FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Political Science 634
Jack S. Levy   Rutgers University   Fall 2023
Hickman 304   Tuesdays 3:00 – 5:40pm
jacklevy@polisci.rutgers.edu
http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/levy/
Office Hours: Tuesdays 2pm-3pm, after class, and by appointment

This seminar focuses on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies. Our orientation in this course is more theoretical and process-oriented than substantive, interpretive or policy-oriented. We focus on policy inputs and the decision-making process rather than on policy outputs. The implicit assumption is that the processes through which foreign policy is made influence the substantive content of policy, but that is ultimately a testable proposition. I have designed the course primarily to prepare students for the Department's comprehensive exam in International Relations, for writing a dissertation, and for conducting research in the field, but I hope that it might be useful for students with other interests and career goals.

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

Although a disproportionate amount of the theoretical literature in the foreign policy analysis field and hence in this course is written by American scholars and supported by illustrations from American foreign policy, the conceptual frameworks themselves are intended to be general and applicable beyond the United States. So this is really a course in comparative foreign policy. I encourage students to bring comparative perspectives to bear on our class discussions and in their papers, and to continually question the extent to which these theoretical frameworks are generalizable beyond the United States. Also, while our primary focus is on the behavior of states, we include some literature on how inter- or supra-national organizations and non-state actors formulate their external policies.

Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a well-defined subfield within the International Relations field, with its own section in the International Studies Association (Foreign Policy Analysis) and in the American Political Science Association (Foreign Policy), and with a

distinct ISA journal (*Foreign Policy Analysis*). The subfield covers a lot of ground, the semester is fourteen weeks long, and we must emphasize some things and deemphasize other things. We focus primarily on internal rather than external causal influences on foreign policy, in part because that is the norm of the foreign policy analysis field, and in part because external variables are covered at length in other international relations courses. Second, again reflecting the FPA field, we give only minimal attention to particular American institutions such as the Departments of State or Defense, the National Security Council, or the Congress (though these are viable topics for student papers). Third, we give significant emphasis to decision-making by top political leaders. Fourth, reflecting the current state of the literature, we give more attention to issues of security than of political economy, environmental policy, human rights, or other areas. This focus has recently begun to change, and I encourage students with non-security interests to select paper topics in those areas. Finally, this syllabus gives more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis. I leave it to you to decide whether that emphasis is warranted.

Readings

There is no required book for the class.

We will be reading a substantial number of articles and book chapters, averaging seven article-length pieces each week for the first eleven weeks of the class and none thereafter. All of the required reading is available at my Canvas site (https://canvas.rutgers.edu/). Log in to Canvas, look for the Foreign Policy Analysis tab, and click files. The reading is organized by week of the term. I recommend that each week you do the readings in the order listed on the syllabus, not the order on Canvas. Note that for book chapters where references are listed at the end of a volume, either by chapter or in a combined bibliography for the volume, those references are available in folder 15 References.

Course Requirements:
There are three basic requirements for the course:
1) regular <u>participation</u> in class discussions, informed by the readings;
2) <u>oral presentation</u>, based on the paper, last three weeks of the term (possibly earlier for some literature reviews)
3) final <u>paper</u> (literature review, research design, or research paper, described below); due December 15, uploaded to the Assignments tab on the course website.

Our weekly meetings will begin with my own introductory comments on the topics under consideration, and quickly open up to general discussion. Most weeks we will cover several distinct topics. 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 them. Each week I will try to provide some guidance as to what to emphasize in the following week's reading.

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

On the presentation, based on your paper: The time limit is 12-15 minutes (which is the norm for conventions), followed by 30 minutes of questions from the class (and form the professor). You should think of your presentation as a rough draft of your paper, as a way to get feedback for revising your papers. I have scheduled presentations for the last three weeks of the term. However, with respect to literature review papers (and not research designs or research papers) I want to avoid a situation in which we discuss a topic at length during the semester and then have your literature review on the same topic at the end of the term. In some cases I can delay our discussion of a topic until the end of the term to have it coincide with your presentation. In other situations, however, I will ask you present your paper earlier in the term (with appropriate adjustment of my expectations for the quality of early presentations). This system will work most effectively if you consult with me early on if you are considering doing a literature review.

