**University of Southern California School of International Relations**

***Foreign Policy Analysis***

IR 341 Fall 2016 Professor Steven Lamy

Monday and Wednesday ADM 304 and VKC 315 (TA Office)

Seminar 2-3:20 THH 210 Office Hours: By appointment and weekly discussions

*The changing contemporary environment, however, has given extra force to one particular normative issue which has always existed between the interstices of foreign policy, namely how much responsibility to take for shaping the lives of others outside one’s own society, and for the international milieu as a whole. Although states vary in what they can do, and view the matter through the lens of self-interest, this is a perpetual ethical challenge for every foreign policy.*

**Christopher Hill**

*Only in the post-Cold War period did the internal affairs of other countries become the primary focus. This is what made the period distinctive. What had been a hobby became a full-time job.*

**Michael Mandelbaum**

This is the only case-based course in the School of International Relations and the core course in the subfield of foreign policy analysis. It is an exploration of foreign policy issues and tools of statecraft: *carrots, sticks and sermons*. We also explore some of the normative challenges facing states or what Stanley Hoffman called *duties beyond borders*. This is an *active learning* course that requires that you come to class every session prepared to participate. Every class session is an exam of sorts. You will be called on and you must take an active role in our discussions. If this is a problem, you should consider finding another course where you will be a *spectator* rather than a *gladiator*. ***You may not earn any points for a case study discussion if you miss any part of the discussion.***

We will read and ***inhabit*** stories that introduce the idea that foreign policy includes diplomacy and soft power, as well as coercive diplomacy and the use of force or hard power. Still, the nature of our international system has encouraged states to never give up the desire or need to use force. These cases or stories often refer to the uncertainty in the international system and the dangers inherent in a world made-up of close to 200 states-all trying to secure their national interests and all concerned with the relative gains of others. The pursuit of national interests often comes at the expense of human interests and it is that tension that defines many of the challenges faced by states. In this quest for both material and ideational national interests, state leaders often ignore the consequences of their decisions on those who live beyond their borders. We live in what John Ikenberry and others call a *liberal international order* but that order is being challenged by a variety of state and nonstate actors and by a greater number of policy prescriptions based on theories and ideas representing every culture and intellectual tradition around the world. In terms of both hard and soft power, most would argue that the US is still the most powerful country in the world. It is the single most important “rule-making” power and its activism is an essential element of world order. In general, the great powers are essential for maintaining the institutions that are critically important for global and regional governance. Germany and France are critical actors for Europe; Japan and China for Asia and South Africa and Nigeria for Africa. All states have a *niche* based on their national interests and national narratives that are defined by history, political culture, geography, domestic politics and the preferences and beliefs of key leaders or elites. In this course, we will explore those factors that shape the articulation of national interests and foreign policy choices. We will try to understand and explain why states do what they do and also how choices are influenced by the expectations of internal and external actors.

*To understand the prospects for war or peace, prosperity or economic depression in the 21st century, we need to understand how and why great powers altered their goals in this system.* **Robert Pastor**

We will look at the interaction of variables at all *four levels of analysis*. The preferences and beliefs of individuals matter but so do domestic political structures and electoral games. To illustrate, US domestic debates have global implications. The current Obama Administration came in with the promise to significantly shift our foreign policy priorities and style from Neoconservative militarism, unilateralism and empire building to a strategy of *pragmatic* *meliorism* aimed at reestablishing US leadership in a liberal international system governed by rules primarily reflecting US interests. The world seemed to welcome the return of the US to its leadership role in global institutions but critics like Andrew Bacevich suggest that the current US foreign policy is based on “*an unfathomable combination of naïveté and listlessness-grandiose talk seldom translating into concerted action*”. One of our tasks is to understand why someone would make such a statement and what evidence supports such a statement.

The primary purpose of the course is to introduce students to the skills associated with **foreign policy** **analysis** and **evaluation**. Students are introduced to middle-range theories and analytical approaches used to explain the behavior of states in the international system. These theories are derived from the traditional “levels of analysis” and more positivist approaches to analysis. The course also reviews constructivist and critical analytical approaches that challenge some of the positivist assumptions about what factors might shape foreign policy behavior.

*Explaining is concerned with identifying what caused a particular event or state of affairs. Understanding involves a search not so much for the cause of an event as for its meaning.*

**Ngaire Woods**

The course includes a number of theoretical and policy studies; however, most of the course time is spent on ***inhabiting* decision-making situations presented in retrospective** **and decision-forcing cases**. The cases enable students to learn about decision-making in foreign policy and to understand how leaders are influenced in the decisions that they reach.

