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

 ***Foreign Policy Analysis***

IR 341 Fall 2018 Professor Steven Lamy

Monday and Wednesday VKC 361D

Seminar 2-3:20 THH 208 Office Hours: By appointment and weekly discussions

*Americans need a sense of modesty about the virtue, wisdom and power available to us for the resolution of history’s perplexities.* **Reinhold Niebuhr**

*A man is always a teller of tales, he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others, he sees everything that happens to him through them; and he tries to live his life as if he were recounting it.*  **Jean Paul Sartre**

This is the only case-based course in the School of International Relations that is left over from a major project in *diplomatic training* funded by the Pew Foundation in the 1990s. This is also 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*.

We will read or ***inhabit*** stories that introduce the idea that foreign policy includes diplomacy, negotiations and agreements, as well as coercive diplomacy and the use of force or *hard power.* On the normative side, the power of a narrative and the attractiveness of a nation-state’s values and ideas or *soft power* remain important sources of influence. 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. The biggest challenge maybe coming from the Trump Administration who has proven to a disrupter and not a friend of the liberal world order. Yet, 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 has been 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, South Korea 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, the formulation of policy and the implementation of 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**

You will be introduced to a variety of analytical approaches to explain state behavior-both material and ideational factors will be presented as potential causal factors. Our emphasis will be on two approaches: a traditional social science approach that looks at the interaction of variables at all *four levels of analysis* and a more *interpretive approach* that looks at the traditions, beliefs and values of political elites as determinants of decision-making. 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 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 suggested that Obama’s foreign policy was 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. What about the Trump Administration? How do explain his *America First* policy and his disruption of the rules of the liberal system? Is it a return to selective engagement, neo-isolationism, restraint or simply an undermining of 70 plus years of world order? How do we identify the factors that shape Trump’s foreign policy grand strategy? What narratives are being used to legitimate his actions?

In sum, the primary purpose of the course is to introduce students to the skills associated with **foreign policy** **analysis (explaining and understanding)** and **evaluation** of the decision-making process as well as the policy choices.

*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?***

Cases used in international relations courses are stories or narratives about decision-making in public or private organizations. *Teaching cases* are not the same as *research cases*. Lynn (1999:15-16) discusses the differences:

 *Research cases may be used to illustrate appropriate, typical, or exemplary decision-making: Here is what good work or good management looks like. But research cases are not useful in teaching critical thinking skills because the thinking has already been done, the findings already reached, the conclusions already included in the case.*

 Lyn suggests that a research case is like a lecture with the problem and the answers all neatly presented to the students instead of not giving them a chance to explore alternative explanations and make a choice about what action to take in response to a policy problem or issue. A teaching case does not present the right way to do things or push a particular approach to a problem. A teaching case:

 *Provides the students with issues, problems, choices, and information and expects the student to come up with solutions and proposed actions using the information in the case.*

# 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 spend a good amount of time on an *interpretivist* approach with an emphasis on the importance of *narratives*. These narratives are largely established by elites or leaders acting under the influence of a particular historical background, as well as beliefs and traditions. These traditions are inherited beliefs and practices and dilemmas-which are critical for an *interpretivist* understanding of decision-making –are the confrontation of existing beliefs and practices with new ideas and circumstances. Narratives compete and dominant narratives may change.

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 well-know study 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 the USC Bookstore, Amazon or other Internet bookshops and used copies should be available.

In order of reading:

Smith, Hadfield and Dunne, ***Foreign Policy*** (Oxford Press, 2016)

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 Blackboard. **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 mostly 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. Most of the Kennedy School cases are focused on US examples.

# You may purchase these cases in a single reader at the USC Bookstore or on-line individually from Harvard. 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

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

**HKS 2118.0**

Negotiating Toward the Paris Accords

 **HKS 1142**

Setting the Standard for Free Trade: The Making of Transatlantic Trade and Investment

 Partnership

 **HKS 740**

The Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill

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%

An initial topic and outline of your foreign policy story due on ***Wednesday, September 5th***

This must include a discussion of the foreign policy lessons and the phase or phases of the foreign policy process that the case will cover.

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

**No Computers in our case discussions:** 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. Plus, I do not want to contribute to your addiction.

**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. Please take care of your personal needs before class. Getting up and leaving class in the middle of a case discussion will have an impact on your grade. Also, no food when we are discussing a case study.

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

# *Your final case study is due on Friday, December 7th*

Case writing sessions will be held most weeks on depending on the interest level.

**Course Schedule**

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

* Session One/August 20th: Course Objectives, Review of Assignments and a discussion of active learning. Learning Styles and Thinking Skills

 *Readings:* Practice Case Studies

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

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

 Valerie Hudson, Chapter 1 in Smith et al.

 S. Lamy, *Teaching with Case Studies* (Blackboard)

Practice Case; *Deepwater Horizon or the Paris Accords*

* Session Two/August 22nd: Analytical Approaches or Explaining State Behavior

This is what you should have learned in IR 210: narratives and IR traditions (The English School) and analytical approaches and levels of analysis

*Readings*: Smith et al. Chapter 2 and 3

 S. Lamy, *Foreign Policy* in Global Politics (Blackboard)

* Session Three/August 27th: The Global Context: New Foreign Policy Challenges

Readings: Smith et al. Chapters 11, 12 and 13

* Session Four-August 29th: Case #1: *The Gulf Crisis*

 Learning about the four phases of foreign policy and many other lessons?

