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Office hours: MW 10:30-11:45
W 1:30-4:00
or by appointment

POLS 970:
Foreign Policy Analysis
Spring 1999

Course Description: This course provides an introduction to the classic and recent literature on the systematic study of foreign policy. The emphasis of the course is conceptual and analytical, focusing on theories of decision-making and their empirical applications to foreign policy. Readings and class discussions will analyze the impact of individual leaders and personalities on foreign policy choices, the effect of the circumstances under which decisions are made, and the influence of individual and collective perceptions and misperceptions. We will also consider the role of institutional structures and processes, public opinion, and the international environment. Although many of the articles and case studies use illustrations from U.S. foreign policy, the theoretical issues raised can be applied to a variety of countries.

In addition to providing specific knowledge about the foreign policy process, this course also gives you the opportunity to develop and strengthen a number of skills that are important in an academic career:

- the critical reflection and evaluation of scholarly work;
- the construction of research questions;
- problem-solving and analytical abilities;
- creative and independent thinking;
- the oral and written articulation of theories and arguments;
- peer review and collaboration.

Required Texts. We will be reading three books that are available from the Kansas Union bookstore:

Khong, Yuen Foong, Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Neack, Laura, Jeanne A. K. Hey, and Patrick J. Haney, eds., Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995). [NHH]

Vertzberger, Yaacov Y. I., The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decisionmaking (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

In addition, we will also use a set of case studies, available directly from me. Finally, there is a packet of articles and book chapters in the reading room of the Political Science Department, 504 Blake Hall.

Expectations and Evaluation: Members of the seminar are expected to attend all sessions, do the required reading before class, turn in assignments on time, and participate actively in class discussions. My assumption, unless shown otherwise, is that you are self-directed adults; thus, my role is to guide your intellectual development rather than to provide you with all the answers. Incompletes will not be given except in cases of documented medical emergency, bereavement, or other circumstances totally beyond the student's control.

Class participation:	30%	Presentation of supplementary readings:	5%
Written case analyses:	15%	Peer review and presentation:	15%
Research design:	35%		

Class participation. Since this course is built around discussion and the case method, its success ultimately depends on your preparation and willingness to participate in thoughtful, serious analysis that reflects mastery of the assigned material. For additional information, see the syllabus appendix.

Presentation of supplementary readings. Each seminar participant is required to sign up during the second week of class to present three supplementary readings (during different weeks). You should prepare a well-organized, 5-10 minute overview presentation of the reading and a brief outline to distribute to the class.

Written case analyses. A week before each case discussion, I will distribute study questions and an optional essay question to help guide your preparation for the following week's class. During the course of the semester, you are required to select three cases and, for each one, submit a brief paper (3-4 typed pages) that answers the essay question for that case. You can select any three cases, except that you must complete at least one short paper by the end of February. Each short paper must be turned in by 3:00 p.m. *the day before* the case is to be discussed.

Paper assignment. Each seminar participant will prepare a formal research design of approximately 25 pages on a topic of their choice within the field for foreign policy analysis. Your research design should include the following elements:

- description and justification of a significant research question
- review of the relevant literature
- presentation and elaboration of one or more specific hypotheses
- explanation of an appropriate technique for collecting and evaluating evidence
- operationalization of relevant variables
- commentary regarding the expected results
- discussion of the next steps in the research.

The goals of this activity are:

- to provide you with an in-depth understanding of a significant question within foreign policy analysis
- to give you experience in writing a professional quality research design of the type you would use to obtain research funding
- to encourage you to develop a research agenda that can ultimately result in a political science conference paper, scholarly article, or dissertation project.

I am flexible regarding the intellectual question and the research method as long as it contains the elements outlined above. Please make an appointment with me early in the semester to discuss the appropriateness and scope of your topic.

A two-page proposal that will serve as the basis for your research design is due at the end of the sixth week: **Friday, 26 February 1999**. The proposal should specify the what, why, and how of the topic and should serve as a concise overview of what is to come. These proposals will be presented and discussed in class during weeks 8 and 9. A completed draft of the research design is due in class on **Tuesday, 20 April**. Final papers, revised to take into account the comments from your class colleagues and from me, are due no later than **Friday, 14 May 1999**.

Peer review and presentations. Each student will be assigned to discuss another student's paper outline and to present the final version of the paper for the author in during the penultimate class session. You should give your outline commentator/presenter a copy of your proposal when you turn it in to me on 26 February. You should also communicate with your outline commentator/presenter throughout the semester and provide that person with your completed draft research design no later than 20 April. In addition, each seminar member will be assigned to serve as the discussant for another student's research design when it is presented on 27 April. You should also give that individual a copy of your research design no later than 20 April.

