

PSCI 5805F
Foreign Policy Analysis
Wednesday 14:35-17:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Prof. Mira Sucharov
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I check my email much more frequently than my voicemail.

Course Description: How do states make decisions on the world stage, and how do non-state actors try to influence those decisions? In this course we will explore various theoretical approaches to, and topics within, the study of foreign policy. In so doing, we will also acquire a basic grounding in some of the central debates within international relations (IR) theory.

We will begin with a brief overview of three of the main perspectives in IR theory: realism, liberalism and constructivism. We will keep in mind the question of whether "foreign policy" differs from "international politics," as Kenneth Waltz famously claimed. We will then examine approaches to foreign policy centered at different levels of analysis: psychological approaches and those centered on the personality and character of the individual leader, followed by a discussion of small-group decision-making (bureaucratic politics and groupthink), domestic political approaches (including democratic peace theory), and the role of norms and ideas in structuring foreign policy. In the final part of the course, we will explore themes and topics in light of these theoretical approaches.

Readings: All of the readings are available online. In some cases, I have indicated the direct link in the syllabus. Otherwise, you can access any of these journal articles through the Carleton library website. Go to <http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca/> and enter the **name** of the **journal** in the title field. If you are linking from off campus, you will need to enter your library card code and PIN to gain access. I assume that there are some articles you will read more closely than others. For the handful of articles that you don't have time to read in depth over the course of the semester, at least get a sense of their arguments and how they fit into the general conversation.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Written Critique.....	25%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper (due Dec. 8).....	35%
Participation.....	20%

Presentation: You will choose one class session in which to present that week's topic to the class. Your presentation must have a thesis (argument) which serves to structure your remarks. *Do as little summary of the readings as possible.* Establish your own argument, using the articles to fill in the conversation. Reflect analytically on the topic for the day and what the readings contribute to our understanding of foreign policy. Show how the articles relate to one another (points of agreement and disagreement) and how they relate to the previous articles/topics we've discussed. *Do not read your presentation; rather, use notes as cues. I'll be looking for presentation structure that doesn't just go from one article to the next, but is more thematic.* One or two students will present per class session. On the first day of class, you will sign up for presentations. You should coordinate with your co-presenter, if applicable, to minimize overlap. Length: 15 minutes.

Written Critique: You will choose a different class session in which to hand in a five-page, double-spaced written critique of that week's readings. Like the oral presentation, this short paper must have a thesis which serves to structure your discussion. Draw on the readings as necessary to build your argument. (See above description of "presentation" for additional points on how to structure this short paper.) The written critique is due prior to class on the corresponding day. On the first day of class, you will sign up for a day on which to write the critique; though you may change this in advance, by informing me.

Instead of hard copies, please email me the critique anytime prior to class that day.

Research Paper: You will write a 15-page, double-spaced research paper analyzing a foreign-policy issue or event -- historical or contemporary, using one or more of the theoretical perspectives learned in the course. When choosing an event, think about finding a "puzzle." What sort of decision did we observe that seems counterintuitive? The summary of the event should take up no more than three pages of the essay. The remainder should consist of a detailed analytical exploration of the causes of that event/decision, grounding your argument within a theoretical framework. If your argument points to multiple causal (or constitutive) factors, you should explain how these are related (i.e., is the relationship one of background vs. proximate cause, or something else?). You must also demonstrate how your argument is superior to alternative explanations for the case. On **Nov. 3**, please **email me a** one-page proposal stating your research question and a possible thesis (answer), including a brief summary of the problem and your theoretical argument. I encourage you to discuss your paper with me in advance of completing it.

Research Paper Due: **Dec. 8. Please email it to me.**

One-page paper proposal / summary of the problem and argument due: **Nov. 3 (via email).**

Participation: You are expected to attend all class sessions, while demonstrating that you've done the readings for each day's class, and can engage the material in a productive fashion. When absorbing the new theories, keep real-world foreign-policy decisions in mind as a way to evaluate the strengths and limitations of the theories and perspectives. When you are preparing for class, generate questions - both about issues or points that are unclear to you, or about the broader relevance of the arguments to the study of foreign policy. If you must miss a class for some reason, you are encouraged to email me some thoughts on the readings. It's not a substitute for attending, but I will take it into account in determining your participation grade.

Questions? Problems?

I encourage you to chat with me either during my office hours or by appointment about your course assignments (particularly your research papers), other course-related matters, or your academic program in general. I recognize that, in any given MA program in political science, some students will have more background than others in International Relations and IR theory. Please feel free to bounce around ideas, issues or questions related to the readings with me and I will do my best to clarify things.

CLASS 1 (Sept. 15) Introduction

CLASS 2 (Sept. 22) Introduction to International Relations Theory & Levels of Analysis

Questions to Think About:

1. Realism, liberalism, and constructivism represent three of the central schools of International Relations (IR) theory. What are the main assumptions of each? What are the points of agreement and disagreement among the three perspectives?
2. Is there a difference between international politics and foreign policy? Can we apply IR theory to the study of foreign policy?
3. What is the state of liberal internationalism today?