1) **literature review track** (11-15 pages, single space, including footnotes and references). This should be a critical review of the literature on a well-defined theoretical question or set of interrelated questions relating to the foreign policy-making process. Good paper topics are often but not always equivalent to a sub-section of the syllabus – for example, the audience costs theory, Congress and foreign policy, foreign policy in parliamentary systems, the impact of race or ethnicity or economic interest groups or culture on foreign policy, civil-military relations, experiential learning, prospect theory, emotions and

decision-making, and intelligence failure, to name a few. The decision-making processes of non-state organizations (such as ISIS) or inter-governmental or supra-national organizations (such as the U.N. Security Council or the European Union) are also viable topics as long as they have to do with world politics and not primarily domestic politics and if research materials are adequate. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure my approval in advance, both to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations. I would be happy to talk to you about what kinds of topics make the most sense given your background and objectives in your graduate program and beyond. If your proposed paper overlaps with a paper you have done or are currently doing, you must let me know about the extent of that overlap.

The readings from the relevant section of the syllabus generally serve as a useful guide to what literature you should cover in your review, but please consult with me for suggestions as to possible additions (if the list on the syllabus is short) and/or priorities among them (if the list is quite long). Please do not assume that by reading all of the items in a particular section of the syllabus you have adequately covered a particular topic for your review (though in many cases the list is way too long). I also encourage you to incorporate material from other courses where relevant. A typical literature review for this class includes 15 sources, less if most of the sources are books rather than articles.

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

I suspect that many of you will be uncertain what my expectations are for a literature review. To partially alleviate that uncertainty I will post a few literature reviews from past courses on my Canvas site (in folder #00). I will wait, however, until all members of the seminar have selected their paper topics, so as to avoid duplication.

2) **Research paper track**
This can be a research design or a research paper, depending on the stage of a student's work on a project. If you have been working on a particular project for a while, I expect you to carry out the empirical research, or at least a significant portion of it. If you are just starting on a research project, a research design will be sufficient. In this case, I expect you to identify the question you are trying to answer, ground it in the relevant 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 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 them. Try to do this in 12-15 pages (single space). Please consult with me along the way. For research designs or papers, I will ask for a one-page statement of your research question and then a short outline (ungraded), just to make sure we are on the same wavelength.

I have high standards for the research designs. I think of them as roughly equivalent to rough drafts of dissertation proposals or grant proposals. As to your class presentations based on research papers, consult with me, but in most cases I prefer that you spend relatively little time on the literature review component, especially if we have already discussed the theoretical background material earlier in the term, and to focus instead on your particular theoretical argument, specific hypotheses, and your design and method for testing them. If you are envisioning case studies, provide a theoretical justification for your case selection. One useful discussion of different types of case study designs is Jack S. Levy, "Case Studies: Types, Designs, and Logics of Inference." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25, 1 (Spring 2008): 1-18, available on my personal website.

Research papers are more elaborate, and involve the completion of the empirical research detailed in the design of the project. There is no set length for a research paper, but one guideline is about 20-30 pages (single space, space between paragraphs and between bibliographic items). Thirty pages is a bit over 12,000 words, which is approximately the outer limit for most journal submissions. Although I tolerate incompletes for research papers, I still expect a presentation of the theory and research design during the term.

I should note that although I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives, the norms of mainstream IR favor research that aims to construct and test falsifiable (loosely defined) hypotheses about foreign policy or international behavior, or to construct interpretations of particular episodes and then support those interpretations with empirical evidence. I share these norms, and I am unenthusiastic about theoretical

arguments that cannot be empirically disconfirmed. 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.

Style: All papers should be single space with spacing between paragraphs, with footnotes rather than endnotes. Any citation style is acceptable. You may use either a variation of the "Harvard" or APA style (American Psychological Association), with parenthetical in-text citations, or a more traditional style – as reflected in the *Chicago Manual of Style* and used in such journals as *International Security*. (Please note: I want a separate reference list of cited sources even if you use traditional Chicago-style footnoting, which does not normally include a separate reference list.) Each style has variations, I am not picky about details, but I want you to be consistent. See various journals for illustrations. It is not necessary to include url's/doi's for articles in standard journals.
Important: References to quotations or to particular arguments, interpretations, or statements of fact must include specific page numbers.

