FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Political Science 634

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Office Hours: Tues 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 or interpretive. We focus on policy inputs and the decision-making process rather than on policy outputs. We implicitly assume that that the processes through which foreign policy is made influence the substantive content of policy (but think of this as a testable proposition).

We follow a levels-of-analysis framework to organize our survey of the theoretical literature on the making of foreign policy. We examine rational state actor, neoclassical realist, bureaucratic/organizational, institutional, societal, and psychological models. We look at the government decision-makers, 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 theoretical frameworks of FPA are generalizable beyond the United States. Also, while our primary focus is on the behavior of states, we include some literature on how inter- or supra-national organizations and non-state actors formulate their external policies.

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 others. 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, there are more applications to the literature on security than political economy, environmental policy, human rights, or other areas. This reflects the state of the literature on foreign policy analysis and the general neglect of decision-making variables in the subfield of International Political Economy and other sub-fields, though that has fortunately begun to change. However, I encourage students with an interest in international political economy, environmental policy, or other areas to think about how to apply decision-making models to their areas of interest. Finally, this syllabus gives more attention to psychological models than does the typical syllabus on foreign policy analysis. I leave it to you to decide whether that emphasis is warranted, perhaps with consideration to the current political leadership of major states.

Readings

The following required book (paperback) is available for purchase at the Rutgers Barnes & Noble Bookstore (100 Somerset Street, New Brunswick, 732 246 8448 tel), and also on the used book market on the internet, probably at better prices. I have also asked Alexander Library to place a copy of the book on graduate reserve.

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

We will also be reading a substantial number of articles and book chapters, because much of the important theoretical and empirical work in foreign policy analysis has been published in this form. All of the required reading except for the three required books will be available at my Sakai site (https://sakai.rutgers.edu/). Log in to Sakai, look for the Foreign Policy Analysis tab, and click resources, which are organized by week of the term. I recommend that each week you do the readings in the order listed on the syllabus, not the alphabetical order of Sakai.

Course Requirements:

There are three basic requirements for the course:
1) <u>participation</u> in class discussions of the readings and of student presentations;
2) final <u>paper</u> (literature review, research design, or research paper); due December 16, by email attachment.
3) <u>oral presentation</u>, based on the paper, last two weeks of the term (possibly earlier)

Our weekly meetings will begin with my own introductory comments on the topics under consideration, quickly opening 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/paper track. You are free to select whichever track you prefer. However, I generally recommend the research design or research paper requirement to IR majors planning to write a dissertation that includes a component on how states formulate and implement their foreign policies (on security, economic, human rights, environmental policy, and other issues). It is perfectly reasonable, however, for first-year IR students who have limited exposure to a particular topic to do a literature review for this class, to pave the way for a more focused research effort in subsequent courses. I recommend that IR minors, whose dissertation work is not likely to focus on how states formulate foreign policy, adopt the literature review track. A good strategy there is to either pick a broad topic that is likely to serve you well in preparation for comprehensive exams, or to pick a topic overlapping with the research you plan to do in your major field. Please feel free to consult with me about which track best serves your interests. Regardless of which track you choose, I expect all students to do all the required readings, to come prepared to discuss those readings in class, and to participate in the discussions.

On the presentation based on your paper. 12-15 minutes (the norm for conventions), followed by 30 minutes of questions from the class. You should think of these as a rough draft of your paper, as a way to get feedback for revising your papers. Presentations will be scheduled for the last two weeks of the term, possibly earlier if it is mutually agreeable (meaning that I will not force you to do it earlier). One advantage of an earlier presentation, however, is that it gives you more time to revise the paper.

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 bureaucratic politics model, audience costs theory, Congress and foreign policy, foreign policy in parliamentary systems, the impact of race or ethnicity or economic interest groups on foreign policy, culture and foreign policy, learning, prospect theory, emotions and decision-making, and intelligence failure, to name a few. The decision-making processes of sub-state organizations (such as the Palestinian Authority) 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. Whatever topic you choose, you must secure my approval in advance – to avoid misunderstandings and to facilitate the scheduling of presentations. I would be happy to talk to you about what kinds of topics make the most sense given your background and objectives in your graduate program and beyond.

