

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2006

PSCI 5805W
Foreign Policy Analysis
 Mondays 11:35-2:25
 Loeb C665

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Course Description: In this course we will explore various theoretical approaches to, and topics within, the study of foreign policy - that is, how states make decisions on the world stage. 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) to understand the broad workings of world politics. Throughout, we will keep in mind the question of whether "foreign policy" differs from "international politics," (as many IR scholars claim), and what these differences might be. 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 topics and cases in light of these theoretical approaches. Topics include the debate over nuclear weapons and national missile defense, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, U.S. foreign policy and the war in Iraq, and the contemporary security and economic challenges facing Canada as a neighbour of the global superpower. We will conclude with a discussion of the relationship between theory and policy.

Since this is a graduate-level course -- with many of you just beginning your graduate career, I will do my best to help socialize you into the discipline by introducing you directly to the theories, and -- vicariously -- to the personalities. Academia sometimes resembles a disciplinary cocktail party with awkward line dancing rather than graceful waltzing (no pun intended). Sometimes people abandon their civilized conversation altogether and head to the mosh pit. We'll try to tease out the wheat from the chaff; distinguish the constructed fights from the meaningful debates. By the end of the course, you'll be able to decide whether theory is helpful to you in thinking about international relations and foreign policy; hopefully you'll find that it is.

Readings: Most of the course readings are available on line. In some cases, I have indicated the relevant web addresses in the syllabus. Journal articles are generally available through the Carleton library website. Go to <http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca/> and enter the **name** of the given **journal** in the title field. There, you will be able to link to the journal, and search for the article. Click on it for the full text to appear. If you are linking from off campus, you will need to enter your library card code and PIN to gain access.

The handful of readings that are not available electronically are on reserve at the library. I have indicated these with an **(R)**. Please do not neglect them; in all cases, they are central to our discussion. (One trip to the

library early in the term and you should be able to copy all in one shot.)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Written Critique	20%
Presentation	25%
Research Paper	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 not simply summarize the readings.* Outline (briefly) the main points contained within the articles and use the bulk of the time to build your own argument, using the articles where necessary to support your points. 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.* 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: 12-15 minutes.

Written Critique: You will choose a different class session in which to hand in a four-page 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 in 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, in consultation with me.

Research Paper: You will write a 12-15 page, double-spaced research paper analyzing a foreign-policy event or decision of your choosing -- 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? We will discuss the nature of puzzles in class. 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 **March 6**, you will hand in 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: Thursday, April 13, by 4:00 p.m. in the department drop-slot. Political Science office, 6th floor, Loeb building.

One-page paper proposal / summary of the problem and argument due: **March 6 (in class).**

Participation: You are expected to attend all class sessions. Perfect attendance will earn you 50% of your participation grade. In order to obtain a higher mark, you must take care to demonstrate 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 to raise - both about issues or points that are unclear to you, and about the broader relevance of the arguments to the study of foreign policy. Beware, however, of unduly dominating class discussion; you must allow others to participate. If you must miss a class for some reason, you are encouraged to email me some thoughts on that

day's readings. It's not an equivalent substitute for attending, but I will take it into account when determining your 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.

Other Guidelines:

Late assignments will be downgraded one letter-grade category per day. For instance, a B+ paper, one day late, will receive a B. Assignments more than one week late will not be accepted.

Include your name on your written work, staple it, number the pages, and always retain an extra copy. Please do not use a folder.

If you want the research paper to be returned, include a stamped, self-addressed envelope and I will mail it to you. Alternately, you can make arrangements to pick it up from me; email me about this.

I will hand the short papers back to you in class, in a timely manner.

CLASS 1 (Jan. 9) Introduction

CLASS 2 (Jan. 16) 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 are "levels of analysis?" Is this a useful organizing framework for thinking about how foreign policy is made?
4. Are existing IR theories adequate for explaining change (and for the contemporary world)?

Stephen Walt, "One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998).

