jon, "Introduction," in J. Elster, ed., *Rational Choice* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), pp. 1-33.
- \* Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A First Cut," in *Essence of Decision* (New York: Longman, 1999; 1st ed. 1971), pp. 77-142.
- Bell, David E., Howard Raiffa, and Amos Tversky, eds., *Decision Making: Descriptive, Normative, and Prescriptive Interactions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Brown, Michael, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Rational Choice and Security Studies: Stephen Walt and His Critics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, *The War Trap* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, "The Contribution of Expected-Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Winchester, Massachusetts: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman, *War and Reason: Domestic and International Imperatives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Elster, Jon, *Ulysses and the Sirens: Studies in Rationality and Irrationality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Glaser, Charles L., *Rational Theory of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Majeski, Stephen and David Sylvan, "Simple Choices and Complex Calculations: A Critique of the War Trap," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28 (1984), pp. 316-340.
- Oneal, John R., "The Rationality of Decision Making During International Crises," *Polity* 20 (1988), pp. 598-622.
- Quattrone, George and Amos Tversky, "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice," *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988), pp. 719-736.
- Sen, Amartya K., "Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1977), pp. 317-344.
- Stein, Janice Gross and Raymond Tanter, *Rational Decision Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980).
- Wagner, R. Harrison, "War and Expected Utility Theory," *World Politics* 36 (1984), pp. 407-423.

### **Week 4 (Feb. 1) — Choice II (Strategic Rationality)**

- \* Morrow, James D., *Game Theory for Political Scientists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), chapter 3.
- \* Morrow, James D., "The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics," in David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 77-114.

- Brams, Steven J., *Game Theory And Politics* (New York : Free Press, 1975).
- Brams, Steven J., *Superpower Games* (New Haven: Yale University , 1985).
- Eatwell, John, Murray Milgate, and Peter Newman, eds., *The New Palgrave: Game Theory* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989).
- Green, Donald P. and Ian Shapiro, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Hardin, Russell, *Collective Action* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
- Harsanyi, John C., *Rational Behavior and Bargaining Equilibrium in Games and Social Situations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Lake, David A. and Robert Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Luce, R. Duncan and Howard Raiffa, *Games and Decisions* (New York: John Wiley, 1957).
- Ordeshook, Peter, *Game Theory and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Rapoport, Anatol, *Two-Person Game Theory: The Essential Ideas* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966).
- Rapoport, Anatol, *N-Person Game Theory: Concepts and Applications* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970).
- Schelling, Thomas, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).
- Schelling, Thomas, *Micromotives and Macrobehavior* (New York: Norton, 1978).
- Snidal, Duncan, "The Game Theory of International Politics," *World Politics* (1985), pp. 25-57.
- Snidal, Duncan, "Rational Choice and International Relations," in Walter E. Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002).
- Snyder, Glenn and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision-Making, and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).
- Von Neumann, John and Oscar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (New York: John Wiley, 1944).

### **Week 5 (Feb. 8) — Choice II (Strategic Rationality - continued)**

- \* Axelrod, Robert, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic, 1984), chs. 1, 2, 4.
- \* Symposium on "The Rational Deterrence Debate," *World Politics* 41 (1989), excerpts.
- George, Alexander L. and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
- Geva, Nehemia and Alex Mintz, *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997).
- Keohane, Robert O., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Orme, John, "Deterrence Failures: A Second Look," *International Security* 11, 4 (1987), pp. 96-124.
- Raiffa, Howard, *Negotiation Analysis: The Science and Art of Collaborative Decision Making* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2002).
- Stein, Arthur A., *Why Nations Cooperate: Circumstance and Choice in International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

### **Week 6 (Feb. 15) — Choice III (Cognition and Motivation)**

- \* Lebow, Richard Ned, *Between Peace and War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), chapters 1, 5.
  - \* Rosati, Jerel A., "A Cognitive Approach to the Study of Foreign Policy," in Laura Neack, Jeanne Hey and Patrick Haney, eds. *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 49 – 70.
  - \* Herrmann, Richard K. and Michael P. Fischerkeller, "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research After the Cold War," *International Organization* 49 (1995), pp. 415-450.
- Axelrod, Robert, "The Analysis of Cognitive Maps," in Axelrod, ed., *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 55-73.
- Blum, Douglas W., "The Soviet Foreign Policy Belief System: Beliefs, Politics, and Foreign Policy Outcomes," *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), pp. 373-394.
- Cottam, Martha, *Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Influence of Cognition* (Boulder: Westview, 1986).
- Cottam, Richard, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1977), chapters 1-4, 13 (Suez Crisis).
- Fernandez, Damian J., *Cuba and the Politics of Passion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

