# **COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY**

# WABASH COLLEGE FALL 2015

MWF 1:10-2:00pm in Baxter 301 https://comfopo.wordpress.com/

Dr. Kayce Mobley
Office Hours: M 2-5pm; R 9am-12pm; and by appointment in Baxter 29
mobleyk@wabash.edu

"Domestic policy... can only defeat us; foreign policy can kill us."

-John F. Kennedy

"...war is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means."

-Carl von Clausewitz

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES**

What forces shape the foreign policy behaviors of states? How can we apply various theories of foreign policy processes and outcomes to particular case studies? Through this course, we will evaluate the significance of variables at the individual, group, state, and systemic levels of analysis, allowing us to construct a framework for comparing the foreign policy behaviors of major states. Areas of analysis will include cognitive theories of decision-making, bargaining approaches, political culture, bureaucratic politics, public opinion, special interests, nonstate actors, historic rivalries, material capabilities, etc. Through the study of general theories and specific examples, students will gain a broad understanding of the foreign policy literature and its application to cases beyond the United States.

# **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADES**

#### **Evaluation**

20%	Attendance, Participation, Reading Quizzes, and Short Assignments	Attendance and engagement in daily discussion and activities, plus role as discussion leader for one week of class. Further instructions will be given in class. Also, short unannounced reading quizzes and several in-class and take-home assignments.
20%	Exam 1	Wednesday, October 14
20%	Exam 2	Friday, November 20
20%	Research Project	Components will be due throughout the semester, and the final paper will be due on Monday, December 7. Presentations on December 7 <sup>th</sup> and December 9 <sup>th</sup> . Further instructions will be given in class.
20%	Final Exam	Friday, December 18 <sup>th</sup> at 1:30pm.

# **Required Texts**

- Neack, Laura. 2014. *The New Foreign Policy: Complex Interactions, Competing Interests*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Other readings for this course will be available online either through the class website or through Lilly Library's website.

## **Suggested Resources**

- International Crisis Behavior Project. 2013. Data Viewer.
- Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Case Studies.
- The National Security Archive.
- The American Presidency Project.
- Congressional Research Service. 2013. Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2013.
- Congressional Research Service Reports.
- Etc. If you need help finding research, contact Dr. Mobley and/or the excellent staff at Lilly Library.

# **COURSE POLICIES**

#### Absences

Attendance, participation, and reading quizzes make up 20% of your grade. Yet, life can occasionally get it the way of attending every class. As such, you get **3 unexcused** absences for the duration of this course. In addition, absences will be excused for college-sanctioned events (sports/conferences), documented medical excuses, or family emergencies. Unexcused absences beyond the 3 freebies will automatically deduct points from your grade.

Do not make a habit of coming to class late or leaving class early. This behavior is rude to your fellow students and to your professor. Missing more than 5 minutes of any class will cause that day to be counted as an absence. If you arrive to class less than 5 minutes late, you must ask the professor to note your attendance after class.

You may **not** make up quizzes if you are absent. If your absence is unexcused, you will receive a 0 for that quiz. (Even if you miss a quiz due to one of your 3 allotted "freebie" unexcused absences, you will receive a 0 for the missed quiz.) If your absence is excused, that grade will simply not factor into your quiz score.

Missing a test requires prior notice (at least 48 hours). Unless you are violently ill and can document this illness, you should be present for the test. Make-up exams will not be scheduled for unexcused absences (including family trips, weddings, etc.).

# **Participation**

If you attend every class, but never say a word, you can expect to earn a poor participation grade. Participation entails **thoughtfully** asking questions, answering questions, providing feedback to classmates' questions, etc.

## **Classroom Etiquette**

Turn off or silence your cell phone when in class, and do not use it during class. If you use a laptop, use it for taking notes or viewing class material, not surfing YouTube or Facebook, however great the temptation might be. Distracting other students or your professor with your use of technology during class is rude.

One purpose of this course is to evaluate every side of each issue, a goal achieved through civil, informed debate and discussion. We will discuss relatively controversial subjects throughout the course. Despite trespassing on some "hot button topics," you must remain respectful of your classmates' thoughts and opinions.

