

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

(listed in Rutgers catalogue as Theoretical Explanations of Foreign Policy)

Political Science 530

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This seminar focuses on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies. Our orientation in this course is more theoretical and process-oriented than substantive or interpretive. We focus on policy inputs and the decision-making process rather than on policy outputs. An important assumption underlying this course is that the processes through which foreign policy is made have a considerable impact on the substantive content of policy. Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a well-defined subfield within the International Relations field, with its own section in the International Studies Association (Foreign Policy Analysis) and in the American Political Science Association (Foreign Policy), and with a distinct ISA journal (*Foreign Policy Analysis*).

We follow a loose a levels-of-analysis framework to organize our survey of the theoretical literature on the making of foreign policy. We examine rational state actor, neoclassical realist, bureaucratic/organizational, institutional, societal, and psychological models. We look at the government decision-makers, organizations, political parties, private interests, social groups, and mass publics that have an impact on foreign policy. We analyze the various constraints within which each of these sets of actors must operate, the nature of their interactions with each other and with the society as a whole, and the processes and mechanisms through which they resolve their differences and formulate policy.

Although a disproportionate amount of the literature in the foreign policy analysis field and hence in this course is American in origin and focused on American foreign policy, most conceptual frameworks in FPA are much more general and applicable beyond the United States. So this is really a course in comparative foreign policy. I encourage students to bring comparative perspectives to bear on our class discussions and in their papers, and to keep in mind the question of whether it is in fact true that the theoretical frameworks of FPA are generalizable beyond the United States. Also, while our primary

focus is on the behavior of states, we include some literature on how inter- or supra-national organizations and non-state actors formulate their external policies.

Any course must emphasize some things and deemphasize others. In this seminar, we focus primarily on internal rather than external causal influences on foreign policy, in part because this is the norm of the foreign policy analysis field, and in part because external variables are covered at length in other international relations courses. Second, again reflecting the FPA field, we give only minimal attention to particular American institutions such as the Departments of State or Defense, the National Security Council, or the Congress. Third, we give significant emphasis to decision-making by top political leaders. Fourth, there are more applications to the literature on security than political economy, environmental policy, human rights, or other areas. This reflects the state of the literature on foreign policy analysis and the general neglect of decision-making variables in the subfield of International Political Economy and other sub-fields. It also reflects my own intellectual interests. However, I encourage students with an interest in international political economy, environmental policy, or other areas to think about how to apply decision-making models to their areas of interest. Finally, this syllabus gives more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis. I leave it to you to decide whether that emphasis is warranted.

Readings

The following required books (all paperback) are available for purchase at the Rutgers University Bookstore (Gateway Transit Building, 100 Somerset Street, New Brunswick, 732 246 8448 tel). You might also check the used book market on the internet. I have also asked Alexander Library to place a copy of each of these books on graduate reserve. In the order that we will read them, they are

Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, with Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2006.

Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.

Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

We will also be reading a substantial number of articles and book chapters, because much of the important theoretical and empirical work in foreign policy analysis has been published in this form. All of the required reading except for the three required books will

be available at my Sakai site (<https://sakai.rutgers.edu/>). Log in to Sakai, look for the Foreign Policy Analysis tab, and click resources, which are organized by week of the term. I recommend that each week you do the readings in the order listed on the syllabus, not the alphabetical order of Sakai.

Course Requirements:

There are four basic requirements for the course:

- 1) participation in class discussions of the readings and of student presentations;
- 2) lead discussion on a particular topic, selected from the list provided below.
- 3) oral presentation (based on #4)
- 4) final paper (literature review, research design, or research paper)

Our weekly meetings will begin with my own introductory comments on the topics under consideration, sometimes with a quick transition to student presentations related to requirements #2 or 3 above. Research designs and research papers will be presented later in the term. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics, and we may have more than one presentation. For this system to work, and for students to benefit from it, each member of the seminar must complete all of the required reading prior to each class meeting and be prepared to discuss it. Each week I will try to provide some guidance as to what to emphasize in the following week's reading.