Paper Due Date: December 15, end of day. Upload to the Assignment tab on Canvas. (Note: the paper will be processed through Turnitin.)

Grading
My evaluation of your grade is based on the following weighted items:

Contributions to class discussion	20%
Presentation based on your paper	15%
Paper	65%

One implication of this grading scheme is that it is almost impossible to get an "A" in the course without strong contributions (quality as well as quantity) to class discussion. This includes comments on other students' presentations at the end of the term.

Policy on Use of Artificial Intelligence
You need permission from the instructor to use ChatGPT or other artificial intelligence programs to prepare and/or write your paper for the class. If you want to use AI, please contact the professor and explain how you want to use what kind of AI and for what purpose.

Academic Integrity
The University, the Political Science Department, and I each take academic integrity seriously. The University imposes heavy penalties for plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty. If the meanings of plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty are not clear – and admittedly some violations are less obvious than others – please see the Rutgers policy on academic integrity: http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/ . If you are still uncertain, please contact the professor.

Rutgers Disability Policy
See https://ods.rutgers.edu/ .

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1.   COURSE INTRODUCTION

       THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
       Overviews of the Field
       Levels of Analysis Framework
       Agent-Structure Debate
       Two Level Games

2.   THE RATIONAL MODEL
       The Basic Paradigm
       Expected Utility Theory
       Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

       REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY
       Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy? The Debate
       Neoclassical Realism

3.   GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS - I
       The Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model
       Bureaucratic/Politics/Organizational Process: Applications
       Evaluations of the Bureaucratic/Organizational Model
       The March-Simon Research Program on Organizational Theory
       Organizational Reform
       Agenda Setting
       Early Studies of the Politics of Decision-Making
       Issue Areas

       SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR
       Overview
       Groupthink
       Beyond Groupthink: The 't Hart, Stern, & Sundelius Research Program
       Other Models of Small Group Behavior
       Polythink

4.   DECISION UNITS, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY SYSTEMS, AND
        U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS
        The "Decision Unit" Approach

        PRESIDENTS, LEADERSHIP STYLE, AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS
        U.S. Presidential Power
.   Presidential Leadership Style and Advisory Systems
        Some Recent U.S. Presidential Advisory Systems
        Comparative Perspectives on Leadership Style
            Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders

        OTHER U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS
        General Institutionalist Models
        Congress and Foreign Policy
        War Powers
        Other U.S. Constitutional Issues
        The State Department
        Civil-Military Relations
        The National Security System
        The Broader Policy Community

        PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS
        Parliamentary Systems
        Comparing Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
        Parliamentary Leadership Styles

5.   SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I
        General Approaches
        Regime Type
        The Foreign Policies of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
            Liberal Models
            The Selectorate Model
        Democratic Political Oppositions
        Foreign Policy-Making in Autocracies

6.   SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: PUBLIC OPINION & AUDIENCE COSTS
        Public Opinion – Early Studies
        Public Opinion
            Historians' Perspectives on the Study of Public Opinion
        The Media
        Political Parties and Partisanship

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES – I
   Do Leaders Matter?
   Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders
      Data on Leaders
   Introduction to Political Psychology
   Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews
      Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
   Beliefs and Images
      Stereotypes
      Integrative Complexity
   Operational Code
   Cognitive Biases
      Overconfidence
   Motivated Reasoning
      Self-Deception
   Emotions
      From Social Psychology
   Fear and Anger
   Negativity
   Face-to-Face Diplomacy
   Rationality: A Second Look

10. BEHAVIORAL DECISION THEORY
    Introduction
    Useful Anthologies
    Heuristics and Biases
       "Smart" Heuristics
       Metaphors
    Prospect Theory
       Applications
       Framing
       Aspiration Levels
       Probability Weighting
    Sunk Costs and Models of Entrapment
    Other Models of Risk Behavior
    Time Horizons and Intertemporal Choice
       Construal-Level Theory
    Poliheuristic Theory
    Habit
    Dual Process Theories

11.   PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES – III

LEARNING
Rational Models of Learning: Bayesian Updating
"Psychological" Models of Learning
Organizational Learning
Learning: Empirical Applications
Other Models of Foreign Policy Change

