

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

(formally listed as Theoretical Explanations of Foreign Policy)

Pol Sci 530

Jack S. Levy
Hickman 304

732/932-1073 office

jacklevy@rci.rutgers.edu

Office Hours: after class and by appointment

Rutgers University

Spring 2010

In this seminar on foreign policy analysis we examine a variety of alternative theoretical explanations for how states formulate and implement their foreign policies. Our orientation 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.

We follow a loose a levels-of-analysis framework to organize our survey of the literature on alternative approaches to foreign policy analysis. We examine rational state actor, 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 most of our reading is American and although some of it deals explicitly and exclusively with American foreign policy, most of these conceptual frameworks are much more general and not restricted to the United States. One important underlying question is the extent to which hypotheses and models of foreign policy analysis can be generalized to other countries and cultures. In that sense this is a course in comparative foreign policy, and I encourage students to bring comparative perspectives to bear on class readings and discussions and in their papers. While our primary focus, following the literature, is on the behavior of states, we might also speculate about whether any of our models of foreign policy might also be applied to non-state actors, including terrorist organizations.

Any course must emphasize some things and deemphasize others. In this seminar, we focus primarily on internal rather than external variables, 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, we give only minimal attention to institutions such as the U.S. Departments of State or Defense, the National Security Council, or the Congress. This is due to time constraints, to my judgment that the field is now giving more attention to process models and to more general institutional models, and to an interest in more generalizable models of the foreign policy process that are valid across states. Third, we give significant emphasis to decision-making by top political leaders, both individual and collective, rationalist and non-rationalist. Fourth, there are more applications to the literature on security than political economy. This reflects the state of the literature on foreign policy analysis, but I encourage students with an interest in international political economy to think about how to apply decision-making models to their areas of interest. Finally, this syllabus might give a little more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis.

Readings

The following required books (all paperback) are available for purchase at the Rutgers University Bookstore in Ferren Mall.

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999.

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. There will be no formal reading packet, but all of the articles will be available at my Sakai site (<https://sakai.rutgers.edu/portal>).

Course Requirements:

We will organize our weekly meetings as follows. We will usually begin with my own introductory comments on a particular body of literature, though in weeks of student presentations my own remarks will be briefer. We will then move to an open discussion of the material, including any student presentations. 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.

Given the different backgrounds and goals of different members of the seminar, I have set up two alternative “tracks” or sets of requirements, a literature review track and a research track. You are free to select whichever track you prefer. I generally recommend, however, that IR majors planning to write a dissertation that involves some attention to how states formulate and implement their foreign policies (security, economic, human rights, environmental, etc.), especially those past their first year, write a research paper. I recommend that IR minors and those whose dissertation work is not likely to focus on how states formulate foreign policy adopt the literature review track. It is worth noting, however, that even a lot of system-level research includes a substantial foreign policy component, and that a case study of foreign policy making might nicely supplement a dissertation that employs a different methodology. 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**

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 a 20-25 page (double space, with single space footnotes and references) 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. Decision-making by sub-state organizations, non-governmental organizations, and inter-governmental organizations is also a viable topic as long as it has to do with international relations. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure approval in advance, both to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations (see below). I would be happy to talk to you about what topics make most sense given your background and objectives in the program.

The required and optional readings from the relevant section of the syllabus in many cases serve as a useful guide to the literature on any given topic, but please consult me for suggestions as to possible additions to the list (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the number of items is quite large) 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, not around a succession of books and articles. You should note the theoretical questions that this literature attempts to answer, identify the key concepts and causal arguments, note 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. If you are uncertain as to what I am looking for in a critical review, I would be happy to make available a sample paper from a previous course.

I expect rigorous analytical thinking that is well-grounded in the literature. You should include citations and a list of references. You may use either a "scientific" style (with parenthetical in-text citations) or a more traditional bibliographic style (as reflected in the *Chicago Manual of Style*), but just be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. Note that I want a separate bibliography even if a traditional footnoting style is used. I prefer footnotes to endnotes, but endnotes are also acceptable.

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.

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 in my mailbox Friday May 7 (anytime). There is no penalty for papers handed in within two weeks of that date, but papers handed in even a day late might receive an incomplete, given deadlines for handing in grades.

2) **Research paper track.**

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, but 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 20-25 pages. And please consult with me along the way. Submitting an outline along the way would be helpful.

You should understand that 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 presentation based on the research, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you emphasize (in the presentation) the theoretical argument and the research design phase of the project rather than your findings. We will schedule these presentations for late in the term, though if it fits earlier and if you are ready at that time we could go earlier (which would be a good way for you to get feedback on your project). Note that while I am quite tolerant of incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

Research papers are more elaborate and involve a lot more work, but presumably Ph.D. students enroll in the program because this is what they want to do. There is no set length for a research paper, but one guideline is about 35-40 pages, which is the outer limit for most journal submissions. Please double space the text and single space the footnotes and references.