***What is a case study?***

*A teaching case is a story, describing or based on actual events and circumstances, that is told with a definite teaching purpose in mind and that rewards careful study and analysis.* **L. Lynn (1998)**

We will discuss/inhabit about 15 case studies and 12 will count toward your final grade. Great cases have ***PDQ: Personalities, Drama and Quotations*** from key actors and the cases that we have chosen for the course offer rich stories that we will use to identify both analytical and policy lessons. Case courses provide an opportunity for students to explore how individuals representing states make decisions and how factors at various levels shape the decision-process in all states.

# Course Learning Objectives

1. Students will develop a more thorough understanding of the theoretical literature in foreign policy analysis and evaluation.

2. Students will apply these theories as they explore several foreign policy issue areas through case studies.

3. Students will practice critical thinking and will be expected to express their views in both written exercises and case discussions.

4. Students will develop a familiarity with issues that define current events and issues that in turn help to define the foreign policy agenda for all nation-states and other non-state actors.

5. Students will develop a research plan and write a foreign policy case using both primary and secondary sources.

The course is divided into **three sections**. In the **first section**, we will discuss a map of the foreign policy process that could be used for comparative analysis. You will be introduced to the various parts of the foreign policy process: ***articulation, formulation,*** ***implementation, and evaluation***. We will apply the map to a discussion of the foreign policy process in small, middle and great powers. Most importantly, we will look at rule-making states because their foreign policy choices seem to have the greatest impact on global conditions and world order.

Major Learning Goal: A general understanding of the processes of foreign policy and the priorities and issues that define the agenda of core or rule-making states, especially the US but also other major powers, middle powers and small states.

In **section two**, we return to the *analytical tools*. Here we explore several *middle-range* theories that one can use to explain the actions of states in the international system. The *agent-structure* debate has caused some scholars to question the utility of *levels of analysis*. It is still a good starting point as long as the student considers issue context and the complexity of the decision-making process. We will review both ***constructivist*** and ***critical theories*** and their views on foreign policy analysis.

Major Learning Goal: Mastering middle range theories, interpretive approaches and critical theories that might prove useful to explain and understand foreign policy decisions and non-decisions.

The **third section** of this course focuses on methods for evaluating foreign policy decision-making. It seems that everyone has an opinion about policy-making and those responsible for making policy- both public officials and leaders of significant private actors such as NGOs and TNEs. How do we evaluate their actions? What standards do we use? How do we know we have a good foreign policy? Here we focus on the Neustadt and May study, **Thinking in Time**. This is their attempt to analyze and evaluate past US decision cases and thereby improve our ability to make good decisions. We also look at other strategies for policy evaluation.

Major Learning Goal: Finding ways to move from usual decision-making to critical and creative decision-making. Learning to evaluate foreign policy decision-making

In addition to mainstream realist and neorealist issues of war, crisis and general security threats, we will *inhabit* cases that deal with human security and social justice issues. You will be encouraged to explore these issues as you research and write your own case study.

Major Learning Goal: Consider alternatives to traditional realist thinking and explore a wider agenda for foreign policy.

Much of this class is about learning to think by practicing careful and thoughtful analysis of very complex issues. We will also spend a great deal of time thinking about critical thinking and decision-making in a competitive, uncertain and turbulent world. You may learn that good decision-making requires thoughtful and careful thinking, but, it also requires that you experience, through cases and stories, the elements of decision-making and *what is entailed in being a leader, and what* *can go wrong, as well as right.* Howard Gardner (1995) calls this type of knowledge a “*consciousness about the issues and paradoxes of leadership”.*

This class will ask you to think about what you know and what you may need to know to participate and lead in a ***global economy, a transnational political system and a multicultural global society.***

# Required Texts

Available via Amazon or other Internet bookshops and used copies should be available.

In order of reading:

Smith, Hadfield and Dunne, **Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors and Cases**

(Oxford 2012) Second edition or third edition but the second would be best.

Neustadt and May, **Thinking in Time** (Free Press 1968) we will read sections of this book. You may want to look for used books or read sections that I put on Blackboard.

There are a number of reserve readings that I will put on electronic reserve. I will also put several copies in my office that you may checkout and return in reasonable time. Please do not take these readings. **I do not expect you to do all the reserve readings, but you might find them useful as we discuss case studies and you write your own cases.**

# Case Studies

Case studies are all from the Kennedy School at Harvard and readings are selected for their theoretical and policy relevance and the richness of the case stories. Every effort is made to include cases that discuss the foreign policy process in rich-poor and small, middle and large states. Section three of Smith, Hadfield and Dunne has 11 case studies and we will also discuss a few of these.