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

Robert Jervis, "Neorealism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security* 24, 1 (Summer 1999).

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

Henning Boekle, Volker Rittberger, Wolfgang Wagner, "Norms and Foreign Policy: Constructivist Foreign Policy Theory," available at: < <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/uni/spi/taps/tap34a.htm> >

CLASS 3 (Jan. 23) 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 policymaking?
2. What are Jervis' "hypotheses" regarding perception and misperception?

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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 (that's a tougher one)? For constructivism?
 6. What is the relationship between psychology and rationality? Are the two at odds, or can they be combined somehow?
 5. What is the relationship between psychology and rationality? Are the two at odds, or can they be combined somehow?
6. What can social identity theory (SIT) tell us about the prospects for cooperation in the international system?

Jonathan Mercer, "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics," *International Organization* 59 (Winter 2005).

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

Jack S. Levy, "Applications of Prospect Theory to Political Science," (September 2002 draft). Available at: <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~jacklevy/prospecttheory.pdf>

Jonathan Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization* 49, 2 (Spring 1995)

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

CLASS 4 (Jan. 30) Level Two (Part I): Bureaucratic Politics & Groupthink

Questions to Think About:

1. What is "groupthink?" How would this psychological process affect foreign policymaking?
2. According to Janis, how *did* the U.S. decide to escalate the Vietnam war?
3. How can personality be combined with bureaucratic politics to yield a more satisfying model?
4. When Krasner's head hits the pillow, what is he thinking about bureaucratic politics?
5. Under which level of analysis would we classify bureaucratic politics and groupthink (and why)?

FILM: Groupthink...Revised Edition (114750), (1991), 25 minutes (in class).

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

Irving L. Janis, "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could it Happen?" in Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy*, pp. 544-572.

Thomas Preston and Paul t'Hart, "Understanding and Evaluating Bureaucratic Politics: The Nexus Between Political Leaders and Advisory," *Political Psychology* 20, 1 (March 1999).

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

CLASS 5 (Feb. 6) Level Two (Part II): Domestic Politics and Regime-Type Explanations (The Democratic Peace)

Questions to Think About:

1. What is Putnam's "two-level game?"

Hint: His "levels" are slightly different from the levels of analysis. Be careful not to confuse them.

2. What is the proposition of the "democratic peace?" (It's sometimes called Democratic Peace Theory, though it's not technically a theory since it doesn't explain anything per se; rather, it states an observed regularity.)
3. Owen develops a theory for explaining how the democratic peace works. What is it?
4. What's Layne's beef with the democratic peace?
5. What's the relationship between economic development and democracy, according to Siegle, et al.?

6. What do Mansfield and Snyder say about the relationship between democratization (meaning, the process by which a state transitions from authoritarian to democratic rule) and the likelihood for war?
7. Does democratic peace research generally represent a realist, liberal or constructivist research program?

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

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, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20 (Summer 1995).

Joseph T. Siegle, Michael M. Weinstein, and Morton H. Halperin, "Why Democracies Excel," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2004).

CLASS 6 (Feb. 13) 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, and the movements against land mines and apartheid?
4. Are these authors realists, liberals, or constructivists?

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

Martha Finnemore, "Paradoxes in Humanitarian Intervention," paper prepared for the Symposium on Norms and Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention at the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California at Irvine, revised September 2000. Available at:
<http://www.tinyurl.com/7taud>

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

Audie Klotz, "Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences," *European Journal of International Relations* 8, 1 (March 2002): 49-76.

*****Feb. 20 – No class (Reading Week)*****

CLASS 7 (Feb. 27) Topics in Foreign Policy: Nuclear Weapons and National Missile Defense

Questions to Think About:

1. How do Carter and Allison advocate that we prevent nuclear terrorism?
2. What does Sagan say about why the U.S. should not use nuclear threats to deter biological and chemical weapons attacks?
3. How do Price and Tannenwald explain the limited use of nuclear and chemical weapons? Is theirs a realist or a constructivist argument?
4. What does Hymans say about nuclear proliferation?