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Nov/Dec 2004), pp. 52-62.

Robert Jervis, Realism in the Study of World Politics," "International Organization , Volume 52, Issue 04, October 1998.

Alexander Wendt, "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20, 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 71-81.

Charles A. Kupchan and Peter L. Trubowitz, "The Illusion of Liberal Internationalism's Revival," *International Security* (Summer 2010).

http://www.cfr.org/publication/22602/illusion_of_liberal_internationalisms_revival.html

CLASS 3 (Sept. 29) Level One: Individual and Psychological Approaches

Questions to Think About:

1. What are the main assumptions of prospect theory, and how does it shed light on foreign policy?
2. What are Jervis's "hypotheses" regarding perception and misperception?
3. Why could it be useful to "bring the statesman back in?" Who took him/her out in the first place?
4. What are the implications of using a psychological perspective to study foreign policy - for realism? For liberalism? For constructivism?
5. What is the relationship between psychology and rationality? Are the two at odds, or can they be combined?

Jonathan Mercer, "Emotional Beliefs," [International Organization, Volume 64, Issue 01](#), January 2010, pp 1-31

Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," *World Politics* 20, 3 (April 1968).

Jack Levy. "Prospect Theory and International Relations," *Political Psychology*, v. 13 no. 2, (June 1992).

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, 4 (Spring 2001).

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CLASS 4 (Oct. 6) Level Two (Part I): Small-Group Decisionmaking & Two-Level Games

Questions to Think About:

1. What is "groupthink?" How would this psychological process affect foreign policymaking?
2. What does Putnam's "two-level game" tell us that conventional "isms" don't?
3. How can personality be combined with bureaucratic politics to yield a more satisfying model?
4. What does Krasner think about bureaucratic politics?
5. What is the relationship between bureaucratic politics and rationality?

Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 63, 3 (September 1969).

Paul 't Hart, "Groupthink," Draft entry for K.M. Dowding (ed), *Sage Encyclopedia of Power* (London: Sage, 2008). <http://polsc.anu.edu.au/staff/hart/pubs/groupthink200607.pdf>

Stephen D. Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)," *Foreign Policy* 7 (1972).

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, 3 (Summer 1988): 427-460.

For more background: JFK Presidential recordings and Cuban Missile Crisis backgrounder contained here:

<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/JFK+in+History/Cuban+Missile+Crisis.htm>

CLASS 5 (Oct. 13) Level Two (Part II): Regime-Type Explanations (The Democratic Peace & Democracy Promotion)

Questions to Think About:

1. What's at stake in the democratic peace debate, theoretically, empirically, statistically, and from a policy standpoint?
2. Is democracy promotion an effective foreign-policy strategy for promoting stability? Would you do it differently?
3. What do Mansfield and Snyder say about the relationship between democratization and the likelihood for war?
4. What does Fukuyama mean by asking whether we have arrived at 'end of history'?

John M. Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 87-125.

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19, 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 5-49.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Pathways to War in Democratic Transitions." *International Organization*, Vol. 63 Issue 2 (Spril 2009): 381-390.

Michael Mousseau, "The Social Market Roots of Democratic Peace," *International Security* 33, 4 (Spring 2009): 52-86.

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989).

Optional: Anatol Lieven, "The Two Fukuyamas," *The National Interest* (2006)

<http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=10332>

Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as a World Value," *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2004/2005.

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CLASS 6 (Oct. 20) Ideas and Norms in Foreign Policy

Questions to Think About:

1. What are norms? What is identity? How do norms and identity affect the formulation of foreign policy?
2. How does transnationalism work?
3. How does a norms-based explanation help us to understand humanitarian intervention, international assassination, international aid, and the movement against land mines?
4. How does realism, liberalism and constructivism connect with norms-based theory?
5. Does theory necessarily give rise to a particular set of ethics?

Ward Thomas, "Norms and Security: The Case of International Assassination," *International Security* 25, 1 (Summer 2000).

Martha Finnemore, "Paradoxes in Humanitarian Intervention," Paper Presented at the 2006 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Available at: <<http://tinyurl.com/4qh973>>

Steele, Brent J. "Making Words Matter: The Asian Tsunami, Darfur, and "Reflexive Discourse" in International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 51,4 (2007): 901-925.

Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *International Organization* 52, 3 (1998), pp. 613-644.

Haugen and Boutros, "And Justice for All," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2010)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66210/gary-haugen-and-victor-boutros/and-justice-for-all>

CLASS 7 (Oct. 27) Topics in Foreign Policy: Nuclear Weapons

Questions to Think About:

1. What does Sagan say about why the U.S. should not use nuclear threats to deter biological and chemical weapons attacks?
2. How does Tannenwald explain the limited use of nuclear and chemical weapons? Is hers a realist or a constructivist argument?
3. How should the world deal with nuclear proliferation?
4. Are nukes necessary?