- Fiske, Susan, "Schema-Triggered Affect: Applications to Social Perception," in Susan Fiske and Margaret Clark, eds., *Affect and Cognition* (1982), pp. 55-78.
- Frank, Jerome D., "The Role of Pride," in Ralph K. White, ed., *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), pp. 220-226.
- George, Alexander, "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (1969), pp. 190-222.
- George, Alexander, "The Causal Nexus Between Cognitive Beliefs and Decision-making Behavior: The 'Operational Code' Belief System," in *Psychological Models in International Politics*, edited by L.S. Falkowski (Westview Press, 1979), pp. 95-124.
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1980).
- Hart, Jeffrey A., "Cognitive Maps of Three Latin American Foreign Policy Makers," *World Politics* 30 (1977), pp. 115-140.
- Herrmann, Richard, "Perceptions and Foreign Policy Analysis," in D. Sylvan and S. Chan, eds., *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 25-52.
- Holsti, Ole R., "Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy: Dulles and Russia," in David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand, 1967), pp. 25-96.
- Holsti, Ole R., *Crisis, Escalation, War* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972).
- Holsti, Ole R. and Alexander L. George, "The Effects of Stress on the Performance of Foreign Policy-Makers," in Cornelius P. Cotter, ed., *Political Science Annual*, Vol. 6 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), pp. 255-319.
- Hurwitz, Jon, Mark Peffley, and Mitchell Seligson, "Foreign Policy Belief Systems in Comparative Perspective: The United States and Costa Rica," *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), pp. 245-270.
- Janis, Irving, *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management* (New York: Free Press, 1989).
- Janis, Irving and Leon Mann, *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment* (New York: Free Press, 1977).
- Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Jervis, Robert, "Representativeness in Foreign Policy Judgments," *Political Psychology* 7 (1986), pp. 483-505.
- Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, eds., *Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- Lampton, David M., "The U. S. Image of Peking in Three International Crises," *Western Political Quarterly* 36 (1973), pp. 28-49.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, "Miscalculation in the South Atlantic," in Robert Jervis et al., *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), pp. 89-124.
- Nisbett, Richard and Lee Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980).
- Perrin, Andrew J., "National Threat and Political Culture: Authoritarianism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the September 11 Attacks," *Political Psychology*, 26, 2 (2005), pp. 167-194.
- Simon, Herbert, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1968).
- Small, Deborah A., Jennifer S. Lerner, and Baruch Fischhoff, "Emotion Priming and Attributions for Terrorism: American's Reactions in a National Field Experiment," *Political Psychology* 27 (2006), pp. 289-298.
- Tetlock, Philip and Ariel Levi, "Attribution Bias: On the Inconclusiveness of the Cognition-Motivation Debate," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 18 (1982), pp. 68-88.
- Van Evera, Stephen, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* 9 (1984), pp. 58-107.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, *The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- Voss, James F., "On the Representation of Problems: An Information-Processing Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making," in Donald Sylvan and James F. Voss, *Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 8-26.
- Walker, Stephen G., *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987).
- Walker, Stephen G., "The Evolution of Operational Code Analysis," *Political Psychology* 11 (1990), pp. 403-418.
- Walker, Stephen G., "Role Identities and the Operational Codes of Political Leaders," in Margaret G. Herrmann, ed., *Advances in Political Psychology*, Vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), pp. 71-106.
- Welch, David A., "Culture and Emotion as Obstacles to Good Judgment," in Stanley A. Renshon and Deborah Welch Larson, eds., *Good Judgment in Foreign Policy: Theory and Application* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 191-215.
- White, Ralph K., "The Role of Fear," in Ralph K. White, ed., *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War* (New York: NYU Press, 1986), pp. 240-249.