### **Academic Honesty**

By matriculating to Wabash College, you agreed to abide by the Gentleman's Code. Among other things, this means that you have agreed not to cheat, plagiarize, or otherwise submit dishonest work. As a professor at the school, I have agreed to enforce this standard. If you are caught cheating in any way, I will report the offense to the college administration. Furthermore, even if you break the Code unintentionally, I will still hold you accountable for the violation. Thus, if you ever have any questions or concerns about academic honesty, you should contact me.

# **Writing Center**

The Wabash Writing Center is dedicated to coaching Wabash men to become the best writers that they can be. When a Wabash man comes into the Wabash Writing Center, he will meet one-on-one with a trained peer consultant, or the director. Writing Center sessions are scheduled to last 45 minutes, which is enough time to review 6-7 pages of writing.

The consultants can work with writers at any stage of their writing process. A writer can come to the Wabash Writing Center with a couple of notes on a napkin, and our consultants can help him turn it into the best paper the writer can produce. Writers have to do their own work, but our consultants will make suggestions and offer advice to make a paper better. Consultants are also well versed in grammar concerns, MLA, and APA, and they are happy to answer questions or make minor corrections. However, we leave the line editing and final revisions to the writer.

Located on the second floor of the Lilly Library, the Wabash Writing Center is open to all students, faculty and staff.

To make an appointment, follow one of the links to the Writing Center website—either from MyBash under Departments or under the Academic tab at the top of Wabash College websites—select the button labeled "Click HERE to make an appointment," and register in the scheduling system.

If you have any questions, please email the director, Dr. Koppelmann, at koppelmz@wabash.edu.

#### The Office of Student Enrichment

The Office of Student Enrichment (OSE) provides Wabash Men with one-on-one counseling regarding time management skills, study skills, reading skills, and Academic Honesty. The OSE also offers one-on-one support for English Language Learners.

Contact Dr. Koppelmann at koppelmz@wabash.edu to arrange for a meeting if would like assistance regarding time management, study skills, reading skills, understanding Academic Honesty, or if would like support for learning American English.

### **Disability Resource Center**

Students with disabilities (apparent or invisible) are invited to confidentially discuss their situation with the disability coordinator, Heather Thrush, Director of Student Engagement and Success. If a student wishes to receive an academic accommodation, it is required that his documentation of the disability be on file with Heather Thrush, who can, in confidence, provide information and guidance. Early notification helps us all work together in the most effective ways. Heather Thrush can be reached at her office (Center Hall 112A), by phone (x6347), or by email (thrushh@wabash.edu).

## **Communicating with the Instructor**

The best way to contact your instructor is via email at mobleyk@wabash.edu. Additionally, my office phone number is x6117, and I will hold regular office hours in Baxter 29. Feel free to stop by with any questions or concerns you have. If those times do not work for you, we can schedule an appointment for another time.

#### The Fine Print

This syllabus is a general plan; some deviations will occur. As such, attending class, checking your Wabash email, and keeping updated via the class web site are all crucial.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Friday, August 28: Introduction

Monday, August 31: Comparative Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy Analysis, and the Roots of Controversy

## Required:

• Neack. Ch. 1: Introduction: The New Foreign Policy. 1-28.

#### Recommended:

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 2002. "Domestic Politics and International Relations."
 International Studies Quarterly 46(1): 1-9.

Wednesday, September 2: No Class

## Required:

- o Rosenau, James. 1968. "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy or Field?" *International Studies Quarterly* 12(3): 296-329.
- o Work on Assignment 1. Due at the start of class on Monday, September 7.

#### Recommended:

o Smith, Steve. 1986. "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." *Review of International Studies* 12(1): 13-29.

# Friday, September 4: No Class

# Required:

- o Rosenau, James. 1968. "Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy or Field?" *International Studies Quarterly* 12(3): 296-329.
- o Work on Assignment 1. Due at the start of class on Monday, September 7.

#### Recommended:

o Hudson, Valerie. 2005. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1(1): 1-30.