I should note that while 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.

Paper Due Dates

literature review track - Literature review due May 7

research paper track - paper due May 7

Grading

The bulk of your grade consists of my evaluation of your paper and the presentation in class (figure about 20% presentation and 80% paper). In addition, the quality and quantity of your contribution to class discussion, including discussion of others' presentations, will be an important factor in my evaluation of your performance in the course. Although I do not attach an explicit weight to your contributions to class discussion, my judgments here may be decisive in any borderline case. I suspect several of you will fit this category.

TOPICAL OUTLINE

The number refers to the week of the term, beginning with week of 18 January 2010. A couple of topics, however, will need to be rescheduled.

1. Course Introduction

THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

The Levels of Analysis Framework

2. **DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD**

Overviews of the Literature

Surveys of Alternative Models of Foreign Policy Analysis

The Decision-Making Approach

The "Comparative Foreign Policy" Research Program

Issue-Areas

Other Early Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy

3. **THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL**

The Basic Paradigm

Expected Utility Theory

Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

4. **GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I**

Allison's Governmental Politics Model

Organizational Theory: Background

Allison's Organizational Behavior Model

The "Cybernetic" or "Rule-Following" Model

James March's Research Program on Organization Theory

Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications

Agenda Setting

Organizational Culture

Evaluation of the Bureaucratic/Organizational Model

Organizational Reform

Foreign Policy-Making in Developing States

5. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - II
The Decision Unit Approach

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES

Rationalist Perspectives
Other General Approaches
Congress
The State Department
Organizational Reform
Constitutional Issues
Civil-Military Relations
 Comparative Perspectives
Advisory Groups and Management Style

6. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I
The Foreign Policy of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
Social Identity Theory
The Diversionary Theory of War
Political Oppositions
Public Opinion
The Media

7. SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS
Neo-Marxist Theories
The Military-Industrial Complex
Interest Groups and Coalitional Politics
Application: Coalitional Politics in the 1930s
Sectional Explanations
Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy
Debates over *The Israeli Lobby*

8. IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES

"Ideas" and Foreign Policy

Ideology

Culture and Foreign Policy

Empirical Applications

Strategic Culture

Constructivism and Foreign Policy

 The Agent-Structure Problem

The "Story Model"

Feminist Approaches

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - I

Introduction to Political Psychology

Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis

Contemporary Theories of Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews

INFORMATION PROCESSING: COGNITION AND MOTIVATION

Cognition, Beliefs, and Images

Operational Code

Emotions and Motivations

10. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - II

LEARNING

Bayesian Updating

"Psychological" Models of Learning

Empirical Applications of Learning Models

Other Models of Foreign Policy Change

Expert Judgment

Other Models of Foreign Policy Change

Methodological Issues

PERSONALITY

Alexander George's Research Program

Other Approaches to Psychobiography

Other Personality Models

Psychoanalytic Studies of War

11. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - III

SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR

Overview

Groupthink and Beyond

OTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL MODELS

Poliheuristic Theory

Dual Process Theories

Evolutionary Psychology, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Biopolitics

THREAT PERCEPTION AND INTELLIGENCE FAILURE

Theory

Case Studies of Intelligence Failure

CRISIS DECISION-MAKING

Crisis Decision-Making and the Impact of Stress

12. 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

Decision Rules

Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice

APPENDICES: SOME USEFUL ANTHOLOGIES

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester (though we may need to reschedule one or two sessions); letter indicates multiple topics in a given week.

Asterisk (*) denotes required reading; additional reading will be useful for papers or for future reference, but need not be read at this time.

If you have already read a particular piece for a previous class (or just for fun), it is not usually necessary to read it again.

1. **Course Introduction**

Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.
Comments on the field.

1. **THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION**

1a. **The Levels of Analysis Framework**

- * Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. chap. 1
 - * J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Politics." In Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. New York, Free Press, 1969. chap. 7.
 - * Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 1.
 - * 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.
- 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; also in Rosenau, *Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, ch. 6.

2. DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION OF THE FIELD

2a. **Overviews of the Literature**

- * Walter Carlsnaes, "Foreign Policy." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations*. London: Sage, 2002. Pp. 331-49.
 - * Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1, 1 (March 2005): 1-30.
- David Patrick Houghton, "Reinvigorating the Study of Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Toward a Constructivist Approach." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3, 1 (January 2007): 24-45.
- 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*. Special Issue on "The Study of International Relations." 16, 2 (Summer 1987), 345-48.
- Eugene Meehan, "The Concept 'Foreign Policy.'" In William Hanrieder, ed., *Comparative Foreign Policy*. New York: David McKay, 1971. Chap. 9.
- Bernard C. Cohen and Scott A. Harris, "Foreign Policy." In Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. 6: *Policies and Policymaking*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975. Chap. 7.