Regarding requirement #2 above, each student will select one topic from the following list and give a 6-10 minute in-class presentation (but not write a paper) on the required readings related to that topic during the designated week.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>week</u>
Rational/analytic model of decision-making	2e
Neoclassical realism	2i
Bureaucratic politics – critiques	3g
Decision unit approach	4a
Audience costs	5i
Coalitional models	7c
Constructivist approaches to FPA	8f
Emotions and decision-making	9g
Learning	10b
Groupthink	10i
Heuristics and biases	11a
Focus: dual process model +anchoring, availability, representativeness	
Prospect theory	11c

You should consult with me about exactly which readings are relevant for a particular topic, but they are usually readily identifiable from the reading list below. For this presentation you need only cover the required readings. It is not necessary to summarize the readings in any detail, as we can assume that everyone has done the required reading for the week. Rather, the emphasis should be on briefly situating the reading(s) in the literature, identifying their primary contributions to the literature, noting any theoretical or methodological weaknesses, and highlighting additional analytic questions raised by the reading. The 6-10 minute time allotment is short, so time management is important. You will have more time to elaborate in the follow-up discussion in class. There is no paper requirement associated with this presentation. Your topic for requirement #2 should be different from your topic for #3&4. I do not want duplication of topics among different students for #2. (That is not a problem for #3&4).

Requirements 3 & 4: Given the different backgrounds and goals of different members of the seminar, I have set up two alternative “tracks” or paper requirements, a literature review track and a research design/paper track. You are free to select whichever track you prefer. However, I generally recommend the research design or research paper requirement to IR majors planning to write a dissertation that includes a component on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies (on security, economic, human rights, environmental policy, and other issues). It is perfectly reasonable, however, for first-year IR students who have limited exposure to a particular topic to do a literature review for this class, to pave the way for a more focused research effort in subsequent courses. I recommend that IR minors, whose dissertation work is not likely to focus on how states formulate foreign policy, adopt the literature review track. A good strategy there is to either pick a broad topic that is likely to serve you well in preparation for comprehensive exams, or to pick a topic overlapping with the research you plan to do in your major field. Please feel free to consult with me about which track best serves your interests. Regardless of which track you choose, I expect all students to do all the required readings, to come prepared to discuss those readings in class, and to participate in the discussions.

1) literature review track (due Sunday December 18, by email attachment)

The basic requirement is a literature review, along with a presentation in class on the subject of the paper and on the day that subject is scheduled, as specified in the syllabus. The literature review should be approximately 12-15 pages (single space, with a space between paragraphs, including footnotes and references). It should be a critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question relating to foreign policy analysis, often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus. For example, good topics include the bureaucratic politics model, audience costs, Congress and foreign policy,

foreign policy in parliamentary systems, ethnic groups or economic interest groups and foreign policy, culture and foreign policy, learning, prospect theory, emotions and decision-making, and intelligence failure, to name a few. Decision-making by sub-state organizations and inter-governmental or supra-national organizations (the European Union, for example) is also a viable topic as long as it has to do with world politics and not primarily domestic politics. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure my approval in advance – to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations. I would be happy to talk to you about what kinds of topics make the most sense given your background and objectives in your graduate program and beyond.

The readings (required and otherwise) from the relevant section of the syllabus generally serve as a useful guide to what literature you should cover in your review, but please consult with me for suggestions as to possible additions (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the list is quite long). Please do not assume that by reading all of the items in a particular section of the syllabus you have adequately covered a particular topic for your review. I also encourage you to incorporate material from other courses where relevant.

