

Fall 2014

Comparative Foreign Policy

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COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY
DIPL 6180 AA/AB
FALL 2014

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Section AA/AB Tues. 2-4; 5-7
Office Hours: Tues, 10-12
& by appt.

Course Description and Objectives

This course examines leading theoretical approaches to the study of foreign policy and their application to a variety of states and issue areas. The goal of this course is to provide students with an understanding of the key concepts necessary to address the fundamental question of comparative foreign policy: why do states behave the way they do in international affairs? During the semester, we will explore some of the key debates in foreign policy analysis. Do differences in the characteristics of states (large versus small, democratic versus authoritarian, industrialized versus developing) lead to differences in their foreign policies? Or are the important differences not between countries but within them according to issue areas, for example security versus human rights policy? Students will have an opportunity to evaluate these debates for themselves through a series of case studies.

In addition to providing students' with substantive knowledge of foreign policy, this class also aims to hone students analytical, writing, and oral communication skills, which are all key student learning objects of the School of Diplomacy. The ability to analyze unfolding international events from a variety of perspectives is a critical skill when attempting to understand why foreign leaders adopted a certain course of action and why other states respond as they do. Oral and written communication skills are critical not only in the field of diplomacy, but also to all post-Seton Hall professional endeavors. Writing helps students improve their ability to relate evidence to argument. Oral communication skills are necessary not only to convey information, but also to persuade others of your interpretation of an issue, a critical negotiation skill.

A guideline for writing effective essays can be found in the course document section of the class blackboard site. Students who think they may need guidance on how to structure critical essays should see the professor early in the semester.

Requirements

Students are expected to come to class prepared to engage in substantive discussion of the assigned readings. All readings are available in electronic form on the class blackboard site. As events unfold over the course of the semester that illustrate how concepts and theories studied in class can make important contributions to foreign policy analysis, they will be added to the blackboard site and students will be responsible for reading them. The instructor conducts this class using a modified form of the Socratic method, therefore constructive class participation is critical to success in this class. A discussion of what constitutes effective class participation is appended to this syllabus.

All students must complete five analytical writing assignments for this class. The first assignment will consist of the discussion board questions for Class 3, which will be due on September 9. A take home midterm and take home final will each include two essays. The midterm will be handed out on Oct. 7 and due October 21. The final will be handed out on Dec. 2rd and due Dec. 9. One of the final exams questions will be a policy memo that requires students to apply analytical tools studied in class to a key issues facing U.S. and international officials based upon Congressional Research Service Reports

Grades for this course will be determined as follows: each essay will count for 18% of your grade. The remaining 10% will consist of a combination of class attendance, participation and improvement.

In addition to the assigned readings, students should keep abreast of current foreign policy issues by reading the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* or *Financial Times* on a daily basis. Magazines with a strong international focus, such as the *Economist* are also recommended. The instructor will make extensive use of current events to illustrate the utility of concepts discussed in the readings and will presume that students are familiar with these issues.

Grading Scale

A \geq 94	A- \geq 90	B+ \geq 87	B \geq 84	B- \geq 80	C+ \geq 77
C \geq 74	C- \geq 70	D+ \geq 67	D \geq 64	D- \geq 60	F \leq 59

Computer Use Policy

The use of computers for discrete note-taking is permissible in class. The use of computers for other purposes such as checking e-mail or surfing the internet is not permissible. Inappropriate computer use is not only disruptive to fellow students who are attempting to concentrate on class discussion, but it also tends to lead to lower grades for students engaged in non-class activity. Students who choose not to abide by this policy will be asked to leave class.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism or academic dishonesty of any kind will result in a failing grade in this course.

Students with Disabilities

Students who require special accommodations should discuss them with the instructor at the beginning of the semester.

Class 1 Aug. 26 Introduction: What is Foreign Policy and Why Should We Study It?

Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffery S. Lantis, and Ryan K. Beasley, "The Analysis of Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective," in Beasley, Kaarbo, Lantis and Snarr, Eds, *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective* (Washington: CQ Press, 2002), pp. 1-23.

Class 2 Sept. 2 Levels of Analysis & Worldviews

Required:

Karen Mingst and Ivan Arreguin-Toft, *Essentials of International Relations* (New York: Norton & Company, 2011) chapter 3, pp. 65-92.

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* November-December 2004.

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) pp. 13-31.

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp.3-15.

Recommended:

Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* second edition (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 66-92.

J. David Singer, "The Level-of Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics*, Vol. 14, No 1, October 1961, pp. 77-92.

Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959)

Key Questions: What are the different levels of analysis? Under what type of conditions do theories from the various levels of analysis have greatest explanatory power? Why? In what way do theories of international relations (IR) differ from explanations of foreign policy? To what extent is an understanding of broad IR theories necessary for foreign policy analysis? Why does Morgenthau contend that foreign policy should simply be the pursuit of national interests defined in terms of power? What are the risks of countries making foreign policy based on moral factors?

Application: How would realists, liberals and Marxists explain the U.S. war against Iraq? Provide an explanation for Iran's nuclear program using factors from each level of analysis. Does China's rise create a threat or opportunity for the U.S.? What aspects of international politics in the post-9/11 world does Snyder contend each worldview helps explain? What are their blind spots?

Class 3 Sept. 9 The International Level of Analysis

**No physical class, it will be conducted online

Required:

Karen Mingst and Ivan Arreguin-Toft, *Essentials of International Relations* (New York: Norton & Company, 2011) chapter 3, pp. 93-114.

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 85-96.

Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 72-92.

Stephen M. Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring 1988), 275-316.
Robert Jervis, "The Compulsive Empire" *Foreign Policy* July-August 2003, 1-7.

Recommended:

Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 95-118.

Key Questions: What are the strengths and weaknesses of systemic variables for explaining foreign policy outcomes? What is the underlying logic of balance of power theory and how does it differ from Gilpin's theory of hegemonic war in the security realm and hegemonic stability in the economic one? What are the policy prescriptions that flow from these theories? To what extent does Walt's study of alliances confirm or disprove these theories? Do you agree with Jervis's argument that power unchecked always expands?

Class 4 Sept. 16 The Rational State, Resources and Foreign Policy

Required:

Michael Mastanduno, David A. Lake, G. John Ikenberry, Toward a Realist Theory of State Action, in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy, Theoretical Essays* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 119-140.

Michael Barnett and Jack Levy, "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments," *International Organization* Vol. 45, No. 3, Spring 1991, pp. 369-395.

Thomas Friedman, "The First Law of PetroPolitics" in Mingst and Snyder, pp. 543-550, handout.

Lawrence Wright, The Double Game: The Unintended Consequences of American Funding to Pakistan, *The New Yorker*, May 16, 2011.
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/16/110516fa_fact_wright?currentPage=all

Recommended:

Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993), Chapter 3: The Classical Model Analyzed: A Black Box, pp. 36-52.

Key Questions: What is meant by "state strength" and "rational actor?" How does state strength affect the opportunities and constraints facing foreign policy executives? Are the foreign policy predicaments of developing countries different from those of advanced capitalist countries in degree of magnitude or of type? What factors impede a state's ability to devise and implement "rational" policy?

As you read the Mastanduno, Lake and Ikenberry article, try to identify different states who may/not be able to "mobilize and extract domestically" and who may therefore look to foreign sources to secure them. What is Friedman's first law of petropolitics and how, if it at all does it impact the domestic politics and foreign policy choices of pivotal

states. What are the implications of Friedman's argument for US foreign policy, particularly toward the countries of the Middle East? What does Wright argue are the unintended consequences of US aid to Pakistan? If you were a Pakistani leader, how, if at all, would you make the case for continued aid?

Class 5 Sept. 23 Bureaucratic Politics, Organizational Processes & Nuclear Weapons

Required:

Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 415-457.

Stephen Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)" *Foreign Policy*, No. 7, Summer 1972.

Scott D. Sagan, "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring 1994) pp. 66-107.

Karen Mingst, "Going Nuclear A View from Iran",

Scott Sagan, "How to Keep the Bomb From Iran" p. 260-268, handout

Victor Cha, Congressional Testimony, 2011

Pakistan articles from Newsweek

Key Questions: To what extent do you find the insights from bureaucratic and organization processes useful? How compelling is Krasner's critique of Allison? In what types of cases and under what conditions are bureaucratic political explanations of foreign policy most likely to yield useful insights? To what extent do you find Sagan's application of bureaucratic politics to the issue of nuclear proliferation insightful? Do you believe that the spread of nuclear weapons is a force for peace or a catalyst for conflict?

As you read the articles on North Korea, Iran, and Pakistan, ask yourself whether the insights from Sagan lead you to be optimistic or pessimistic regarding a) the possibility that these countries will acquire nuclear weapons; b) the implications for peace and stability and U.S. interests; and c) what, if anything can the international community do about it?