**Section II: Foreign Policy Analysis: middle range theories and analytical tools**

*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 3rd***

* Session Five-September 5th: Explaining foreign policy: decision-makers

 Case #2: L. Axworthy, Canada and The Antipersonnel Landmines (Smith text)

* Session Six- September 10th: Level One Analytical Approaches

 Lamy 210ers-review Handout 21

Readings:

Christopher Hill, The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy,

 Smith et al. Chapters 6 and 7

* Session Seven-September 12th: Case #3: *Keeping the Cold War Cold*
* Session Eight-September 17th: Case# 4: *Blessed are the Peacemakers*
* Session Nine-September 19th: Assessment of cases and reading:

Questions and concerns that you might have.

Lessons from case studies including the importance of the individual level attributes in the analysis of foreign policy decisions.

Some key questions:

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

*Do we ignore facts that challenge our beliefs?*

*How important are facts?*

* Session Ten-September 24th: Case # 5: *Getting to Dayton*
* Session Eleven-September 26th: *Getting to Dayton* (continued)

What are the attributes of a great diplomat? What are the critical skills that one needs to develop and practice to be an effective decision-maker? Consider our case studies: Dick Cheney,

Lloyd Axworthy, Senator Danforth and Richard Holbrooke

* Session Twelve-October 1st: Case #6: *Negotiating the Paris Accords*

*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 3rd: Domestic Sources: Attributes, Structures, and Politics

Readings:

Hill, Chapter 9. Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy

Smith et al. Chapters 10 and 16

* Session Fourteen-October 8th: Case # 7:*Politics of Covert Action*
* Session Fifteen-October 10th: Case # 8: *Debt Relief for Poor Nations: the Battle for Congress*
* Session Sixteen-October 15th: Case # 9: *Torture* cases (A, B and sequel)
* Session Seventeen-October 17th  Overflow and Lessons for case studies
* Session Eighteen-October 22nd :Challenging traditions-policy innovations

Case #10: *Smarter Foreign Aid*

* Session Nineteen-October 24th : Case #11: *Setting the Standard in Free Trade*

*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-October 29th: System Level Factors: Regimes, International Order and Global Governance

*Readings:*

Mandelbaum, Chapter 6 (Blackboard)

Hill, *Living in the Anarchical Society* (Blackboard)

Anne-Marie Slaughter, *The Chess Board and the Web* (Yale 2017) Chapter 1, 2 and 9

(Blackboard)

Smith et al. Chapters 18, 20 and 22

* Session Twenty-one: October 31st: Case # 12: *Testing the Reach of International Law: The Effort to Extradite General Pinochet*
* Session Twenty-two-November 5th: Case # 13- *Credible Warnings and False Alarms*

Session Twenty-three-November 7th: Case # 14- *Hero or Traitor? Edward Snowden and the NSA Spying Program*

* Session Twenty-four-November 12th: Debrief and Lessons

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

Session Twenty-Five-November 14th: 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 19th: Neustadt and May discussion continued

Including 2 case assignments (Case numbers 15 and 16th)

***Thanksgiving Holiday***

* Session Twenty-seven- November 26th -Case # 17: *Carrots, Sticks and Questions Marks*
* Session Twenty-Eight-November 28th : Lessons about foreign policy: What have we learned?

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

***Your case study is due December 7th 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 Official Messages that are required by the Provost to be on every syllabus.**

**Academic Conduct:**

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Part B, Section 11, “Behavior Violating University Standards” <https://policy.usc.edu/scampus-part-b/>.  Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable.  See additional information in *SCampus*and university policies on scientific misconduct, [http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct](http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/).

**Support Systems:**

*Student Counseling Services (SCS) - (213) 740-7711 – 24/7 on call*

Free and confidential mental health treatment for students, including short-term psychotherapy, group counseling, stress fitness workshops, and crisis intervention.<https://engemannshc.usc.edu/counseling/>

*National Suicide Prevention Lifeline - 1-800-273-8255*

Provides free and confidential emotional support to people in suicidal crisis or emotional distress 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. [http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=http-3A__www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org_&d=DwMFAg&c=clK7kQUTWtAVEOVIgvi0NU5BOUHhpN0H8p7CSfnc_gI&r=_36nnFETM-Q6pZ6iq9FbkRLnOqB2hAKf3hpB7emICZo&m=E2UsZJRCMqi9OEfKUeqk9Y1uY3eDgl_cjSeDni9P-3s&s=twu831aNHupJnoiSEzsXZ1lmq9yCzJvEv35V5v5dYAY&e=)

*Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention Services (RSVP) - (213) 740-4900 - 24/7 on call*

Free and confidential therapy services, workshops, and training for situations related to gender-based harm. <https://engemannshc.usc.edu/rsvp/>

*Sexual Assault Resource Center*

For more information about how to get help or help a survivor, rights, reporting options, and additional resources, visit the website:<http://sarc.usc.edu/>

*Office of Equity and Diversity (OED)/Title IX compliance – (213) 740-5086*

Works with faculty, staff, visitors, applicants, and students around issues of protected class.<https://equity.usc.edu/>

*Bias Assessment Response and Support*

Incidents of bias, hate crimes and microaggressions need to be reported allowing for appropriate investigation and response.<https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/bias-assessment-response-support/>

*Student Support & Advocacy – (213) 821-4710*

Assists students and families in resolving complex issues adversely affecting their success as a student EX: personal, financial, and academic.<https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/ssa/>

*Diversity at USC –* [*https://diversity.usc.edu/*](https://diversity.usc.edu/)

Tabs for Events, Programs and Training, Task Force (including representatives for each school), Chronology, Participate, Resources for Students