**Week 7 (Feb. 22) — Choice IV (Learning and Groups)**

- \* Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), chapters 2 & 6.
- \* Janis, Irving, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2nd ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), chapters 1 & 2.
- \* Kowert, Paul A., "Leadership and Learning in Political Groups: The Management of Advice in the Iran-Contra Affair," *Governance* 14 (2001), pp. 201-232.
- Albanese, Robert and David Van Fleet, "Rational Behavior in Groups: The Free-Riding Tendency," *Academy of Management Review* 10 (1985), pp. 244-255.
- Cartwright, Dorwin, "Risk Taking by Individuals and Groups: An Assessment of Research Employing Choice Dilemmas," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 361-378.
- Etheredge, Lloyd, *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions* (New York: Pergamon, 1985).
- Garrison, Jean, "Framing Foreign Policy Alternatives in the Inner Circle," *Political Psychology* 22 (2001), pp. 775-807.
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980), Part 2.
- George, Alexander and Eric Stern, "Presidential Management Styles and Models," in Alexander George and Juliette George, *Presidential Personality and Performance* (Boulder: Westview, 1998), pp. 199-280.
- Guetzkow, Harold, *Groups, Leadership, and Men* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951).
- Hovland, Carl, Irving Janis, and Harold Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
- Kowert, Paul A., *Groupthink or Deadlock: When Do Leaders Learn from Their Advisors?* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).
- Larson, Deborah, *Origins of Containment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Levine, John and Richard Moreland, "Progress in Small Group Research," *Annual Review of Psychology* (1990), pp. 585-634.
- Longley, J. and Dean G. Pruitt, "Groupthink: A Critique of Janis's Theory," *Review of Personality and Social Psychology* 1 (1980), pp. 74-93.
- McGrath, Joseph, "Time, Interaction, and Performance (TIP): A Theory of Groups," *Small Group Research* 22 (1991), pp. 147-174.
- Metselaar, Max V. and Bertjan Verbeek, "Beyond Decision Making in Formal and Informal Groups: The Dutch Cabinet and the West New Guinea Conflict," in Paul 't Hart, Eric K. Stern, and Bengt Sundelius, eds., *Beyond Groupthink: Political Group Dynamics and Foreign Policy-Making* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 95-122.
- Minix, Dean A., *Small Groups and Foreign Policy Decision-Making* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1982).
- Neustadt, Richard E. and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1986).
- Pruitt, Dean G., "Choice Shifts in Group Discussion: An Introductory Review," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 339-360.
- Schafer, Mark and Scott Crichlow, *Groupthink Versus High-Quality Decision Making in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- Semmel, Andrew K., "Small-Group Dynamics in Foreign Policymaking," in G. W. Hoppole, ed., *Biopolitics, Political Psychology, and International Politics* (New York: St. Martins, 1982).
- Steinbruner, John, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).
- 't Hart, Paul, *Groupthink in Government* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).
- Tetlock, Philip, "Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy: In Search of an Elusive Concept," in George Breslauer and Philip Tetlock, eds., *Learning in American and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 20-61.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, "Foreign Policy Decision-makers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and its Shortcomings," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 223-247.
- Walker, Stephen G., Akan Malici, and Mark Schafer, *Rethinking Foreign Policy Analysis: States, Leaders, and the Microfoundations of Behavioral International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

## Part II — Other Agents and Their Interests (The Problem of Levels)

### Week 8 (Feb. 29) — Bureaucracies and Organizations

#### FIRST REVIEW ESSAY DUE

- \* Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: A Second Cut," in *Essence of Decision* (New York: Longman, 1999; 1st ed. 1971), pp. 197-253.
- \* Price, Robert M., *Society and Bureaucracy in Contemporary Ghana* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), chapter 1.
- Allison, Graham T. and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," in Raymond Tanter and Richard H. Ullman, *Theory and Policy in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Anderson, Richard D. *et al.*, "Explaining Self-Defeating Foreign Policy Decisions: Interpreting Soviet Arms for Egypt in 1973 through Process or Domestic Bargaining Models?" *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992), pp. 759-767.
- Bendor, Jonathon and Thomas Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992), pp. 301-321.
- Destler, Irving M., *Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy: The Politics of Organizational Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Fernandez, Damian, "Opening the Blackest of Black Boxes: Theory and Practice of Decision Making in Cuba's Foreign Policy," in Jorge Domínguez, ed., *Cuban Studies* 22 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh), pp. 53-78.
- Halperin, Morton, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1974).
- Halperin, Morton, "Why Bureaucrats Play Games?" *Foreign Affairs* (1971), pp. 70-90.
- Harari, Ehud, "Resolving and Managing Policy Conflict: Advisory Bodies," in S. N. Eisenstadt and Eyal Ben-Ari, eds., *Japanese Models of Conflict Resolution* (London: Kegan Paul, 1990), pp. 138-161.
- Hilsman, Roger, *To Move a Nation* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967).
- Hopple, Gerald, "Elite Values and Foreign Policy Analysis," in L. S. Falkowski, ed., *Psychological Models in International Politics* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 211-249.
- Kier, Elizabeth, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars," *International Security* 19 (1995), pp. 65-93.
- Kier, Elizabeth, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Kissinger, Henry, "Bureaucracy and Policymaking," in Morton Halperin and Arnold Kanter, eds., *Readings in American Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
- Krasner, Stephen, "Are Bureaucracies Important?" *Foreign Policy* 7 (1971).
- Levy, Jack, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 193-222.
- March, James and Herbert Simon, *Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1958).
- Rowen, Henry, "Bargaining and Analysis in Government," in Louis Gawthrop, ed., *The Administrative Process and Democratic Theory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 31-37.
- Stewart, Philip D., *et al.*, "Modeling the 1973 Soviet Decision to Support Egypt," *American Political Science Review* 83 (1989), pp. 35-89.
- Welch, David, "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms," *International Security* 17 (1992), pp. 112-146.

