

PSCI 5805
Foreign Policy Analysis
Weds 8:35-11:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Please note that I check my email much more frequently than my voice mail.

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.

Since this is a graduate-level course, I will do my best to help socialize you into the discipline by introducing you directly to the theories, and -- vicariously -- to the personalities. 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: Almost all of the readings are online. 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.

There is one book I've assigned. I encourage you to purchase it from your favourite retailer (online or otherwise):

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

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Written Critique.....	25%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper	35%
Participation.....	20%

Presentation: You will choose one class session in which to present that week's topic to the class. Your

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presentation must have a thesis (argument) which serves to structure your remarks. *Do as little summary of the readings as possible.* 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. 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 prior to class that day.*

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 4**, 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: April 6. Please email it to me.

One-page paper proposal / summary of the problem and argument due: **March 4 (via email).**

Participation: You are expected to attend all class sessions, while taking 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 - both about issues or points that are unclear to you, and 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.

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CLASS 1 (Jan. 7) Introduction

CLASS 2 (Jan. 14) 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?

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 Krauthammer, "A World Imagined: The Flawed Premises of Liberal Foreign Policy," *The New Republic* (15 March 1999).

Charles Kupchan and Peter Trubowitz, "Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States," *International Security* 32, 2 (Fall 2007): 7-44

CLASS 3 (Jan. 21) 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?
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?
5. What is the relationship between psychology and rationality? Are the two at odds, or can they be combined somehow?

Jonathan Mercer, "Human Nature and the First Image: Emotion in International Politics," *Journal of International Relations and Development* (2006) 9, 288-303.

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>

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 (Jan. 28) Level Two (Part I): Bureaucratic Politics & Groupthink

Questions to Think About:

1. What is "groupthink?" How would this psychological process affect foreign policymaking?
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. 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).

Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 18, 4 (Spring 1994).

CLASS 5 (Feb. 4) 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?"
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 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. 11) 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?

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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. 18 – No class (Reading Week)*****

CLASS 7 (Feb. 25) 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 theirs a realist or a constructivist argument?
3. How easy is Montgomery's formula to accomplish?

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.

Tannenwald, Nina, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security* 29, 4 (Spring 2005).

Ivo Daalder and Jan Lodal, "Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2008).

Alexander H. Montgomery, "Ring in Proliferation: How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb Network," *International Security* 30, 2 (Fall 2005): 153-187.

CLASS 8 (March 4) 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 do you make of the Israel lobby debate?

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

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

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security* 28, 2 (Fall 2003).

Richard N. Haas and Martin Indyk, "Beyond Iraq: A New U.S. Strategy for the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2009).

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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/Aug 2008,

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.

CLASS 9 (March 11) The United States in the World

Questions to Think About

1. What's The September 12 paradigm, according to Kagan?
2. How to leave a stable Iraq?
3. What's Obama's foreign policy vision?
4. How should the U.S. deal with Iran?

Robert Kagan, "The September 12 Paradigm: America, the World, and George W. Bush," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2008).

Bruce W. Jentleson and Steven Weber, "America's Hard Sell," *Foreign Policy* (November/December 2008).

Stephen Biddle, Michael E. O'Hanlon and Kenneth M. Pollack, "How to Leave a Stable Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2008).

Dmitri Trenin, "What America Must Do: Travel to Tehran," *Foreign Policy* (Jan/Feb 2008)

Barack Obama, "Renewing American Leadership," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2007).

<http://tinyurl.com/2vo96q>

CLASS 10 (March 18) Case Study: Issues in Canadian Foreign Policy

Questions to Think About:

1. What's your take on Canadian foreign policy?
2. Is Canada still a middle power? What is a middle power?
3. What are Cohen's recommendations for Canada to regain global influence? Should Canada be attempting to have more global influence?

Paul Gecelovsky and Christopher J. Kukucha, "Canadian Foreign Policy: A Progressive or Stagnating Field of Study?" *Canadian Foreign Policy* (Spring 2008).

Robert A. Pastor, "The Future of North America," *Foreign Affairs* (Jul/Aug 2008).

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

CLASS 11 (March 25) Hot Topics

Carter F. Bales and Richard D. Duke, "Containing Climate Change," *Foreign Affairs*, (Sept/Oct 2008).

Paul Collier, "The Politics of Hunger," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2008).

G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2008).

One or two additional articles to be changed or added closer to the time for this week's topic (in order to get some more timely pieces).

CLASS 12 (April 1) 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.

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 letter of 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 7, 2008 for December examinations, and March 6, 2009 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 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. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

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: 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 only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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.