Academic misconduct. Cheating and plagiarism in all their forms are serious matters and will be treated as such. The minimum penalty is a zero for the assignment. If you have any questions about what constitutes academic misconduct, please talk with me.

Summary of Course Topics

- Week 1: Introduction to the Study of Foreign Policy
Case: The Two Oaths of Richard Helms
- Week 2: What is Foreign Policy Analysis Anyway?
- Week 3: Personality, Leadership Styles, and the Psychology of Foreign Policy Decision-Making
- Week 4: Beliefs and Motives
Case: The Cuban Missile Crisis: U.S. Deliberations and Negotiations at the Edge of the Precipice
- Week 5: No Class
- Week 6: Reasoning and Information Processing
Case: The Mayaguez Incident
- Week 7: Group Dynamics
Case: Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs
- Week 8: Organizational Processes and Government Structures
- Week 9: US Decision Making and The Vietnam War
Case: Americanizing the Vietnam War
- Week 10: Spring Break
- Week 11: Domestic Political Explanations of Foreign Policy
- Week 12: The Impact of Public Opinion and the Media
Case: Siege Mentality: ABC, the White House and the Iran Hostage Crisis
- Week 13: External Influences
Case: The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War
- Week 14: Foreign Policies of Weak/Dependent States
Case: Ecuador Confronts U.S. Military Intervention: Operation Blazing Trails
Case: Intragovernmental Negotiation: Soviet-Somali Relations and the Ogaden War, 1978-79
- Week 15: Presentation of Research Designs
- Week 16: International Mediation and Conflict Resolution
Case: Yugoslavia, 1991-92: Could Diplomacy Have Prevented a Tragedy?"

Week 1: Course Introduction

Assignment

Case: *"The Two Oaths of Richard Helms"* [handed out and read in class]

Week 2: What is Foreign Policy Analysis Anyway?

Required

Gerner, "The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy" [NHH]
Hudson, Valerie M. with Christopher S. Vore, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," Mershon International Studies Review 39: 2 (1995): 209-238. [packet]
Khong, chapter 1
Neack, Hey, and Haney, "Generational Change in Foreign Policy Analysis" [NHH]
Snyder, Richard C., H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics," in International Politics and Foreign Policy, ed. James Rosenau (New York: The Free Press, 1969). [packet]
Vertzberger, chapter 1

Supplementary readings for class presentation

Hermann, Charles F., and Gregory Peacock, "The Evolution and Future Theoretical Research in the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy," In New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy, ed. Hermann, Charles F., Charles W. Kegley Jr., and James N. Rosenau (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).
Smith, S. "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." Review of International Studies 12 (1986), pp. 13-29.
Snyder, Richard C., H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics (Princeton: Foreign Policy Analysis Series #3, 1954).

Suggestions for further reading

Allison, Graham T., "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," American Political Science Review 63 (1969), pp. 689-718.
Brecher, Michael, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).
Clarke, Michael, and Brian White, eds., Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach (Great Britain: Edward Algar Publishing, Ltd., 1989).
Drachman, Edward R., and Alan Shank, Presidents and Foreign Policy: Countdown to Ten Controversial Decisions (New York: SUNY Press, 1997).
East, Maurice A., Stephen A. Salmore, and Charles F. Hermann, Why Nations Act: Theoretical Perspectives for Comparative Foreign Policy Studies (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978).
Gerner, Deborah J., "Foreign Policy Analysis: Renaissance, Routine, or Rubbish," In Political Science: Looking to the Future, vol. 2, ed. William Crotty (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), pp. 123-185.
Papadakis, Maria, and Harvey Starr, "Opportunity, Willingness, and Small States," In New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy, ed. Hermann, Charles F., Charles W. Kegley Jr., and James N. Rosenau (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).
Rosenau, James N., ed., In Search of Global Patterns (New York: Free Press, 1976).
Rosenau, James, "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field," International Studies Quarterly, 1968
Rummel, Rudolph J., The Dimensionality of Nations Project (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972).
Smith, Steve M., "Foreign Policy Analysis: British and American Orientations and Methodologies," Political Studies 31 (1983), pp. 556-565.
Steinbruner, John D., The Cybernetic Theory of Decision (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

Week 3: Personality, Leadership Styles, and the Psychology of Foreign Policy Decision-Making