2b. **Surveys of Alternative Models of Foreign Policy Analysis**

- Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic History*, 13, 1 (Winter 1989), 15-43.
- Zeev Maoz, *National Choices and International Processes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Chap. 5.
- Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Christopher Hill, *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- Marijke Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2007.
- Laura Neack, *The New Foreign Policy: Power Seeking in a Globalized Era*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

2c. **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. Reprinted in Rosenau, *International Relations and Foreign Policy*, rev. ed. (1969), chap. 19.
- * James N. Rosenau, "The Premises and Promises of Decision-Making Analysis," in Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*, chap. 12.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Paul A. Anderson, "What Do Decision Makers Do When They Make a Foreign Policy Decision? The Implications for the Comparative Study of Foreign Policy." In Charles F. Hermann, Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and James N. Rosenau, eds. *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987. Chap. 15.

2d. **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.
- Patrick J. McGowan and Howard B. Shapiro. *The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy: A Survey of Scientific Findings*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1973.
- James N. Rosenau, ed. *Comparing Foreign Policies*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1974.
- 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.
- James N. Rosenau, *The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy*. Rev. ed. London: Francis Pinter, 1980.
- 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.
- Patrick J. McGowan, "Meaningful Comparisons in the Study of Foreign Policy: A Methodological Discussion of Objectives, Techniques, and Research Designs." In Kegley, ed., *International Events and the Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1975. ch. 2.
- James N. Rosenau, "CFP and IPE: The Anomaly of Mutual Boredom." *International Interactions* 14/1 (1988):17-26.
- Bruce E. Moon, "Political Economy Approaches to the Analysis of Foreign Policy Behavior." In Hermann, Kegley, and Rosenau, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, ch. 3.
- 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.
- Michael Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.
- International Studies Notes*, 13, 2 (Spring 1987). Special Issue on "The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy."

2e. **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.

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

- Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Kenneth W. Thompson and Roy C. Macridis, "The Comparative Study of Foreign Policy," in Macridis, *Foreign Policy in World Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1958. and subsequent editions.
- 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.
- Henry A. Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," in Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (1969), ch. 25; or in Wolfram F. Hanrieder, ed. *Comparative Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*. New York: David McKay, 1971. Chap. 1.

2g. **Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy**

- * Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Steven E. Lobell, and Norrin M. Ripsman, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy." In Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp 1-41.
- * Colin Elman, "Why *Not* Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies*, 6,1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53. Plus Waltz reply and Elman response, pp. 54-61. Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Defending the National Interest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. Chap. 1.

3. **THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL**

3a. **The Basic Paradigm**

- * Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 1999. Intro & chap. 1-2.
- * 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.
- * James G. March, "Limited Rationality." In March, *A Primer on Decision Making: How Decisions Happen*. New York: Free Press, 1994. Chap. 1 (plus preface to *Primer*)
- John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. Chap. 1-2.
- Alexander L. George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*. Boulder, Col.: Westview, 1980. Introduction (p. 1-14).
- Zeev Maoz, *National Choices and International Processes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 149-78.

3b. **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.

3c. **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.

4. **GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I**

4a. **Allison's Governmental Politics Model**

- * Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, chap. 5-6.
- * Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kanter, "The Bureaucratic Perspective: A Preliminary Framework." In Halperin and Kanter, eds., *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1974. Pp. 1-42. Note: this is divided into two files on electronic reserve.
- Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla Clapp, with Arnold Kanter, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2006.
- Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policymaking in Defense and Foreign Affairs: Conceptual Models and Bureaucratic Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1987.

4b. **Organizational Theory: Background**

- Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 3rd ed. New York: Free Press, 1976.
- James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations*. New York: Wiley, 1958.
- Jonathan Bendor, "Herbert A. Simon: Political Scientist." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (2003), 433-71.
- R. M. Cyert and James G. March. *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Jeffrey Pfeffer, "Understanding Organizations: Concepts and Controversies." *Organizations and Organizational Theory*." In Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey, eds., *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. Vol. II. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998. Chap. 33.
- Charles Perrow, *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay*. 3rd ed. New York: Random House, 1986.

- 4c. **Allison's Organizational Behavior Model**
 * Graham Allison & Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision*, ch. 3-4.
- 4d. **The "Cybernetic" or "Rule-Following" Model**
 * John Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 3.
 Zeev Maoz, *National Choices and International Processes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 178-90.
- 4e. **James March's Research Program on Organization Theory**
 James G. March, *A Primer on Decision Making: How Decisions Happen*. New York: Free Press, 1994. Chap. 2-6.
 James G. March, *Decisions and Organizations*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988
 James G. March and Johan P Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: the Organizational Basis of Politics*. New York: Free Press, 1989.
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14. **RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS**

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