Class 6 Sept. 30 Regime Type & Foreign Policy

Required:

John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Autumn, 1994) pp. 87-125.

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol., 80, No. 4 (Dec., 1986) pp. 1151-1169.

Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000) pp. 15-43.

Introduction to NSS 2006 & NSS 2010 available on blackboard site for class 14.
Articles on Egypt TBA

Recommended:

Randall Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventative War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" *World Politics* 44/2 January 1992.

Key Questions: Why do proponents of the democratic peace argument contend that democracies do not fight one another? What are the underlying propositions involved in Owen's structural versus normative strands of the democratic peace? By what means does Doyle claim that Kant's liberal internationalism, Machiavelli's liberal imperialism, and Schumpeter's liberal pacifism produce democratic peace? Why does Jack Snyder claim that transitions to democracy can lead to violence? What are the implications of his argument for Iraq, Afghanistan and some of the Arab Spring cases such as Egypt and Tunisia? What policy prescriptions does Snyder make for the U.S and other countries that want to promote democracy?

Class 7 Oct. 7 Public Opinion, Interest Groups, and the Media

Required:

Ole Holsti, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36/4 December 1992, pp. 439-66.

Chaim Kaufmann, "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas" *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer 2004).

James Lindsay, "The New Apathy" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 5 2000.

Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy*, pp.

Recommended:

Eytan Gilboa, "Global Television News and Foreign Policy: Debating the CNN Effect," *International Studies Perspectives* 6, no. 3 (August 2005): 325-41.

Key Questions: How do public opinion and interest groups influence foreign policy? How do realists and liberals view the objective impact and the normative desirability of public opinion on foreign policy? Do interest groups influence all aspects of a country's foreign policy equally? What the marketplace of ideas and what role does public opinion play in it? Why does Kaufman argue that it failed in the decision to invade Iraq? What is the CNN effect? Do you think it has validity?

No Class Oct. 14 Fall Break

Class 8 Oct. 21 The Individual Level of Analysis

Required:

Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesmen Back In," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001) pp. 107-146. Skim historical parts and focus on the analytical argument and the Hussein and Assad cases.

Jerel Rosati, "Cognition in International Relations and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Review*

Yuen Foong Khong, "Seduction by Analogy in Vietnam: The Malaya and Korea Analogies," in Ikenberry, pp 554-564.

NYT articles comparing Vietnam and Afghanistan wars.

Recommended:

Jack L. Snyder, "Rationality at the Brink: the Role of Cognitive Processes in Failures of Deterrence," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 3, April 1978, pp. 345-365.

Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976)

Jack S. Levy, "Misperception and the Causes of War," *World Politics*, Vol 36, No. 1, October 1983, pp. 76-99.

Philip E. Tetlock and Charles B. McGuire, Jr., "Cognitive Perspectives on Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, pp 536-548.

Key Questions: Under what international and domestic conditions does the nature of individual leaders matter most for foreign policy outcomes? What types of methods do policy-makers use to deal with information overload? What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of tools that political leaders use to simplify the complexity inherent in foreign policy decisions? What are analogies and how do they influence foreign policy?

Class 9 Oct. 28 Ideas and Foreign Policy: the Debate Over Intervention

Required:

Judith Goldstein & Robert O. Keohane, *Ideas & Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) pp. 3-30.

Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 112-142.

John Straus, "Darfur and the Genocide Debate" *Foreign Affairs*, 2004.

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aal, eds, *Turbulent Peace : the Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Washington, D.C. : United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001.

Chapter 17, Stanley Hoffman, The Debate About Intervention

Chapter 18 Richard Betts, The Delusion of Impartial Intervention

Key Questions: What different types of ideas are discussed in the readings? How do ideas influence foreign policy? Under what conditions are new ideas most likely to lead to foreign policy change? Were normative or realist ideas the key factor driving US

intervention in Somalia? What is genocide and how should the international community respond to it? Under what conditions, if any, should countries undertake humanitarian interventions?

Class 10 Nov. 4 Foreign Policy Decision-Making: The Group and Intelligence Failures

Required:

Irving Janis, "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could It Happen?" in Ikenberry, pp. 593-621.

Alexander George and Eric Stern, "Harnessing Conflict in Foreign Policy Making: from Devil's to Multiple Advocacy" *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, September 2002,

Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Oct. 1978), pp. 61-89.

Richard K. Betts, "The New Politics of Intelligence: Will Reforms Work This Time?" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004, pp. 2-8.

Robert Jervis, "Why Intelligence and Policy-Makers Clash" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 125, No. 2, 2010.