#### II. BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES

Monday, September 7: Foreign Policy as Rational Decision Making Required:

• Neack. Ch. 2: Rational Actors and National Interests. 29-46.

#### Recommended:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1980. "An Expected Utility Theory of International Conflict." American Political Science Review 74(4): 917-931.
- Mor, Ben D. 1991. "Nasser's Decision-Making in the 1967 Middle East Crisis: A Rational-Choice Explanation." *Journal of Peace Research* 28(4): 359-375.

Wednesday, September 9: Foreign Policy as Rational Decision Making: The Bargaining Model and Bounded Rationality

## Required:

 Reiter, Dan. 2003. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War." Perspectives on Politics 1(1): 27-43.

#### Recommended:

• Fearon. James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.

# Friday, September 11: Foreign Policy as Rational Decision Making: Selectorate Theory Required:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2011. "A Dictator's Handbook for the President." Foreign Policy. September 14.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2011. "Assessing Assad." Foreign Policy. December 20.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2012. "All About the Benjamins."
   Foreign Policy. December 12.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2012. "In Sickness and in Health."
   Foreign Policy. September 18.

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 2004. "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War." World Politics (56)3: 363-388.

# Monday, September 14: Foreign Policy as Cognitive Decision Making Required:

• Neack. Ch. 3: Cognition and Personality. 47-71.

#### Recommended:

- George, Alexander L. 1969. "The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making." *International Studies Quarterly* 13(2): 190-222.
- Jervis, Robert. 1976. Perception and Misperception in International Politics.
   Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hermann, Margaret G. 1980. "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders," *International Studies Quarterly* 24(1): 7-46.
- o Houghton, David. 1996. "The Role of Analogical Reasoning in Novel Foreign-Policy Situations." *British Journal of Political Science* 26(4): 523-552.

# Wednesday, September 16: Foreign Policy as Cognitive Decision Making Required:

 McDermott, Rose. 1992. Prospect Theory in International Relations: The Iranian Hostage Rescue Mission. *Political Psychology* 13(2): 237-263.

- o Jervis, Robert. 1992. "Political Implications of Loss Aversion." *Political Psychology* 13(2): 187-204.
- Levy, Jack S. 1997. "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41(1): 87-112.
- o Nicic, Miroslav. 1997. "Loss Aversion and the Domestic Context of Military Intervention." *Political Research Quarterly* 50(1): 97-120.
- o Berejikian, Jeffrey. 2002. "A Cognitive Theory of Deterrence." *Journal of Peace Research* (39)2: 165-183.
- o Helfstein, Scott. 2012. "Backfire: Behavioral Decision Making and the Strategic Risks of Successful Surprise." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8: 275-292.

# Friday, September 18: Foreign Policy as Cognitive Decision Making Required:

o Woods, Kevin, James Lacey and Williamson Murray. 2006. Saddam's Delusions: The View from the Inside. *Foreign Affairs* 85(3): 2-26.

#### Recommended:

- McDermott, Rose. 2004. "The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science," *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (4): 691-706.
- o Chorvat, Terrence and Kevin McCabe. 2004. "The Brain and the Law." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 359: 1727-1736.
- o Lake, David. A. 2010. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." *International Security* 35(3): 7-52.
- o Johnson, Dominic D.P. and Monica Duffy Toft. 2013/14. Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict. *International Security* 38(3): 7-38.

# Monday, September 21: Foreign Policy and Small Groups Required:

o Neack. Ch. 4: Decision Units, Small Groups, and Autonomous Groups. 73-90.

# Wednesday, September 23: Foreign Policy and Small Groups: Groupthink Required:

o Badie, Dina. 2010. "Groupthink, Iraq, and the War on Terror: Explaining US Policy Shift toward Iraq." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6(4): 277–296.

# Friday, September 25: Foreign Policy and Small Groups: Bureaucracy Required:

 Power, Samantha. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide." *The Atlantic*. September: 84-108.