In your literature review you should summarize the literature on your topic and at the same time organize it in some coherent way – preferably around a useful typology or theoretical theme or set of categories, not around a succession of books and articles. That is, I do not want twenty paragraphs on twenty different authors or books/articles. You should note the theoretical questions that this literature attempts to answer, identify commonalities and differences among the various readings, identify the key concepts and causal arguments, survey some of the empirical research that bears on these theoretical propositions, and relate it to the broader literature on war and peace. You should identify the logical inconsistencies, broader analytical limitations, and unanswered questions of the leading scholarship in this area. You should also suggest fruitful areas for subsequent research. If you have any thoughts on how particular hypotheses could be tested, please elaborate on that. But remember that space is limited.

I suspect that many of you will be uncertain what my expectations are for a literature review. To partially alleviate that uncertainty I will post a few literature reviews from past courses on my Sakai site (in folder #00).

The **presentation** based on each literature review will be scheduled for the day we discuss that topic in class. This is important, and it requires you to plan in advance. This means that if you want to do a literature review on a topic that arises early in the term, you must get to work early, in some cases before the semester begins.

The formal part of the talk will be 12-15 minutes. You will then have the opportunity to respond to questions from the class for another half hour or so. I expect you to benefit from the feedback from class discussion and incorporate it into your paper, which is due by email attachment Sunday, December 18 (anytime). Late papers run the risk of triggering a grade of incomplete, given deadlines for handing in grades. Literature review papers more than a few days late also trigger higher expectations as to quality.

2) **Research paper track** (due December 18, by email attachment)

The requirement here is variable, depending on the stage of a student's work on a project. If you are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient. If you have been working on a particular project for a while, I expect you to implement the research design and carry out the empirical research. If your paper for the class is a research design, I expect you to identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the theoretical literature and in competing analytical approaches, specify your key hypotheses, offer a theoretical explanation for those hypotheses, and provide a detailed statement as to how you would carry out the research. This includes the specification of the dependent and independent variables and the form of the relationship between them, the operationalization of the variables, the identification (and theoretical justification) of the empirical domain of the study (i.e., case selection), the identification of alternative explanations for the phenomenon in question, and an acknowledgment of what kinds of evidence would confirm your hypotheses and what kinds of evidence would disconfirm or falsify your hypotheses. Try to do this in 12-15 pages (single space). Please consult with me along the way. In most cases I will ask for a one-page statement of your research question and then a short outline, just to make sure we are on the same wavelength.

I have high standards for the research designs. I think of them as roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals. As to your class presentation based on the research, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you spend relatively little time on a literature review, especially if we have already discussed the theoretical background material, and to focus instead on your particular theoretical argument, specific hypotheses, and design and method for testing them. If you are envisioning case studies, provide a theoretical justification for your case selection.

Research papers are more elaborate, and involve the completion of the empirical research detailed in the design of the project. There is no set length for a research paper, but one guideline is about 20-30 pages (single space, space between paragraphs and between bibliographic items). Thirty pages is a bit over 12,000 words, which is toward the outer

limit for most journal submissions. We will schedule research design/paper presentations for late in the term. However, if your topic fits earlier and if (and only if) you are ready at that time we could go earlier (which would be a good way for you to get timely feedback on your project). Although I tolerate incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

I should note that although I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives, the norms of mainstream IR favor research that aims to construct and test falsifiable (loosely defined) hypotheses about foreign policy or international behavior, or to construct interpretations of particular episodes and then support those interpretations with empirical evidence. I share these norms, and I am unenthusiastic about theoretical arguments about the empirical world for which there is no conceivable evidence that would lead to their rejection. At the same time, I recognize the value some research communities place on formal theory construction independent of empirical test, or on radical constructivist critiques without systematic empirical analysis, and I would be willing to discuss the possibility of papers along these lines.

On reference style for papers for either track: You may use either a variation of the “Harvard” style or APA (American Psychological Association), with parenthetical in-text citations, or a more traditional bibliographic style – as reflected in the *Chicago Manual of Style* or MLA (Modern Language Association). The main point is to be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. I want a separate bibliography even if you use a traditional footnoting style. I strongly prefer footnotes to endnotes. They make a paper easier to read.