Assignment

- Greenstein, "The Impact of Personality on the End of the Cold War: A Counterfactual Analysis." Political Psychology 19:1 (1998): 1-16. [packet]
- Hermann, Margaret G., and Thomas Preston, "Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements," Political Psychology 15:1 (March 1994): 75-96. [packet]
- Kaarbo, Juliet. "Prime Minister Leadership Styles in Foreign Policy Decision-Making." Political Psychology 18:3 (1997): 553-581. [packet]
- Khong, chapter 2
- Vertzberger, chapter 3
- Winter, David G., "Personality and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview of Research," in Political Psychology and Foreign Policy, ed. Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 79-101. [packet]

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Astorino-Courtois, Allison, "Clarifying Decisions: Assessing the Impact of Decision Structures on Foreign Policy Choices During the 1970 Jordanian Civil War," International Studies Quarterly 42 (1998): 733-754.
- Shepard, Graham H., "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1969-84," International Studies Quarterly 32:1 (March 1988): 91-123.
- Snare, Charles E., "Applying Personality Theory to Foreign Policy Behavior: Evaluating Three Methods of Assessment, in Political Psychology and Foreign Policy, ed. Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 103-133.

Suggestions for further reading

- Barber, James D., The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1980).
- Berman, Larry, Lyndon Johnson's War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam (New York: Norton, 1989).
- _____. and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (New York: Dover, 1956).
- Etheredge, Lloyd S., "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy," American Political Science Review 72:2 (June 1978): 434-51.
- Hermann, Margaret G., "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders," International Studies Quarterly (March 1980), pp. 7-46.
- Hermann, Margaret G., "Personality and Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Study of 54 Heads of Government," In Foreign Policy Decision Making: Perception, Cognition, and Artificial Intelligence, ed., Steve Chan and Donald A. Sylvan (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 53-80.
- Kahneman, Daniel, and A. Tversky, "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk." Econometrica 47 (1979), pp. 263-291.
- Kellerman, Barbara, and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, eds., Leadership and Negotiation in the Middle East (New York: Praeger, 1988).
- _____., "An Introduction to Prospect Theory," Political Psychology 13:2 (June 1992), pp. 171-186.
- Rosati, Jerel A., The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community: Beliefs and Their Impact on Behavior (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1987).
- Singer, Eric, and Valerie M. Hudson, ed., Political Psychology and Foreign Policy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
- Swansbrough, Robert H., "A Kohutian Analysis of President Bush's Personality and Style in the Persian Gulf Crisis," Political Psychology 15:2 (June 1994): 227-276.

Week 4: Beliefs and Motives

Required

- Rosati, "A Cognitive Approach to the Study of Foreign Policy" [NHH]
Walker, Stephen G. "Psychodynamic Processes and Framing Effects in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Woodrow Wilson's Operational Code." Political Psychology 16:4 (1995): 697-717.
[packet]
Vertzberger, chapter 2

Case: The Cuban Missile Crisis: U.S. Deliberations and Negotiations at the Edge of the Precipice

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Goldstein, Judith, and Robert Keohane, "Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework," in Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change, ed. Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
Jervis, Robert, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapt. 1.
Larson, Deborah Welch, "The Role of Belief Systems and Schemas in Foreign Policy Decision-Making," Political Psychology 15:1 (March 1994): 17-33.
Voss, James F., and Ellen Dorsey, "Perception and International Relations: An Overview," in Political Psychology and Foreign Policy, ed. Eric Singer and Valerie Hudson (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 3-30.

Suggestions for further reading (weeks 4 and 6)

- Anderson, Paul, "Justifications and Precedents as Constraints in Foreign Policy Decision-Making," American Journal of Political Science 25 (1981), pp. 738-761.
Axelrod, Robert, "Schema Theory: An Information Processing Model of Perception and Cognition," American Political Science Review 67 (1973), pp. 1248-66.
Blum, Douglas W., "The Soviet Foreign Policy Belief System: Beliefs, Politics, and Foreign Policy Outcomes," International Studies Quarterly 37 (1993): 373-394.
Bonham, G. Matthew, Daniel Heradstveit, Ove Narvesen, and Michael J. Shapiro. "A Cognitive Model of Decision-Making: Application to Norwegian Oil Policy." Cooperation and Conflict 8 (1978): 93-108.
Breslauer, George, and Philip Tetlock, eds., Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).
Breuning, Marijke. "Words and deeds: Foreign assistance rhetoric and policy behavior in the Netherlands, Belgium, and the UK." International Studies Quarterly (1995).
Cottam, Martha L., Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Influence of Cognition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).
Crichlow, Scott, "Idealism or Pragmatism? An Operational Code Analysis of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres," Political Psychology 19 (1998): 683-706.
Feldman, Ofer, "The Political Personality of Japan: An Inquiry into the Belief Systems of Diet Members," Political Psychology 17 (1996): 657-682.
George, Alexander L., "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making," International Studies Quarterly 13 (June 1979), pp. 190-222.
Goldstein, Judith, and Robert Keohane (eds.) Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change.
Herrmann, Richard K., "Perceptions and Foreign Policy Analysis," in Steve Chan and Donald A. Sylvan, eds., Foreign Policy Decision Making: Perception, Cognition, and Artificial Intelligence (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 25-52.
Herrmann, Richard, "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences about Perceptions." International Studies Quarterly 32:2 (June 1988): 175-203.