# Monday, September 28: Foreign Policy and Culture Required:

- o Neack. Ch. 5: National Self-Image, Culture, and Domestic Institutions. 91-108.
- o Lind, Jennifer. 2009. "The Perils of Apology." *Foreign Affairs* 88(3): 132-146. Recommended:
  - o Nathan, Andrew and Andrew Scobell. 2012. How China Sees America. *Foreign Affairs* 91(5): 32-47.
  - o Galeotti, M. S. and Mark Bowen. 2014. Putin's Empire of the Mind. Foreign Policy 206: 16-19. May.

# Wednesday, September 30: Foreign Policy and Culture – Security Culture Required:

- o Woolf, Virginia. 1940. "Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid." August.
- o Saint-Amour, Paul. 2015. "Waiting for the Bomb to Drop." The New York Times. August 2.
- o Karaosmanoglu, Ali L. 2000. "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey." *Journal of International Affairs* 54(1): 199-216.

#### Recommended:

o Rhodes, Edward. 1996. "Sea Change: Interest-Based vs. Cultural-Cognitive Accounts of Strategic Choice in the 1890s." *Security Studies* 5(4): 73-124.

# Friday, October 2: Foreign Policy and Culture – Religion Required:

- Mead, Walter Russell. 2006. "God's Country?" Foreign Affairs.
   September/October. 24-43.
- Owen, John M. 2015. "From Calvin to the Caliphate." Foreign Affairs 94(3): 77-89.

# Monday, October 5: Cuban Missile Crisis A

## Required:

o Allison, Graham. 2012. "The Cuban Missile Crisis." In *Foreign Policy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Eds. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne. 256-272.

# Wednesday, October 7: Cuban Missile Crisis B

## Required:

- o <u>Group A:</u> Allison, Graham. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63(3): 689-718.
- o <u>Group B:</u> Krasner, Stephen. 1972. "Are Bureaucracies Important? (Or Allison Wonderland)." *Foreign Policy* 7: 159-179.
- Group C: Haas, Mark. 2001. "Prospect Theory and the Cuban Missile Crisis."
   International Studies Quarterly 45(2): 241-270.

## Friday, October 9: Cuban Missile Crisis C

# Required:

- o Prepare for the in-class debate and discussion.
- o Hard copy of article analysis due in class.

Wednesday, October 14: Exam 1

## Friday, October 16: Mid-Semester Break – No Class

Monday, October 19: Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics: Two-Level Games and Institutions Required:

- o Neack. Ch. 6: Domestic Politics. 109-116.
- o Mervin, David. 1971. "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations." *Journal of American Studies* 4(2): 201-214.

# Recommended:

- o Robert D. Putnam. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games." *International Organization* 42(3): 427-460.
- Lindsay, James M. 1992-93. "Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters." *Political Science Quarterly* 107(4): 607-628.
- Bailey, Michael A., Judith Goldstein, and Barry R. Weingast. 1997. "The Institutional Roots of American Trade Policy: Politics, Coalitions, and International Trade." World Politics 49(3): 309-338.
- o Howell, William G. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2005. "Presidents, Congress, and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59(1): 209-232.

# Wednesday, October 21: Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics: Interest Groups Required:

 Kaufman, Chaim D. and Robert A. Pape. 1999. "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign Against the Atlantic Slave Trade." *International Organization* 53(4): 631-668.

- Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen M. Walt. 2009. "Is It Love or the Lobby?
   Explaining America's Special Relationship with Israel." *Security Studies* 18(1): 58-78.
- Rubenzer, Trevor. 2011. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(1): 105-16.

# Friday, October 23: Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics: Regime Type Required:

- o Neack. Ch. 6: Domestic Politics. 117-123.
- Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 326-347.

#### Recommended:

- o Fearon, James D. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 577-592.
- o Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20(1): 5-38.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 1999. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 979-1002.
- o Martin, Lisa L. 2000. *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- o Reiter, Dan and Allen C. Stam. 2002. *Democracies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2009. "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?
   Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War." *International Security* 33(4): 9–51.

# Monday, October 26: Foreign Policy, Public Opinion, and the Media Required:

o Neack. Ch. 7: Public Opinion and Media. 125-142.