# You may purchase these cases in a single reader at the USC Bookstore or on-line individually. Among the cases we will discuss are the following:

*Harvard-Kennedy School Case Studies( Numbers may differ as they have changed their system)*

C15-99-1546.0

Politics of a Covert Action: The US, the Mujahideen, and the Stinger Missile

C14-98-1425.0

The Decision to Denuclearize: How Ukraine Became a Non-Nuclear-Weapons State

CR16-06-1851.0

Emergency Response to a Long Term Crisis? MSF and HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia

2018.0

Hero or Traitor? Edward Snowden and the NSA Spying Program

2023.0

Nuclear Power and the Language of Diplomacy: Negotiating a Game-Changing Nuclear Trade Agreement with India

C15-06-1853.0

Defining Torture in the War on Terror ( Parts A and B)

C16-06-1854.1

Defining Torture in the war on Terror. Sequel

1991. 0

United States and Thailand: Diplomatic Wrangles in the War on Human Trafficking

C 18-95-1297.0

Carrots, Sticks, and Question Marks: Negotiating the North Korean Nuclear Crisis (Part A).

# C 125-96-1356.0

Getting to Dayton: Negotiating an End to the War in Bosnia.

# C 16-94-1264.0

The Gulf Crisis: Building a Coalition for War.

**1662.0**

Credible Warnings or False Alarms? What the U.S. knew on September 10, 2001.

**1613.0**

Debt Relief for Poor Nations: The Battle for Congress.

# C 16-90-1019.0

Keeping the Cold War Cold: Dick Cheney at the DOD.

**C-15-04-1778.0**

Smarter Foreign Aid? USAID’s Global Development Alliance

**CR14-09-1905.0**

Blessed are the Peacemakers: Senator Danforth as a Special Envoy to the Sudan

**C15-00-1585.0**

Testing the Reach of International Law: the Effort to Extradite General Augusto Pinochet to Spain

**CR15-06-1834.3**

The Accidental Statesman: General Petraeus and the City of Mosul, Iraq

**C15-06-1834.1**

The Accidental Statesman: Epilogue

**We will not have enough time to discuss all of these cases but they all provide useful examples of decision-making situations**

* Film as Case Studies

*Breaker Morant: an evening event with some food and a discussion*

At the end of the semester, we will also have two to four optional sessions to allow you and your fellow students some time to teach your case studies.

# Course Requirements

Case essays: you will complete 12 analytical essays after each case study…60%

Thinking on your feet and analytical quality of your oral presentations during our case discussions…10%

**Read the final two pages of this syllabus for information on how your participation will be graded.**

Original Case Study…30%

Topic and Outline of your foreign policy story due on Wednesday, Sept. 14th

You may submit as many drafts as you wish and we will have sessions to help you develop this as a ***publishable quality*** case study

**No computers:** There is no need for you to have a computer or smart phone in this class. I need your full attention and studies done at MIT and Stanford suggest that you cannot effectively multi-task. Something suffers and it is primarily the need to listen and think about our course materials.

**Case Culture**: this course is NOT like most USC courses. You are expected to be at each session. In fact, I would count on being penalized a point for every class that you miss. Asking you to be somewhere for about 3 hours a week is not a burden. There are no make-ups if you miss a case study! ***You may not submit a case essay unless you participate in the case discussion***

You are asked to participate in every class. You will be called on!

You are expected to arrive to class on time. If I have begun the case, you are late and will not be able to submit the case assignment.

You will have ***one point*** deducted from the assignment for every day the essays are late.

# *Your final case study is due December 9th*

Case writing sessions will be held most weeks on Wednesday at 5PM, a room will be announced soon. The TA and I will work with you in these writing sessions. We will create writing groups based on the topic of your case study. There will be an opportunity for you to share your ideas with your peers and to get written and oral feedback.

**Course Schedule**

**Introduction to the Course and the Case Method**

* Session One/August 22th: Course Objectives, Review of Assignments and a discussion of active learning. Learning Styles and Thinking Skills

Read the Axworthy and Dunne cases in *Foreign Policy*

Check out the *ABCs of Case Teaching* on the Georgetown ISD web page

Read Chapter I in Neustadt and May: how might you improve decision-making?

Smith et al, ***Foreign Policy***, Chapter 13

**Section I: Mapping, Analysis, and Evaluation of Foreign Policy**

* Session Two/August 24th: We learn by sharing stories so what do you know? How do you organize your understanding of international relations to date?