- Holsti, Ole R., "The Belief System and National Images," Conflict Resolution 6 (September 1962), pp. 244-252.
- _____, "The 'Operational Code' Approach to the Study of Political Leaders: John Foster Dulles' Philosophical and Instrumental Beliefs," Canadian Journal of Political Science 3 (March 1970), pp. 122-157.
- _____, "Cognitive Process Approaches to Decision-Making," American Behavioral Scientist 20 (September-October 1976), pp. 11-32.
- Lau, Richard, and David Sears, Political Cognition (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986).
- Larson, Deborah, "Problems of content analysis in foreign policy research: Notes from the study of origins of Cold War belief systems," International Studies Quarterly 32 (1988), pp. 241-255.
- Jervis, Robert, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- _____, "Representativeness in Foreign Policy Judgments," Political Psychology 7:3 (1986): 483-505.
- Jervis, Robert. "Hypotheses on Misperception," World Politics 20 (1968): 454-79.
- Lakoff, G., and M. Johnson, Metaphors We Live By (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
- Lebow, Richard Ned, Between Peace and War: The Nature of International Crisis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1981).
- Levy, Jack, "Misperception and the Causes of War: Theoretical Linkages and Analytical Problems," World Politics 36 (October 1983), pp. 76-99.
- Levy, Jack S. "Prospect Theory and International Relations: Theoretical Applications and Analytical Problems." Political Psychology 13 (1992): 283-310.
- Loftus, E. F., and G. R. Loftus, "On the Permanence of Stored Information in the Human Brain." American Psychologist 35 (1980), pp. 409-20.
- May, Ernest, "Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
- Neustadt, Richard, and Ernest May, Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers. (New York: Free Press, 1986).
- Purkitt, Helen E., and James W. Dyson, "The Role of Cognition in U.S. Foreign Policy toward Southern Africa," Political Psychology 7:3 (1986): 507-532.
- Rosenberg, J. Philip, "Presidential Beliefs and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Continuity During the Cold War Era," Political Psychology 7:4 (1986): 733-751.
- Simon, Herbert, "How Big is a Chunk," Science 183 (1974), pp. 482-488.
- Sternberg, R. J., "Component Processes in Analogical Reasoning." Psychological Review 84 (1977), pp. 353-78.
- Taber, Charles S. "POLI: An Expert System Model of U.S. Foreign Policy Belief Systems." American Political Science Review 86 (1992): 888-904.
- Vosniadou, Stella, and Andrew Ortony, Similarity and Analogical Reasoning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Walker, Stephen G., "The evolution of operational code analysis." Political Psychology 11 (1990): 403-418.

Week 5: No Class: Professor at International Studies Association Annual Conference

Week 6: Reasoning and Information Processing

Assignment

- Herrmann, Richard K., James F. Voss, Tonya Y.E. Schooler, and Joseph Ciarrochi, "Images in International Relations: An Experimental Test of Cognitive Schemata." International Studies Quarterly 41 (1997): 403-433. [packet]
- Shimko, "Foreign Policy Metaphors: Falling 'Dominoes' and Drug 'Wars'" [NHH]
- Taber, Charles S., "POLI: An Expert System Model of U.S. Foreign Policy Belief Systems," American Political Science Review 86:4 (1992): 888-904. [packet]
- Voss, James F., "On the Representation of Problems: An Information-Processing Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making" in Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making, ed. Donald A. Sylvan and James F. Voss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. [packet]

Case: The Mayaguez Incident

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Cottam, Martha, and Dorcas E. McCoy, "Image Change and Problem Representation after the Cold War, in Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making, ed. Donald A. Sylvan and James F. Voss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Farkas, Andrew, "Evolutionary Models in Foreign Policy Analysis," International Studies Quarterly 40 (1996): 343-361.
- Holsti, Ole. "Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy," Journal of International Affairs 21 (1976): 16-39.
- Sylvan, Donald A., Thomas M. Ostrom, and Katherine Gannon, "Case-Based, Model-Based, and Explanation-Based Styles of Reasoning in Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly 38:1 (March 1994): 61-90. [packet]