Crisis Decision-Making
   The Impact of Stress
Gender Differences in Decision-Making
Methodological Issues: External Validity of Experimental Designs
   Some Elite Samples
Other Methodological Issues
Neuroscience, Genetics, Biology, and Politics
Evolutionary Psychology

PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY
General Theoretical Approaches to Personality
Applied Personality Studies
Alexander George's Research Program on Presidential Personality
Psychobiography
Leader Illness

12.   PRESENTATIONS

13.   PRESENTATIONS

14.   PRESENTATIONS

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A1. Threat Perception

A2. Intelligence Failure
       Case Studies

A3. Psychology of Bargaining
A4. Psychology of Conflict Resolution

A5. Comparative Perspectives on Foreign Policy-Making
       General
       European Countries
       The European Union
       Russia
       China
       Small States

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester; letter indicates multiple topics in a given week.
Asterisk (*) denotes required reading.
<u>Notes</u>: The additional reading, beyond the asterisked required reading, is provided as a
   guide for those writing papers on a particular topic and for future reference.
Read in the order on syllabus, not alphabetical order in Canvas.

1.   **COURSE INTRODUCTION** (September 5)
       Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.
       Required reading in sections 1a,b

       THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a.   **Overviews of the Field**
   * Valerie M. Hudson and Benjamin S. Day, "The Situation and Evolution of Foreign
       Policy Analysis: A Roadmap." In Hudson and Day, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 3rd
       ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020. Chap. 1.
   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. Ch 20.
   Christopher Hill, *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. 2nd ed. NY: Palgrave,
       2016.
   Derek Beach, *Analyzing Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2012.
   Halvard Leira, "The Emergence of Foreign Policy." *International Studies
       Quarterly* 63 (2019): 187–198
   David Cooper, Jessica Blankshain, and Nikolas Gvosdev, *Decision-Making in
       American Foreign Policy: Translating Theory into Practice*. Cambridge, UK:
       Cambridge University Press, 2019.
   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, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors,
       Cases*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.
   Eugene Meehan, "The Concept 'Foreign Policy.'" In William Hanrieder, ed.,
       Comparative Foreign Policy. New York: David McKay, 1971. Chap. 9.
   Klaus Brummer, "Toward a (More) Critical FPA." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 18, 1,
       January 2022, orab031

1b.   Levels of Analysis Framework

* Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. chap. 1

* Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. Chap. 1.

* G. John Ikenberry, David A. Lake, and Michael Mastanduno, "Introduction: Approaches to Explaining American Foreign Economic Policy." *International Organization*, 42, 1 (Winter 1988): 1-14.

J. David Singer, "International Conflict: Three Levels of Analysis." *World Politics*, 12, 3 (April 1960), 453-461. (review of Waltz 1959)

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

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

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

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

1c.   The Agent-Structure Debate

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

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

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

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

1d.   Two-Level Games

Robert D. Putnam. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics." *International Organization*, 42, 3 (Summer, 1988), 427-461.

Peter Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert Putnam, eds. *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Politics and Domestic Politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

2.   THE RATIONAL MODEL (September 12)
Required reading in sections 2a,c,d,e
We return to questions of individuality in week 9.

2a.   The Basic Paradigm
  *   Graham T. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis."
        American Political Science Review 63, 3 (September 1969): 689-718. Pp.
        689-96 only.
  *   James G. March, "Limited Rationality." In March, *A Primer on Decision
        Making: How Decisions Happen*. New York: Free Press, 1994. Chap. 1
        (plus the short preface to *Primer*, in a separate pdf)
  *   Jack S. Levy, "Foreign Policy Decision-Making." In Leonie Huddy, David O.
        Sears, Jack S. Levy, and Jenifer Jerit, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Political
        Psychology*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023. p. 357 only
        (available on Canvas, week 9 readings).
  *   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. Pp.
        3-38.
        Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the
        Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 1999. Intro & chap. 1-2.
        John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton
        University Press, 1974. Chap. 1-2.
        Herbert A. Simon, "Rationality as Process and as Product of Thought." *American
        Economic Review* 68, 2 (1978): 1–16.
        Debra Satz and John Ferejohn, "Rational Choice and Social Theory." *The Journal
        of Philosophy* 91, 2 (1994): 71-87.
        Sidney Verba, "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the
        International System." *World Politics* 14, 1 (1961): 93-117.
        Miles Kahler, "Rationality in International Relations." *International Organization*
        52, 4 (1998): 919-941.