Axworthy and Dunne cases/ an analysis of each and a practicing of case discussions

What makes a good case study and possible topics for your case study that provides an understanding of the foreign policy process and introduces conceptual and policy relevant information

***Wednesday @ 5***: When there are no other commitments-Wednesday @5 will be an open discussion focusing on foreign policy and your work in the class. This first session will look at possible case topics.

* Session Three/August 29th: History of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) and the major theoretical traditions

Smith, ***Foreign Policy***, Section I/Chapters 1-5

Case #1: *Hero or Traitor?* *Snowden and the NSA Spying Program*

* Session Four-August 31st: Applying analytical and policy lessons from chapters 1-5

Case #2: *The Gulf Crisis*

**Wednesday@5: Case Study topics**

**Section II: Foreign Policy Analysis: middle range theory**

*Part A: Individual level of analysis/ the importance of decision-makers*

**Questions to explore in this section as we discuss cases:**

How important are individual attributes in shaping foreign policy?

Is it possible for foreign policy leaders to behave as rational actors?

What happens to foreign policy decision-making during a crisis situation?

What analytical approach, in your opinion, is most elegant, parsimonious, and powerful?

Is the entire process of decision-making becoming increasingly complex so as to minimize the importance of individuals?

Does the complexity actually make individuals more important in shaping the behavior of states?

When do individual level variables matter most? How important are individuals in your case?

***Labor Day Holiday September 5th***

* Session Five-September 7th: Explaining foreign policy: decision-makers

Read two cases in **Foreign Policy**: Chapters 18 and 20

**Wednesday @5: Case Study topics**

* Session Six- September 12th: Level One Analytical Approaches

Lamy 210ers-review Handout 21

***Foreign Policy***, Chapters six and seven

* Session Seven-September 14th: Case #3: *Keeping the Cold War Cold*

Book Contest: USC versus Stanford

* Session Eight-September 19th: Case# 4: *Blessed are the Peacemakers*

***Wednesday@5: Breaker Morant-Part I***

* Session Nine-September 21st: Assessment of cases and readings🡪Lessons from case studies including the importance of the individual level attributes in the analysis of foreign policy decisions.

*Rationality or bounded rationality? Beliefs, narratives and cultural cognition?*

*Do we ignore facts that challenge our beliefs?*

* Session Ten-September 26th: Case # 5: *Getting to Dayton*
* Session Eleven-September 28th: *Getting to Dayton* (continued)

What are the attributes of a great diplomat?

Compare with Lloyd Axworthy case in ***Foreign Policy***-Chapter 15

***Wednesday@5: Breaker Morant-part two***

* Session Twelve-October 3rd: Case #6: *The Accidental Statesman: General Petraeus and the City of Mosul*

*Part B: Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy*

**Questions to Explore in this Section:**

As you review the actions of states, do you see patterns of behavior that could be attributed to domestic factors alone?

Is the internal political structure a good guide to the content of foreign policy?

Does a state’s history matter?

Can we explain most foreign policy by understanding the “nested games“ of domestic politics?

The foreign policy of a state must always reflect the values of the majority or it will be rejected? True?

How important are external actors in shaping internal or domestic forces that influence foreign policy?

How important is political culture in shaping foreign policy?

How is domestic policy influenced by this system change?

What are some of the major conflicts within a state’s foreign policy-making process?

What international factors help shape the foreign policy agenda in most states, regardless of their size and status?

Who determines a state’s national interest? Are the actors changing? Is national interest changing?

Constructivists recognize the importance of norms, values and ideas in shaping foreign policies. How would they explain the foreign policy strategies of large, middle and small powers?

What is the role of history, tradition and dominant narratives?

*For the interpretive social scientist, explanations for political action follow an empathetic understanding of the intentions of the actors involved in devising and implementing programs and the social meanings that underpin that activity.* Bevir and Daddow

* Session Thirteen-October 5th: Domestic Sources: Attributes, Structures, and Politics

***Foreign Policy***, Chapters 8,9,10 and 11

**Wednesday @5: TA will run this one**

* Session Fourteen-October 10th: ***Foreign Policy***, Chapter 16

Case # 7:*Politics of Covert Action*

* Session Fifteen-October 12th: Case # 8: *Debt Relief for Poor Nations: the Battle for Congress*

**Wednesday@5: Questions and cases**

* Session Sixteen-October 17th: Case # 9: Torture cases (A, B and sequel)

***Foreign Policy***, Chapter 12

* Session Seventeen-October 19th: Interpreting Foreign policy-explaining and understanding the Bush/Cheney torture policies
* Session Eighteen-October 24th: Challenging traditions-policy innovations

Case #10: *Smarter Foreign Aid*

***Foreign Policy,*** Chapters 4 and 5

Session Nineteen-October 26th: Case #11: *The Decision to Denuclearize*

*Part C: System and Global Factors*

**Questions to Explore in this Section:**

Is it fair to say that structural realists are correct? Is foreign policy shaped by the structure of the system?