Week 7: Group Dynamics

Required

- Beasley, Ryan, "Collective Interpretations: How Problem Representations Aggregate in Foreign Policy Groups," in Problem Representation in Foreign Policy Decision Making, ed. Donald A. Sylvan and James F. Voss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- 't Hart, Paul, Eric K. Stern, and Bengt Sundelius, "Foreign Policy-Making at the Top: Political Group Dynamics." In Beyond Groupthink: Political Group Dynamics and Foreign Policy-Making, ed. Paul 't Hart, Eric K. Stern, and Bengt Sundelius. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Vertzberger, chapter 4

Case: Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Hermann, Charles F. "Avoiding Pathologies in Foreign Policy Decision Groups," in Diplomacy, Force, and Leadership, ed. D. Caldwell and T. J. McKeown. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.
- Maoz, Zeev. "Framing the National Interest," World Politics 43 (1990): 77-110.
- Shapiro, Michael J., G. Matthew Bonham, and Daniel Heradstveit, "A Discursive Practices Approach to Collective Decision-Making," International Studies Quarterly 32 (1988): 397-419.

Suggestions for further reading (weeks 7, 8, and 9)

- Allison, Graham T., Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).
- _____, and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," In Theory and Policy in International Relations, ed. Raymond Tanter and Richard H. Ullman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Braybrooke, David, and Charles Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision (New York: Free Press, 1963).
- Dawisha, Karen, "The Limits of the Bureaucratic Politics Model: Observations on the Soviet Case," Studies in Comparative Communism 13:4 (Winter 1980): 300-346. [with comments by Graham T. Allison, Fred H. Eidlin, and Jiri Valenta]
- Destler, I. M., Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Etheredge, Lloyd S., Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985).
- George, Alexander, Presidential Decision-Making in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980).
- Halperin, Morton H., with Priscilla Clapp and Arnold Kantor, Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974).
- Hermann, Margaret G., and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," International Studies Quarterly 33 (1989): 361-387.
- Hilsman, Roger with Laura Gaughran and Patricia A. Weitsman, The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs: Conceptual Models and Bureaucratic Politics, 3d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993).
- Ikenberry, G. John, ed., American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1989), Part Five: Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Processes.
- Janis, Irving L., Groupthink, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982).
- _____, Crucial Decisions (New York: Free Press, 1989).
- Levy, Jack, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," International Studies Quarterly 30 (June 1986), pp. 193-222.
- Kaarbo, Juliet, "Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Role of Junior Coalition Partners in German and Israeli Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly 40 (1996): 501-530.
- Korany, Bahgat, "Foreign Policy Decision-Making and the Third World: Payoffs and Pitfalls," In How Foreign Policy Decisions Are Made in the Third World: A Comparative Analysis, ed. Bahgat Korany (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 39-60.
- Lindblom, Charles E., "The Science of 'Muddling Through,'" Public Administration Review 19 (Spring 1959), pp. 79-88.
- Longley, Jeanne, and Dean G. Pruitt, "Groupthink: A Critique of Janis's Theory," Review of Personality and Social Psychology 1 (1980), pp. 74-93.
- Park, Won-Woo, "A Review of Research on Groupthink," Journal of Behavioral Decision Making 3 (1990): 229-245.
- Tetlock, P. E., "Psychological research on foreign policy: A methodological overview." in L. Wheeler, ed., Review of Personality and Social Psychology 4 (1983).
- _____. "Identifying victims of groupthink from public statements of decision-makers." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 49 (1979), pp. 1565-1585.
- Thompson, James, "How could Vietnam Happen?" The Atlantic (April 1968), pp. 47-53.

Week 8: Organizational Processes and Government Structures

Required

- Stern, Eric, and Bertjan Berbeek, eds., "Whither the Study of Governmental Politics in Foreign Policymaking? A Symposium," Mershon International Studies Review 42 (1998): 205-255. [packet]
- Haney, "Structure and Process in the Analysis of Foreign Policy Crises" [NHH]
- Ripley, "Cognition, Culture and Bureaucratic Politics" [NHH]

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Anderson, Richard, "Explaining Self-Defeating Foreign Policy Decisions: Interpreting Soviet Arms for Egypt in 1973 through Process or Domestic Bargaining Models," American Political Science Review 86:3 (September 1992): 759-767. [with a rebuttal from Margaret Hermann and Charles Hermann]
- Bender, Jonathan, and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," American Political Science Review 86:2 (June 1992): 301-322.
- Stewart, Philip D., Margaret G. Hermann, & Charles P. Hermann, "Modeling the 1973 Soviet Decision to Support Egypt," American Political Science Review 83:1 (March 1989): 35-59.
- Wittkopf, Eugene R., and James M. McCormick, "Congress, the President, and the End of the Cold War," Journal of Conflict Resolution 42:4 (1998): 440-466.