2b.   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.

2c.   Preference Aggregation and Social Choice Theory

* Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *The War Trap*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. Chap 1, Introduction, pp. 12-18 only.

Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Robert Abrams, "Arrow's General Possibility Theorem." In Abrams, *Foundations of Political Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Chap. 2.

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

2d.   Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy? The Debate

* Colin Elman, "Why *Not* Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies*, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 7-53.

* Kenneth N. Waltz, "International Relations is Not Foreign Policy." *Security Studies*, 6, 1 (Autumn 1996), 54-57. And Elman reply, pp. 58-61, each combined with the Elman pdf.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 2979. Chap. 6: "Reductionist and Systemic Theories."

Shibley Telhami, "Kenneth Waltz, Neorealism, and Foreign Policy," *Security Studies*, 11, 3 (2002), 158–170.

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, 1 (March 1997): 1–26.

Michael Mastanduno, David Lake, and John Ikenberry, "Toward a Realist Theory of State Action." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, 4 (December 1989): 457-474.

2e.   Neoclassical Realism

* Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016. Intro & chap. 1-3.

"Forum: Rethinking Neoclassical Realism at Theory's End." *International Studies Review*, 23, 1 (March 2021), 268–295. Contributions by Gustav Meibauer, Linde Desmaele, Tudor Onea, Nicholas Kitchen, Michiel Foulon, Alexander Reichwein, Jennifer Sterling-Folker.

Gidden Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics*, 51, 1 (October 1998), 144-72.

Kevin Narizny, "On Systemic Paradigms and Domestic Politics: A Critique of the Newest Realism." 42, 2 (Fall 2017), 155-190.

Davide Fiammenghi, Sebastian Rosato, Joseph M. Parent, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Kevin Narizny, "Correspondence: Neoclassical Realism and Its Critics." *International Security* 43, 2 (Fall 2018): 193–203.

Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, eds., *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Shiping Tang, "Taking Stock of Neoclassical Realism," *International Studies Review*, 11, 4 (2009): 799– 803. (review of Lobell et al 2009)

Brian Rathbun, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism." *Security Studies* 17, 2 (2008), 294-321.

Michiel Foulon, "Neoclassical Realism: Challengers and Bridging Identities." *International Studies Review* 17, 4 (December 2015): 635-61.

Nicholas Ross Smith, "Can Neoclassical Realism Become a Genuine Theory of International Relations?" *Journal of Politics* 80, 2 (2018): 742-49.

Adam Quinn, "Kenneth Waltz, Adam Smith, and the Limits of Science: Hard Choices for Neoclassical Realism," *International Politics*, 50, 2 (2013): 159–82.

Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation." *Review of International Studies* 36, 1 (December 2009): 117-43.

Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State." *Security Studies* 15, 3 (2006): 464-95.

Jonathan D. Caverley, "Power and Democratic Weakness: Neoconservatism and Neoclassical Realism," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 38, 3 (2010): 593– 614.

Gustav Meibauer, "Interests, ideas, and the study of state behaviour in neoclassical realism." *Review of International Studies*, 46: 1 (January 2020), 20 36.

3. GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS – I (September 19)
Required reading in sections 3a,c,j,k

3a. Bureaucratic Politics/Organizational Processes Model

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

* Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kanter, "The Bureaucratic Perspective: A Preliminary Framework." In Halperin and Kanter, eds., *Readings in American Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1974. Pp. 1-42.

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

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 1999. Chap. 3-6.

John Steinbrunner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. Chap. 3.

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4. DECISION UNITS, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORY SYSTEMS, AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTIONS (September 26)

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9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES, I: BELIEFS AND INFORMATION PROCESSING (October 31)   Happy Halloween!
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Tuesday, November 21. No class. This is officially a Thursday at Rutgers

12. **PRESENTATIONS** (November 28)

13. **PRESENTATIONS** (December 5)

14. **PRESENTATIONS** (December 12)

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

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