Scott D. Sagan, "The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapons Attacks," *International Security* 24, 4 (Spring 2000): 85-115.

Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* (summer 1999).

Graham Allison, "Nuclear Disorder," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2010).

Gregory L. Schulte, "Stopping Proliferation Before it Starts," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2010)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66452/gregory-l-schulte/stopping-proliferation-before-it-starts>

CLASS 8 (Nov. 3) Case Study: Israeli-Palestinian relations (and the Israel Lobby)

**** One-page paper proposal due ****

Questions to Think About:

1. How can a narratives-based approach shed light on Israeli-Palestinian relations?
2. Given the degree of conflict and violence between Israelis and Palestinians, is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict proof-positive for realism? What would a constructivist account of Israeli-Palestinian

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relations look like?

3. What should the U.S. (and Canada) do to help move the region toward peace?
4. What do you make of the Israel lobby debate?

Mira Sucharov, "Teaching the Middle East," *Ottawa Citizen* (24 November 2008).

<http://tinyurl.com/6zgs4f>

Ehud Yaari, "Armistice Now," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2010).

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books* (23 March 2006). http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html

Mead, Walter Russell, "The New Israel and the Old," *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug2008.

Mark Muhannad Ayyash, "Hamas and the Israeli state: A 'violent dialogue'," *European Journal of International Relations* (March 2010) 16: 103-123.

Aaron David Miller, "The False Religion of Middle East Peace," *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2010).

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/04/19/the_false_religion_of_mideast_peace

Optional: Mira Sucharov, *The International Self: Psychoanalysis and the Search for Israeli-Palestinian Peace* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), chapters 1 and 2 (R).

CLASS 9 (Nov. 10) The United States in the World

Questions to Think About

1. What is and should be on the U.S. agenda?
2. How are threats assessed, and how should they be assessed?
3. Where can IR theory help us understand contemporary U.S. foreign policy?

Paul Wolfowitz, "Think Again: Realism," *Foreign Policy* (Sept/October 2009).

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/08/17/think_again_realism

Steven Clemons and Stephen Walt respond with letters:

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/10/19/realism_really

Biddle et. al. "Defining Success in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2010).

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66450/stephen-biddle-fotini-christia-and-j-alexander-thier/defining-success-in-afghanistan>

Navin A. Bapat, "A Game Theoretic Analysis of the Afghan Surge," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6, 3 (July 2010).

Lindsay and Takeyh, "After Iran Gets the Bomb," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2010).

Charles A. Kupchan, "Enemies into Friends," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2010).

Crowley et al., "The Canadian Century," *Foreign Policy* (25 June 2010).

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/25/the_canadian_century

CLASS 10 (Nov. 17) Religion in IR

1. What was all the fuss about with Huntington's article?
2. How can religion best be understood in IR and foreign policy?
3. Is religion a factor that we need to account for specifically, or is it just another set of "ideas" in IR and foreign policy?

Samuel Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993).

Available at: <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/48950/samuel-p-huntington/the-clash-of-civilizations>>

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Daniel Philpott (2002), "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations," *World Politics* 55 (1), 66-95.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd (2007), "Theorizing Religious Resurgence," *International Politics* 44(6), 647-665.

Jack Snyder, "Religion and International Relations Theory," web essay (July 2009), available at: http://www.princeton.edu/politics/events/repository/public/faculty/Snyder_Religion_and_IR_Theory.pdf

Ron E. Hassner and Michael C. Horowitz, "Debating the Role of Religion in War," (Correspondence), *International Security* 35, 1 (Summer 2010): 201-208.

CLASS 11 (Nov. 24) Hot Topics

Runge and Runge, "Against the Grain," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2010).

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65900/carlisle-ford-runge-and-carlisle-piehl-runge/against-the-grain>

"How to Stop the Drug Wars," *The Economist* (5 March 2009).

Robert C. Bonner, "The New Cocaine Cowboys," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2010)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66472/robert-c-bonner/the-new-cocaine-cowboys>

Brian Fung, "The Geopolitics of the iPhone," *Foreign Policy* (28 June 2010).

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/28/the_geopolitics_of_the_iphone

Joel Kurtzman, "The Low-Carbon Diet: How the Market Can Curb Climate Change," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2009).

For more background: Council on Foreign Relations' *Climate Change: Crisis Guide*

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/17088/>

David Black, "Out of Africa? The Harper Government's New 'Tilt' in the Developing World," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 15, 2 (2009)

CLASS 12 (Dec. 1) Paper-Presentation Workshop

For the final class, you will present your paper drafts in a roundtable-workshop format; some of you will be paper-givers and others will be discussants.

More details will be given closer to the time.

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations.** If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 15 2010 for December examinations and March 11 2011 for April examinations.**

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such

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requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student’s performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.