Recommended:

The 9/11 Commission Report, available at www.9-11commission.gov. Readings on the National Intelligence Estimate on Iran.

Key Questions: In what way do group dynamics impede rational policy-making? What can be done to overcome these problems? What role does intelligence play in foreign policy-making? How can intelligence failures be prevented? Why does Jervis contend that intelligence and policy-makers clash?

Class 11 Nov. 11 Foreign Policy Change: Gorbachev and New Thinking in Russian Foreign Policy

Required:

Charles F. Herman, "Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (March 1990), pp. 3-31.

Janice Gross Stein, "Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994) pp. 155-183.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexi Shevencko, "Shortness to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy," *International Organization*, 57, Winter 2003, pp. 77-109.

Stephen G. Brooks, and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/2001) pp. 5-53.

Recommended:

Robert D. English, "Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 70-92.

Key Questions: Why do states change course in foreign policy? How have analysts explained the dramatic change in Soviet foreign policy under Gorbachev that led to the end of the Cold War? Are the materialist and ideational arguments mutually exclusive? Which one do you find more compelling?

Class 12 Nov.18 The Challenges of Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3. (Winter 2002/03).

Daniel Byman, "Friends Like These: Counterinsurgency and the War on Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Fall 2006.

Seth Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency," *International Security*, . 32, Number 4, Spring 2008.

Articles on Afghanistan TBA

Key Questions: What are terrorism and globalization? How are these phenomena related and what challenges do they pose for policy-makers? How does Byman contend that the war on terrorism is linked to counterinsurgency? What lessons does Byman contend that past counter-insurgency strategies hold for the current war on terror? What factors does Jones argue led to the rise of the Afghan insurgency? To what extent do these factors mirror those posed by Byman? What policy recommendations does he contend are necessary to redress the insurgency? As the 2014 draw down date for US withdrawal from Afghanistan approaches, what choices does the U.S. face if the security situation there does not improve?

Class 13 Nov. 25 Primacy and the Future of U.S. Grand Strategy

Benjamin Schwarz and Christopher Layne, "A New Grand Strategy" *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002.

Daniel Drezner, "Military Primacy Doesn't Pay (Nearly as Much as You Think)" *International Security*, Volume 38, No. 1, Summer 2013.

Stephen Brooks, John Ikenberry and William Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home America: the Case Against Retrenchment" *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3, Winter 2012.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of the Rest" 2008

National Security Strategy of the United States 2006 and 2010, available at www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006.—Read the 2 page intro, focusing on what it says about primacy and democracy promotion.

Key Questions: What is US primacy? On what bases of power does it rest? Can US primacy be maintained? Should primacy be a goal of US foreign policy? What is the rise of the rest? Does Zakaria view the rise of the rest as a threat to U.S. power?

Dec. 2 Class 14: Debates over Current Foreign Policy Issues

****No physical class, it will be conducted online.**

This class will apply the concepts studied in the class to key foreign policy issues that might include issues such as Iran's nuclear program, the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the Russian grab for Ukraine, or the disputes in the South China Sea.

Class

DIPLOMACY 6180

What I am Looking For in "Good" Class Discussion?

1. Preparation:

Evidence of careful preparation including knowledge of the reading material and cases if applicable.

2. Quality of argument:

Logical consistency, appropriateness of the discussion, use of relevant evidence in the arguments; originality and creativity; and makes connections with course material

3. Quality of expression:

Comments that are clear, concise, fluent, enthusiastic, and civil;

4. Contribution to Process:

Comments contribute to the process of the discussion, such as building on the ideas of others, providing constructive criticism, asking constructive questions, or indicating a careful listening to others, timeliness, and asking constructive questions.

In sum, be clear (speak simply), be concise (make sure every word you say carries its weight and every idea adds to your argument), be logical (make sure one sentence follows from another and one statement follows from another.)

I recognize that class discussion comes more easily for some people than for others. By temperament, culture or habit, some are "talkers" while others are "listeners." Learning to be both is an important goal of this class, and a needed skill in life beyond this classroom. Comments that are not relevant to the ongoing discussion, that are off the point, that are disruptive to discussion, that are insensitive to others, or that attempt to dominate the discussion will not be rewarded! I prefer that you volunteer to participate, but will call on you if necessary to bring you into the conversation. If you are uncomfortable with speaking in class, please come by and talk with me. I can offer you some tips which may help.

(Adapted from Dr. Deborah Gerner, University of Kansas, US Foreign Policy Syllabus, August 1994.)