### Week 9 (Mar. 7) — Special Interests, Public Interest

- \* Snyder, Jack, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), chapters 1-3.
- \* Holsti, Ole, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 439-466.
- Almond, Gabriel, *The American People and Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1960).
- Cohen, Bernard C., *The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
- Deutsch, Karl W. and Lewis Edinger, *Germany Rejoins the Powers; Mass Opinion, Interest Groups, and Elites in Contemporary German Foreign Policy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).
- Ehrmann, Henry, W., *Interest Groups on Four Continents* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1958).
- Graber, Doris, "Framing Politics for Mass Consumption: Can American News Media Meet the Challenge?" in Margaret G. Hermann, ed., *Advances in Political Psychology*, Vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), pp. 19-39.

- Hart, Jeffrey, *Rival Capitalists: International Competitiveness in the United States, Japan, and Western Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Holsti, Ole R. and James Rosenau, *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984).
- Kusnitz, Leonard A., *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: America's China Policy, 1949-1979*.
- Mendel, Douglas Heusted, *The Japanese People and Foreign Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).
- Morgan, T. Clifton and Kenneth N. Bickers, "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36 (1992), pp. 25-52.
- Mueller, John, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (New York: Wiley, 1973).
- Rosenau, James N., *The Attentive Public and Foreign Policy: A Theory of Growth and Some New Evidence* (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1968).
- Russett, Bruce and Elizabeth Hanson, *Interest and Ideology: Foreign Policy Beliefs of American Businessmen* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975), selections.
- Snow, Donald M. and Eugene Brown, *Puzzle Palaces and Foggy Bottom: U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy-Making in the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994).
- Wittkopf, Eugene R., *Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

**Spring Break** — March 12-17

### **Part III — The Broader Context (The Problem of Constraint)**

**Week 10 (Mar. 21)** — *National Difference and the Domestic Context*

- \* Doyle, Michael, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986), pp. 1151-1169.
- \* Ember, Carol, Melvin Ember, and Bruce Russett, "Peace Between Participatory Polities: A Cross-Cultural Test of the 'Democracies Rarely Fight Each Other' Hypothesis," *World Politics* 44 (1992), pp. 573-599.
- \* Cowhey, Peter, "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments" *International Organization*, 47, 2 (1993), pp. 299-326.
- Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor, "Election Cycles and War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35 (1991), pp. 212-244.
- Hermann, Margaret G. and Charles W. Kegley, Jr., "Rethinking Democracy and International Peace: Perspectives from Political Psychology," *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995), pp. 511-533.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., *Between Power and Plenty* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).
- Katzenstein, Peter J., *Corporatism and Change: Austria, Switzerland, and the Politics of Industry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- Katzenstein, Peter J., *Small States in World Markets* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1985).
- Lowi, Theodore, *The End of Liberalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), esp. ch. 6.
- Nincic, Miroslav, *Democracy and Foreign Policy: the Fallacy of Political Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- Russett, Bruce, *Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), selections.
- Simmons, Beth A., *Who Adjusts? Domestic Sources of Foreign Economic Policy During the Interwar Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Olson, Mancur, *The Rise and Decline of Nations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," *World Politics* 43 (1991), pp. 479-512.

**Week 11 (Mar. 28)** — *Identity and the Cultural Context*

- \* Hopf, Ted, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2002), chs. 1 & 2.
- \* Katzenstein, Peter J., "Same War—Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *International Organization* 57 (2003), pp. 731-760.
- Berger, Thomas, *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1998).