Paper Due Date (for either track): December 18

Grading

The bulk of your grade consists of my evaluation of your paper and two presentations, weighted as follows:

Shorter presentation (requirement #2):	10%
Literature review or research paper presentation (#3):	20%
Paper:	70%

In addition, the quality and quantity of your contribution to class discussion will be an important factor in my evaluation of your performance in the course. Although I do not attach an explicit weight to this component of your grade, my judgments on this dimension may be decisive in any borderline case. I suspect that many of you will fall into this category.

TOPICAL OUTLINE

The number refers to the week of the term, beginning with the week of 5 September 2016. Letters refer to multiple topics each week. Depending on student selections of paper topics, we might need to move a few things around.

1. COURSE INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

Overviews of the Foreign Policy Analysis Field

Levels of Analysis Framework

The Agent-Structure Debate

2. EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

The Decision-Making Approach

The “Comparative Foreign Policy” Research Program

Other Early Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Issue-Areas

THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL

The Basic Paradigm

Expected Utility Theory

Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy? The Debate

Neoclassical Realism

3. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I

The Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model

The March-Simon Research Program on Organizational Theory

Other Approaches to Organizational Theory

Agenda Setting

Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications

Organizational Reform

Evaluations of the Bureaucratic/Organizational Model

4. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - II

The Decision Unit Approach
 Rationalist Institutionalism
 Executive Autonomy
 Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
 Civil-Military Relations
 Comparative Perspectives
 The U.S. Congress
 U.S. Constitutional Issues
 The U.S. State Department

METHODOLOGICAL INTERLUDE: CAUSATION, CASE STUDIES, AND
 COUNTERFACTUALS

5. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I

General Approaches
 The Foreign Policy of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
 The Foreign Policies of Autocracies
 Social Identity Theory
 The Diversionary Theory of War
 Political Oppositions
 Other Approaches to Partisan Politics and Foreign Policy
 Public Opinion
 Audience Costs
 The Media

6. No class.

7. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS

Neo-Marxist Theories
 The Military-Industrial Complex
 Interest Groups and Coalitional Politics
 Applications: the First World War
 Application: the 1930s
 Sectional Explanations
 Ethnic Groups
 Debates over *The Israeli Lobby*

8. IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES

"Ideas"

Ideology

Religion

Culture

Empirical Applications

Strategic Culture

Constructivist Approaches

The "Story Model"

Feminist Approaches

Psychology and Constructivism

Honor, Respect, Recognition, Humiliation, and Status

 Theoretical Background

 Applications to International Relations and Foreign Policy

 Social Comparison

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - I

Introduction to Political Psychology

Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Contemporary Theories of Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews

Beliefs and Images

Operational Code

Cognitive Biases

 Overconfidence

Emotions and Motivations

 From Social Psychology

 Anger

Methodological Issues in the Study of Psychological Models

10. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - II

LEARNING

Bayesian Updating

"Psychological" Models of Learning

Organizational Learning

Learning: Empirical Applications

Other Models of Foreign Policy Change

PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY

General Theoretical Approaches to Personality

Applied Personality Studies

Psychobiography

Alexander George's Research Program on Presidential Personality

Psychoanalytic Studies of Decisions for War

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS

Political Leadership

Advisory Groups and Management Style

SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR

Overview

Groupthink and Beyond

11. BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY

Introduction

Useful Anthologies

Heuristics and Biases

Prospect Theory

Framing

Aspiration Levels

Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment

Dollar Auction Model

Other Models of Risk Behavior

Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice

Construal-Level Theory

Poliheuristic Theory

Dual Process Theories

Gender Differences in Decision-Making

Evolutionary Psychology, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Biopolitics

12. THREAT PERCEPTION, CRISIS DECISION-MAKING, AND BARGAINING

Threat Perception and Intelligence Failure

Intelligence Failure: Case Studies

Crisis Decision-Making

The Impact of Stress

Psychology of Bargaining

Psychology of Conflict Resolution

13. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING
Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Politics

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING

General

Europe

The European Union

Russia

Small States and Developing States

14. RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester; letter indicates multiple topics in a given week.
Asterisk (*) denotes required reading.