Session 9: US Decision-Making and The Vietnam War

Required

Khong, chapters 3, 8-9 and one of the case studies (chapters 4-7)
"Vietnam Documents"

Case: Americanizing the Vietnam War

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Gelb, Leslie H., with Richard K. Betts, The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1979), chapter 1.
- Vertzberger, chapter 6
- Young, Marilyn B. "The American Invasion of South Vietnam (1965-1966) in The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990 (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991).

Suggestions for further reading

- Berman, Larry. Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982).
- Herring, George C. America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975. (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1979).
- Kolko, Gabriel, Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
- Lomperis, Timothy J., The War Everyone Lost — and Won. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984).
- Williams, William Appleman, Thomas McCormick, Lloyd Gardner, and Walter LeFeber, eds., America in Vietnam: A Documentary History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989).

Week 10: Spring Break

Week 11: Domestic Political Explanations of Foreign Policy

Required

- Hagan, "Domestic Political Explanations in the Analysis of Foreign Policy" [NHH]
Moon, "The State in Foreign and Domestic Policy" [NHH]
Neack, "Linking State Type with Foreign Policy Behavior" [NHH]
Peterson, "The Politics of Identity and Gendered Nationalism" [NHH]
Sampson, Martin W. III, and Stephen G. Walker, "Cultural Norms and National Roles: A Comparison of Japan and France," in Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis, ed. Stephen G. Walker (Durham: Duke University press, 1987). [packet]
Vertzberger, chapter 5

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Barnett, Michael N., and Jack S. Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt, 1962-73" International Organization 45:3 (Summer 1991): 369-395.
Putnam, Robert, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," International Organization 42:3 (Summer 1988): 427-460.
Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," World Politics 43 (1991): 479-512.

Suggestions for further reading

- Boulding, Kenneth E., and Tapan Mukerjee, eds., Economic Imperialism (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972).
Calvert, Peter, "The Domestic Environment," The Foreign Policy of New States (Great Britain: Wheatsheaf Books, Ltd., 1986), pp. 53-78.
Cohen, Benjamin J., The Question of Imperialism (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
Destler, I. M., Leslie H. Gelb, and Anthony Lake, Our Own Worst Enemy: The Unmaking of American Foreign Policy (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984).
Katzenstein, Peter J., "International Relations and Domestic Structures: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States," International Organization 30 (Winter 1976), pp. 1-44.
_____. "Conclusion: Domestic Structures and Strategies of Foreign Economic Policy," International Organization 31 (Autumn 1977), pp. 879-920.
_____, ed., Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economics Policies of Advanced Industrial States (1978).
Krause, Jon, "The Political Economy of African Foreign Policies: Marginality and Dependency, Realism and Choice," In The Political Economy of Foreign Policy in ECOWAS, ed. Timothy M. Shaw and Julius Emeka Okolo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).
Lens, Sidney, The Military-Industrial Complex (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970).
Kolko, Gabriel, The Roots of American Foreign Policy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).
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Week 12: The Impact of Public Opinion and the Media

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Case: Siege Mentality: ABC, the White House, and the Iran Hostage Crisis

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- "Of Rifts and Drifts: A Symposium on Beliefs, Opinions and American Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly (December 1986), pp. 373-484.
- Oneal, John R., Brad Lian, and James H. Joyner, Jr., "Aer the American People 'Pretty Prudent'? Public Responses to U.S. Uses of Force, 1950-1988." International Studies Quarterly 40 (1996): 261-280.
- Ostrom, Charles, and Brian Job, "The President and the Political Use of Force," American Political Science Review 80 (June 1986), pp. 541-66.
- Prewist, Kenneth, and Alan Stone, The Ruling Elites: Elite Theory, Power, and American Democracy
- Skidmore, David, and Valerie M. Hudson, eds., The Limits of State Autonomy: Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.
- Waltz, Kenneth, "Electoral Punishment and Foreign Policy Crises," In James N. Rosenau, ed., Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, pp. 263-94.
- Wittkopf, Eugene, Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).
- _____, "Elites and Masses: Another Look at Attitudes toward America's World Role," International Studies Quarterly 31:2 (June 1987), pp. 131-159.