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.

(R) Richard Price and Nina Tannenwald, "Norms and Deterrence: The Nuclear and Chemical Weapons Taboos," in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Jacques E. C. Hymans, "Think Again: Nuclear Proliferation," *Foreign Policy* (Nov 2005).

Available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/8sb64>

Ashton B. Carter, "How to Counter WMD," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2004).

Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2004)

CLASS 8 (March 6) Case Study: Israeli-Palestinian Relations

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

Questions to Think About:

1. How can psychoanalysis 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 relations look like?
3. What should each side do to help move the region toward peace?
4. What is the role of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the global policy environment facing the United States?
5. What is the strategic logic of suicide terrorism?

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (2003).

David Makovsky, "How to Build a Fence," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2004), pp. 50-64.

(R) 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.

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?"

International Security 28, 2 (Fall 2003).

Michael Scott Doran, "Is Palestine the Pivot?" *Foreign Affairs* (16 March 2005).

CLASS 9 (March 13) Case Study: US Foreign Policy: September 11, the War in Iraq, and the Question of Empire

Questions to Think About:

1. What does Walt say about how U.S. foreign policy should be reshaped?
2. What is the Bush Doctrine, and what are its origins?
3. What are the contours of the U.S. policy debate regarding the Iraq war?
5. Is the U.S. an empire? What kind of empire is it, and what are Ignatieff's recommendations

Michael Ignatieff, "The Burden," *New York Times Magazine* (5 January 2003). Available at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/burden.htm>

Jonathan Monten, "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine" *International Security* (Spring 2005) 29, 4.

Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* 29, 1 (Summer 2004)

John Mueller, "The Iraq Syndrome," *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2005)

Stephen M. Walt, "Taming American Power," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2005)

F. Gregory Gause III, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2005)

CLASS 10 (March 20) Case Study: Issues in Canadian Foreign Policy

Questions to Think About:

1. Is Canada now irrelevant?
2. Is Canada still a middle power? What is a middle power?
3. What is human security, and how does Roland Paris propose cleaning up the term analytically?
4. What is multilateralism? Is Canada multilateralist? Is the U.S. multilateralist? Under Clinton? Under Bush?
5. What are Ignatieff's recommendations for Canada?
6. What are Andrew Cohen's recommendations for Canada to regain global influence?

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26, 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87-102.

Michael Ignatieff, "Canada in the Age of Terror – Multilateralism Meets a Moment of Truth," *Policy Options* (February 2003). Available at: <http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/feb03/ignatieff.pdf>

(R) Derek H. Burney, "The Perennial Challenge: Managing Canada-US Relations," *Canada Among Nations 2005* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

(R) Andrew Cohen, *While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2003) (**pages TBA**).

CLASS 11 (March 27) Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy: Policy Relevance and Ideational Underpinnings

Questions to Think About:

1. Is IR theory relevant to policymaking, and how can it become more relevant?
2. What should the relationship be between theory and policy in general?
3. How are our course themes relevant for policymaking?
4. How would you shape a course on foreign-policy theory & analysis to be more "policy relevant?"

5. Can academia help in solving an urgent humanitarian crisis such as the spread of AIDS?

Tina Rosenberg, "Think Again: AIDS," *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2005).

Bruce W. Jentleson, "The Need for Praxis: Bringing Policy Relevance Back In," *International Security* 26, 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 169-183.

Daniel W. Drezner and Henry Farrell, "Web of Influence," *Foreign Policy* (Nov/Dec 2004). Available at:

<http://tinyurl.com/bvua7>

Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), chapter 12.

CLASS 12 (April 3) Paper-Presentation Workshop

On this day, 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 date.

Research Papers Due: Thursday, April 13, by 4:00 pm in the departmental drop-slot; 6th floor, Loeb.

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. 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 in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

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 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 Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in

the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

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.*

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. 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: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.