Does international law matter?

How important are international regimes in influencing foreign policy?

What impact does the world economy have on foreign policy?

Do international and global factors constrain foreign policies only when they are reinforced by existing domestic factors?

Can states keep the world out? Can national leaders act as gatekeepers and minimize the importance of external factors?

How important are global social movements and the global culture as shapers of foreign policies?

What is globalization and how does it influence foreign policy?

Has globalization made “ achieving national interest” an unachievable goal?

* Session Twenty-November 2nd: System Level Factors: Regimes, International Order and Global Governance

***Foreign Policy*,** Chapters 11, 21, 23 and 24

* Session Twenty-one-November 2nd

Case # 12: *Testing the Reach of International Law: The Effort to Extradite General Pinochet*

**Wednesday@5: Career Talk**

* Session Twenty-two-November 7th: Case # 13 *Credible Warnings and False Alarms*
* Session Twenty-three-November 9th: Case discussion continued

**Wednesday@5: Career talk**

* Session Twenty-four-November 14th: Case #14: *Nuclear Power and the Language of Diplomacy*

**III. Section Three: Evaluating Decision-making**

Session Twenty-five-November 16th: good and bad decision-making-analogical reasoning and learning from the past

Readings: Neustadt and May, ***Thinking in Time-cases and methods***

* Session Twenty-six-November 21st : Neustadt and May discussion continued

***Thanksgiving Holiday***

* Session Twenty-seven-November 28th:

Case #16: *Carrots, Sticks and Question Marks*

**Wednesday@5: Your Case Studies**

* Session Twenty-eight-November 30th: MSF and HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia-a fourth level case

Student Case Teaching Sessions will be held in early December before the 9th. You get valuable feedback and you can earn five points if you teach your case.

***Your case study is due December 9th at 5PM***

***Keeping-up the Pace:***

A case class requires participation every session. You must practice thinking clearly on your feet. This is a good time to practice articulating your position on complex and controversial issues. Representing your views in public and in large or small groups is essential to your future success in the public or private sector. We will be grading your oral contributions and I will stop and correct you if you sound like a street-smart dunce.

**Grading Your Cases**

The case that you will be writing will be evaluated as follows:

- Quality of research: the emphasis should be on primary sources such as government documents, speeches, interviews, etc.

- Analytical lessons in the case

- Quality of writing

- Value as a foreign policy teaching case and relevance to course

- Creativity

**Grading Your Participation in Case Discussions**

We will not grade your participation on feelings or subjective factors. After each case discussion, I will sit down with the Teaching Assistant and review every student with the following four categories in mind:

1. Substance

a. Was the answer correct?

b. Did the response clearly address the question with information from the case?

c. Does the student understand the case?

d. Does the student link case information with other readings?

2. Critical Listening

a. Does the student link comments with points made by other students?

b. Does the comment advance the discussion or pull it back?

c. Relevance

3. Creativity and Critical Thinking

a. Does the student take the discussion to a new unexplored and unexpected area?

b. Has the student considered all relevant perspectives?

4. Clarity

a. Is the response clear, concise and understandable?

b. Did the student use appropriate and polite language?

***Use these evaluation points to prepare for each case discussion***.

USC Statement on Disabilities:

Students requesting academic accommodations based on disability are required to register with Disability Services and programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP when adequate documentation is filed. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me-NOT the TA as early as possible. DSP is in STU 301, call 213-740-0776.

**Academic Integrity-Refer to SCampus**

General principles of academic integrity include and incorporate the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one’s own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another’s work as one’s own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. Faculty members may include additional classroom and assignment policies, as articulated on their syllabus.

The following are examples of violations of these and other university standards.

#### 11.11

A. The submission of material authored by another person but represented as the student’s own work, whether that material is paraphrased or copied in verbatim or near-verbatim form.

B. The submission of material subjected to editorial revision by another person that results in substantive changes in content or major alteration of writing style.

C. Improper acknowledgment of sources in essays or papers.