### Recommended:

 Baum, Matthew and Philip Potter. 2008. "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis." Annual Review of Political Science 11: 39-65.

# Wednesday, October 28: Foreign Policy, Public Opinion, and the Media Required:

- Fletcher, Joseph F. and Jennifer Hove. 2012. "Emotional Determinants of Support for the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan: A View form the Bridge." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 33-62.
- Keatinge, Tom. 2015. "Pay the Price: Washington's Change of Heart on Ransom Payments." Foreign Affairs. July 1.

# Recommended:

- Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'?"
   American Political Science Review 83(1): 123-141.
- Holsti, Ole. 1992. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus." *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 439-466.

# Friday, October 30: Foreign Policy, Public Opinion, and the Media Required:

- Rainey, James. 2005. "Unseen Pictures, Untold Stories." The Los Angeles Times. May 21.
- o TBD.

- Mermin, Jonathan. 1997. "Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly* 112(3): 385-403.
- o Baum, Matthew A. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 91-109.
- o Baum, Matthew A. 2004. "Circling the Wagons: Soft News and Isolationism in American Public Opinion." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 313-338.
- o Entman, Robert M. 2004. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

#### III. TOP-DOWN APPROACHES

Monday, November 2: Realism and Foreign Policy

## Required:

Neack. Ch. 8: Great Powers in General, the United States Specifically. 143-168.
 Recommended:

- Walt, Stephen M. 1998. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories."
   Foreign Policy 110 (Spring): 29-46.
- o Waltz, Kenneth N. 2000. "Structural Realism after the Cold War." *International Security* 25(1): 5-41.

Wednesday, November 4: Realism and Foreign Policy

## Required:

o Hehir, Aidan. 2013. The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect. *International Security* 38(1): 137-159.

Friday, November 6: Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy

# Required:

Rose, Gideon. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy."
 World Politics 51(1): 144–72.

Monday, November 9: Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy

# Required:

o Kropatcheva, Elena. 2012. "Russian Foreign Policy in the Realm of European Security through the Lens of Neoclassical Realism." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 3(1): 30-40.

#### Recommended:

 Cha, Victor D. 2000. "Abandonment, Entrapment, and Neoclassical Realism in Asia: The United States, Japan, and Korea." *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2): 261-291.

Wednesday, November 11: Liberalism and Foreign Policy

# Required:

o Neack. Ch. 9: Competitors, Rising Powers, and Allies. 169-192.

# Friday, November 13: Liberalism and Foreign Policy

## Required:

Shambaugh, David. 2015. "China's Soft-Power Push: The Search for Respect."
 Foreign Affairs (July/August): 99-107.

#### Recommended:

- Russett, Bruce and Zeev Maoz. 1993. "Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 624-638.
- Milner, Helen V. and Keiko Kubota. 2005. "Why the Move to Free Trade? Democracy and Trade Policy in the Developing Countries." *International Organization* 59(1): 107-143.

# Monday, November 16: Constructivism and Foreign Policy

### Required:

- Doyle, Michael W. 2011. International Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect.
   International Studies Review 13 (1): 72-84.
- o Weiss, Thomas. 2014. Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It. The Washington Quarterly 37(1): 7-20.

#### Recommended:

 Hoffman, Matthew J. 2003. "Constructing a Complex World: The Frontiers of International Relations Theory and Foreign Policy-making." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 11(2): 37-57.

# Wednesday, November 18: Constructivism and Foreign Policy

#### Required:

o Sagan, Scott D. 1996-7. Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb. *International Security* 21(3): 54-86.

#### Recommended:

 Price, Richard. 1995. A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo. International Organization 49(1): 73-103.

Friday, November 20: Exam 2

Monday, November 23 – Friday, November 27: Thanksgiving Break

Monday, November 30: Case Study A Required:

o TBD.

Wednesday, December 2: Case Study B Required:

o TBD.

Friday, December 4: Case Study C Required:

o TBD.

Monday, December 7: Research Presentations

Required:

o Hard copy of research paper due at the start of class.

Wednesday, December 9: Research Presentations

Friday, December 11: Conclusions

Friday, December 18: Final Exam – 1:30pm