- Duffield, John S., *World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions, and German Security Policy after Unification* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1998).
- Duffy, Gavan and N. Lindstrom, "Conflicting Identities: Solidary Incentives in the Serbo-Croatian War," *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (2002), pp. 69-90.
- Johnston, Alastair, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2005).
- Katzenstein, Peter, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1996).
- Katzenstein, Peter, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University, 1996).
- Kier, Elizabeth, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997).
- Kinnvall, Catarina and Paul Nesbitt-Larking, *The Political Psychology of Globalization: Muslims in the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Krause, Keith, *Culture and Security: Multilateralism, Arms Control and Security Building* (London: Frank Cass, 1999).
- Lebow, Richard Ned, *A Cultural Theory of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Lucarelli, Sonia and Ian Manners, eds., *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy* (New York: Routledge 2006).
- McSweeney, Bill, *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Neumann, Iver, *Uses of the Other: "The East" in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999).
- Prizel, I., *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1998).
- Reus-Smit, Christopher, *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999).
- Ringmar, Erik, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996).
- Sjöstedt, R., "The Discursive Origins of a Doctrine: Norms, Identity, and Securitization under Harry S. Truman and George W. Bush," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3 (2007), pp. 233-254.
- Thies, Cameron, "The Construction of a Latin American Interstate Culture of Rivalry," *International Interactions* 34 (2008), pp. 231-257.
- Weber, Katja and Paul Kowert, *Cultures of Order: Leadership, Language and Social Reconstruction in Germany and Japan* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

## **Week 12 (Apr. 4) — National Interest and the International Context**

- \* Posen, Barry, *The Sources of Military Doctrine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), chapters 1, 2, and 4.
- \* Lobell, Steven E., "Threat Assessment, the State and Foreign Policy: A Neoclassical Realist Model," in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 42-74.
- Christensen, Thomas J., "Chinese Realpolitik," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (September/October 1996), pp. 37-52.
- Deudney, Daniel and G. John Ikenberry, "The International Sources of Soviet Change," *International Security* 16 (1991/92), pp. 74-118.
- Elman, Colin, "Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy," *Security Studies* 6 (1996), pp. 7-53.
- George, Alexander, David Hall, and William Simons, *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).
- Kier, Elizabeth, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine between the Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997)
- Kristol, William and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (July/August 1996), pp. 18-44.
- Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Maoz, Zeev, *National Choices and International Processes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Odell, John S., *U.S. International Monetary Policy: Markets, Power, and Ideas as Sources of Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).
- Rose, Gideon, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51, 1 (1998), pp. 144-172.
- Snyder, Glenn H. and Paul Diesing, *Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

## Part IV — Conclusions

### Week 13 (Apr. 11) — *The Construction of Foreign Policy Analysis*

- \* Lowi, Theodore J., "The State in Political Science: How We Became What We Study," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992), pp. 1-7.
- \* Onuf, Nicholas, "Speaking of Policy," in Vendulka Kubáľková and Ralph Pettman, eds., *Foreign Policy in a Constructed World* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 77-95.
- \* Peterson, V. Spike, *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992), chapter 1.
- Barnett, Michael, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), pp. 271-296.
- Barnett, Michael, *Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order* (New York: Columbia University, 1998).
- Campbell, David, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).
- Cederman, Lars-Erik and Christopher Daase, "Endogenizing Corporate Identities: the Next Step in Constructivist IR Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (2003), pp. 5-35.
- Eden, Lynn, *Whole World on Fire: Organizations, Knowledge, and Nuclear Weapons Devastation* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2004).
- Kowert, Paul, "Toward A Constructivist Theory of Foreign Policy," in Vendulka Kubáľková and Ralph Pettman, eds., *Foreign Policy in a Constructed World* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 266-287.
- McDonald, M., "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (2008), pp. 563-587.
- Tannenwald, Nina, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007).
- Weldes, Jutta, *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999).
- Zeifuss, Maja, *Constructivism in International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

### Week 14 (Apr. 18) — *Foreign Policy Theory and Practice*

#### SECOND REVIEW ESSAY DUE

- \* Hudson, Valerie M. and Christopher S. Vore, "Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (1995), pp. 209-238.
- George, Alexander, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy* (Washington: U. S. Institute of Peace, 1993).
- Jensen, Kenneth and Elizabeth Faulkner, *Morality and Foreign Policy: Realpolitik Revisited* (Washington: U. S. Institute of Peace, 1991).
- Stephanson, Anders, *Kennan and the Art of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).