Week 13: External Dimensions

Required

- Rothgeb, "The Changing International Context for Foreign Policy" [NHH]
- Sampson, "Exploiting the Seams: External Structure and Libyan Foreign Policy Changes" in Foreign Policy Restructuring, ed. Jerel A. Rosati, Joe D. Hagan, and Martin W. Sampson III. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994). [packet]
- Schrodt, "Event Data in Foreign Policy Analysis" [NHH]

Case: The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War

Supplementary readings for class presentation

- Gerner, Deborah J., Philip A. Schrodt, Ronald Francisco, and Judith Weddle. 1994. "Machine Coding of Event Data Using Regional and International Sources." International Studies Quarterly 38 (1994): 91-119.
- Holsti, K. J. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly 14:3 (1970): 643-71.
- Karvonen, Lauri, and Bengt Sundelius, "Interdependence and Foreign Policy Management in Sweden and Finland," International Studies Quarterly 34:2 (June 1990): 221-227.
- Lake, David A., "International Economic Structures and American Foreign Economic Policy, 1887-1934," World Politics 35 (July 1983), pp. 517-543.

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- Brady, Linda, "The Situation and Foreign Policy," In Why Nations Act: Theoretical Perspectives for Comparative Foreign Policy, ed. Maurice East, Stephen Salmore, and Charles Hermann (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), pp. 173-190.
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- Laird, Robbin F., and Erik P. Hoffmann, eds., Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1986).
- Licklider, Roy, "The Power of Oil: The Arab Oil Weapon and the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, and the United States," International Studies Quarterly 32:2 (June 1988): 205-266.
- Moon, Bruce E., "Consensus or Compliance? Foreign-Policy Change and External Dependence," International Organization 39 (Spring 1985), pp. 297-329.
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr., "What New World Order?" Foreign Affairs 71:2 (Spring 1992): 83-96.
- Phillips, W. R., "Prior Behavior as an Explanation of Foreign Policy," In Why Nations Act: Theoretical Perspectives for Comparative Foreign Policy, ed. Maurice East, Stephen Salmore, and Charles Hermann (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978), pp. 161-172.
- Strange, Susan, "The Name of the Game," in Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, ed., Sea-Changes: American Foreign Policy in a World Transformed (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1990), pp. 238-273.
- Tucker, Robert, "1989 and All That," Foreign Affairs 69:4 (Fall 1990), pp. 93-114.
- Waltz, Kenneth N., "The International System: Structural System, Structural Causes and Military Effect," In The Defense of Nations, ed., Douglas J. Murray and P. R. Viotti. pp. 8-25.
- Walker, Stephen G., ed., Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987).

Week 14: Foreign Policies of Weak/Dependent States

Assignment

Hey, "Foreign Policy in Dependent States" [NHH]

Case: Intragovernmental Negotiation: Soviet-Somali Relations and the Ogaden War, 1978-79

Case: Ecuador Confronts U.S. Military Intervention: Operation Blazing Trails

Supplementary readings for class presentation

Keohane, Robert, "Lilliputians Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics," International Organization 23 (1969): 291-310.

Dessouki, Ali E. Hillal, "The Global System and Arab Foreign Policies: The Primacy of Constraints," in The Foreign Policies of Arab States, 2d ed., ed. Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouki (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).

Week 15: Presentation of Research Designs

Week 16: International Mediation and Conflict Resolution

Assignment

Ayres, R. William, "Mediating International Conflicts: Is Image Change Necessary?" Journal of Peace Research 34 (1997): 431-447. [packet]

Bercovitch, Jacob, "Mediation in International Conflict: An Overview of Theory, A Review of Practice," in Peacemaking in International Conflicts, ed. I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace Press, 1997). [packet]

Kleiboer, Marieke, The Multiple Realities of International Mediation (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), chapter 2. [packet]

Case: Yugoslavia, 1991-92: Could Diplomacy Have Prevented a Tragedy?"

Supplementary readings for class presentation

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Allison Houston, "The Study of International Mediation: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence," in Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 11-35.

Mandell, Brian, "The Limits of Mediation: Lessons from the Syria-Israel Experience, 1974-94," in Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 129-149.

Kriesberg, Louis, "Varieties of Mediating Activities and Mediators in International Relations," in Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), pp. 219-233.

Suggestions for further reading

Bercovitch, Jacob, ed. Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Publishers, 1996).

Brus, Marcel M. T.A. Third Party Dispute Settlement in an Interdependent World Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995).

Otunnu, Olara A., and Michael W. Doyle, eds., Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996).