Note: The additional reading, beyond the asterisked required reading, is not really “recommended,” but instead a guide for those writing papers on a particular topic. I hope this analytically organized bibliography of the field of Foreign Policy Analysis will be helpful in your future research and teaching.

1. **COURSE INTRODUCTION** (September 6)
Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

- 1a. **Overviews of the Foreign Policy Analysis Field**
 - * Valerie M. Hudson, “Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations.” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1, 1 (March 2005): 1-30.
 - Walter Carlsnaes, "Foreign Policy." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*. 2nd ed. London: Sage, 2013. Pp. 298-325.
 - Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014. Chap. 1.
 - Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History*, 13, 1 (Winter 1989), 15-43.
 - Jean A. Garrison, ed., “Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium.” *International Studies Review*, 5, 2 (June 2003): 155-202.
 - Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." *Review of International Studies*, 12, 1 (January 1986), 13-29.
 - Steve Smith, "Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 16, 2 (Summer 1987), 345-48.
 - Marijke Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007.
 - Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.
 - Eugene Meehan, "The Concept 'Foreign Policy.'" In William Hanrieder, ed., *Comparative Foreign Policy*. New York: David McKay, 1971. Chap. 9.
 - Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. NY: Palgrave, 2003.

1b. **Levels of Analysis Framework**

- * Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. chap. 1
- * Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 1.
- * Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 14-20.
- * G. John Ikenberry, David A. Lake, and Michael Mastanduno, "Introduction: Approaches to Explaining American Foreign Economic Policy." *International Organization*, 42, 1 (Winter 1988): 1-14.

J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations." *World Politics* 14, 1 "The International System: Theoretical Essays" (October 1961): 77-92.

Barry Buzan, "The Levels of Analysis Problem in IR Reconsidered." In Ken Booth and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theory Today*. London: Polity Press, 1994.

Arnold Wolfers, "The Actors in International Politics," in Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962. Chap. 1.

James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In R. B. Farrell, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966.

1c. **The Agent-Structure Debate**

Alexander E. Wendt, "The agent-structure problem in international relations theory." *International Organization* 41 (Summer 1987):335-70.

David Dessler, "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization*, 43 (1989): 441-73.

Walter Carlsnaes, "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis." *International Studies Quarterly*, 36 (September 1992), pp. 245-70.

Gil Friedman and Harvey Starr, *Agency, Structure, and International Relations: From Ontology to Empirical Inquiry*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

2. **EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS**
(September 13)

2a. **The Decision-Making Approach**

* Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1961. Chap. 20.

James N. Rosenau, "The Premises and Promises of Decision-Making Analysis." In Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*. Rev. ed. London: Francis Pinter, 1980. Chap. 12.

Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Richard C. Snyder, and Glenn D. Paige, "The United States Decision to Resist Aggression in Korea: The Application of an Analytical Scheme." In Rosenau, *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (1961), ch. 21.

Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Touchstone for International Relations Theory in the Twenty-First Century." In Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, *Foreign Policy Decision-Making (Revisited)*. New York: Palgrave, 2002. Pp. 1-20.

Joe D. Hagan, "Does Decision Making Matter? Systematic Assumptions vs. Historical Reality in International Relations Theory." *International Studies Review*, 3, 2 (Summer 2001), 5-46.

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework." *American Political Science Review*, 57 (1963), 632-42.

Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, Jr. (2010) *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

2b. **The "Comparative Foreign Policy" Research Program**

James N. Rosenau, "Comparative Foreign Policy: One-time Fad, Realized Fantasy, and Normal Field." In James N. Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. London: Frances Pinter, 1980. Chap. 5.

James N. Rosenau, "Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy." In R. B. Farrell, ed., *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966; also in Rosenau, *Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, ch. 6.

Harvey Starr, "Rosenau, Pre-Theories and the Evolution of the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy." *International Interactions* 14, 1 (1988):3-15.

James N. Rosenau, ed., *Linkage Politics*. New York: Free Press, 1969.

Wolfram F. Hanrieder, ed. *Comparative Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. New York: David McKay, 1971.

- Charles W. Kegley, Jr., ed. *International Events and the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1975.
- Maurice A. East, Stephen A. Salmore, and Charles F. Hermann, eds., *Why Nations Act*. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage, 1978.
- Charles F. Hermann, Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and James N. Rosenau, eds. *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.
- James N. Rosenau, "Comparing Foreign Policies: What, Why, How." in Rosenau, ed., *Comparing Foreign Policies*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1974.
- James N. Rosenau, "CFP and IPE: The Anomaly of Mutual Boredom." *International Interactions* 14, 1 (1988): 17-26.
- Michael Brecher, Blema Steinberg, and Janice G. Stein. "A Framework for Research on Foreign Policy Behavior." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 13 (March 1969):75-101.
- International Studies Notes*, 13, 2 (Spring 1987). Special Issue on "The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy."

2c. **Other Early Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis**

- James N. Rosenau, ed. *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York, Free Press, 1961.
- James N. Rosenau, ed. *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. New York, Free Press, 1969.
- Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Roy C. Macridis, *Foreign Policy in World Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1958.
- Warner R. Schilling, Paul Y. Hammond, and Glenn H. Snyder, *Strategy, Politics, and Defense Budgets*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Common Defense*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. ch. 9
- Bernard C. Cohen, *The Political Process and Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, "Types of Decision-Making," in Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press, 1969. Chap. 20.
- Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

2d. **Issue-Areas**

James N. Rosenau, "Foreign Policy as an Issue-Area," in James N. Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, chap. 17; or Rosenau, ed., *Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*, chap. 2.

William Zimmerman, "Issue-Areas and Foreign Policy Processes." *American Political Science Review* 67 (December 1973):1204-12.

Richard W. Mansbach and John A. Vasquez, *In Search of Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981. Chap. 2-3.

Matthew Evangelista, "Issue-area and foreign policy revisited." *International Organization* 43 (Winter 1989):147-71.

THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL

2e. **The Basic Paradigm**

* Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, 3 (September 1969): 689-718. Pp. 689-96 only.

* James G. March, "Limited Rationality." In March, *A Primer on Decision Making: How Decisions Happen*. New York: Free Press, 1994. Chap. 1 (plus the short preface to *Primer*, in a separate pdf)

* Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 130-33 only.

David A. Lake and Robert Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic Choice Approach." In Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 1999. Intro & chap. 1-2.

John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. Chap. 1-2.

2f. **Expected Utility Theory**

James D. Morrow, *Game Theory for Political Scientists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chap. 2.

Robyn M. Dawes, *Rational Choice in an Uncertain World*. San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1988. Chap. 8.

2g. **Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory**

- Robert Abrams, "Arrow's General Possibility Theorem." In Abrams, *Foundations of Political Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Chap. 2.
- Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. Pp. 12-18.

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

2h. **Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy: The Debate**

- * Colin Elman, "Why *Not* Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies*, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53. Plus Waltz reply and Elman response.
- Shibley Telhami, "Kenneth Waltz, Neorealism, and Foreign Policy," *Security Studies*, 11, 3 (2002), 158-170.

2i. **Neoclassical Realism**

- * Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016. Intro & chap. 1-3.
- Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Including
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Tuesday, **November 22**, has been designated as a Thursday at Rutgers. No class.

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