Sandole, Dennis J. D., and Hugo van der Merwe, eds., Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Sisk, Timothy D., Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts (Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 1996).

Zartman, I. William, ed. Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1995).

POLS 970: Foreign Policy Analysis

Appendix: Case Discussions

What is a "case"? A case is a narrative account of an actual (or realistic) situation. Cases tend to look either prospectively or retrospectively at critical junctures in international affairs: diplomatic negotiations on the eve of war and peace, crises in foreign policy decision-making, military actions with unintended consequences, politically complex trade disputes, etc. Cases present information but not analysis; your task is to supply the latter, as well as to advocate a solution.

Learning with cases involves your *active participation*, reflecting the philosophy that what you teach yourself will stay with you longer than what you merely listen to and transcribe. Unlike traditional lectures, where the material presented may find its way to your notebook with little conscious intervention on your part, case discussion demands your ideas and involvement. Rather than being a passive observer of the knowledge transmission process, cases require you to learn by actually doing the analysis and defending a particular course of action.

Studying cases may seem frustrating at first. Like the situations faced by real policy makers, information provided in the case may be ambiguous, complex, or incomplete. Generally a case has no single "correct" resolution; there are only choices, some better, some worse, and all open for discussion and interpretation. *Don't be afraid to be wrong or to have your position challenged!* Sometimes the most valuable contribution you can make is to present an analysis that has merit but on closer consideration by the class turns out to have some unanticipated problems. That's how we all learn. *There would be little point in discussing these cases if the issues they present are so obvious that you can figure everything out before you come to class.*

How will your performance in case discussions be evaluated? In assessing your participation — both in the case discussions and more generally — I will be looking for several things:

- evidence of thorough preparation, including knowledge of the factual details of the case or other assigned readings
- comments that are clear, concise, enthusiastic, logical, original, appropriate to the discussion, analytically sophisticated, and that use relevant evidence
- contribution(s) that contribute to the *process* of the discussion: building on the ideas of others, providing constructive criticism, asking constructive questions, or indicating a careful listening to others.

I recognize that class discussion comes more easily for some people than for others. By temperament or habit, some of us are "talkers," others are "listeners." Learning to be both is an important goal of this course. If you want to raise an issue that is completely different from the one the class is discussing, consider waiting until the class is ready to move on to another topic. Alternatively, if you feel that you need to interject your point — particularly if you believe the class is moving off onto a tangent — try to do so by linking your comments to those of others.

Do not wait too long to get involved in the discussion. The longer you wait to participate, the more difficult it is likely to seem. If necessary, I will call on you to bring you into the conversation. Do not hesitate to admit confusion, ask for clarification, or simply be wrong. Most of us do not like to do any of these, but bear in mind that by doing so you may help the group stay focused on the problem. If you are uncomfortable speaking in class, please come by and talk with me: there are some "tricks" that I can suggest that might help. One final — perhaps obvious — point: If you don't attend class, you cannot participate and your grade will reflect your absence.

Preparing for Case Discussions

The more carefully you prepare for case discussions, the more intellectually useful, interesting, and fun you will find them. The following suggestions are based on the experience of other students and faculty involved in case-based teaching/learning activities:

1. Form a study group.
 - a. Preparing cases alone is not as productive (or as enjoyable) as doing it with other people. Not only do study groups help improve your own skills, you can also learn from other students' thought patterns and problem-solving styles.
 - b. Use the study group to present your analysis to others, to practice articulating your ideas, to get feedback on both the ideas and presentation, to compare different views, to redefine and rethink positions, and to build confidence.
2. Read the case meticulously.
 - a. Quickly look at the case by reading the introduction and conclusion and by skimming the rest of the contents.
 - b. Review the placement of the case in the syllabus. What topics have just been discussed? What will come next? This will clue you in to some of the issues that the case is likely to raise.
 - c. Read the entire case rapidly, without underlining or highlighting. You now know the basic structure of the case and where the main information is.
 - d. Make a brief outline. Who is involved in the case? What problems do they face? What is their situation like? If the sequence of events is complicated, you might also want to create a chronology of critical incidents.
 - e. Re-read the case. Focus on the important information that was located during the skimming. Highlight, underline, or make margin notes to organize the details and record new thoughts or question.
3. Work on the case.
 - a. Reformulate the problem. What is the case really about? What issues are central to the problem? What conflicts between ideas, perspectives, or values are involved in deciding what action to take? Whose interests are at stake? What are the alternatives?
 - b. Answer the specific study questions, preferably in writing. Remember that often there is no single right or wrong answer to a question. Make thoughtful assumptions about the information that is *not* available in the case.