The readings 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 <u>not</u> assume that by reading all of the items in a particular section of the syllabus you have adequately covered a particular topic for your review. I also encourage you to incorporate material from other courses where relevant.

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

I suspect that many of you will be uncertain what my expectations are for a literature review. To partially alleviate that uncertainty I will post a few literature reviews from past courses on my Sakai site (in folder #00). 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 (and theoretical justification) of the empirical domain of the study (i.e., case selection), the identification of alternative explanations for the phenomenon in question, and an acknowledgment of what kinds of evidence would confirm your hypotheses and what kinds of evidence would disconfirm or falsify your hypotheses. Try to do this in 12-15 pages (single space). Please consult with me along the way. In most cases I will ask for a one-page statement of your research question and then a short outline, just to make sure we are on the same wavelength.

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

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

I should note that although I am generally quite open to very different methodological perspectives, the norms of mainstream IR favor research that aims to construct and test falsifiable (loosely defined) hypotheses about foreign policy or international behavior, or to construct interpretations of particular episodes and then support those interpretations with empirical evidence. I share these norms, and I am unenthusiastic about theoretical arguments about the empirical world for which there is no conceivable evidence that would lead to their rejection. At the same time, I recognize the value some research communities

place on formal theory construction independent of empirical test, or on radical constructivist critiques without systematic empirical analysis, and I would be willing to discuss the possibility of papers along these lines.

Style: All papers should be single space with a space between paragraphs, with footnotes rather than endnotes, and submitted to me by email attachment. 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 a traditional footnoting style, which does not normally include them.) Each style has variations, I am not picky about details, but I want you to be consistent. See various journals for illustrations.

Paper Due Date (for either track): December 16, end of day

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

Contributions to class discussion	20%
Presentation based on your paper	10%
Paper	70%

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.

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, please see the Rutgers policy on academic integrity:
http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/ .

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

TOPICAL OUTLINE

The number refers to the week of the term, beginning with the week of 2 September 2019. Letters refer to multiple topics each week.

1.   COURSE INTRODUCTION

        THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION
        Overviews of the Field
        Levels of Analysis Framework
        The Agent-Structure Debate

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

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

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

        SMALL GROUP BEHAVIOR
        Overview
        Groupthink and Beyond

4.   U.S. PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP AND ADVISORY SYSTEMS
       Do Leaders Matter?
       Leaders and Counterfactual Analysis
       U.S. Presidential Power
   .   Political Leadership and Advisory Systems
       Some Recent U.S. Presidential Advisory Systems
       Comparative Perspectives on Leadership Style
           Backgrounds and Characteristics of Leaders

        INSTITUTIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
       Congress and Foreign Policy
       War Powers
       Other U.S. Constitutional Issues
       Parliamentary Systems
       Comparing Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
       Civil-Military Relations
       The State Department

5.   SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, I: INTRODUCTION AND REGIME TYPE
       General Approaches
       The Foreign Policies of Democracies: Explaining the Democratic Peace
       Democratic Political Oppositions
       The Foreign Policies of Autocracies
       Social Identity Theory
       The Diversionary Theory of War
       Other Approaches to Partisan Politics and Foreign Policy
       Public Opinion
       Audience Costs
       The Media

6.   SOCIETAL-LEVEL THEORIES, II: PUBLIC OPINION & AUDIENCE COSTS
      Public Opinion
      Historians' Perspectives on the Study of Public Opinion
      Sensitivity to Military Casualties
      Public Opinion and the Wars in Iraq
      The Media
      Policy Legitimacy
      Social Identity Theory
      Rally Effects and the Diversionary Theory of War
      Audience Costs Theory
      Neo-Marxist Theories
      The Military-Industrial Complex

7.   SOCIETAL LEVEL THEORIES, III: INTEREST GROUPS AND COALITIONS
      Interest Groups
      Coalitional Politics
      Applications: the First World War
      Application: the 1930s
      Sectional Explanations
      Neo-Marxist Theories
      The Military-Industrial Complex
      Ethnicity and Race
      Debates over *The Israeli Lobby*

8.   IDEAS, CULTURE, AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES
      "Ideas"
      Ideology
      Political Culture
      Empirical Applications
      Religion
      Strategic Culture
      Constructivist Approaches
      The "Story Model"
      Feminist Approaches
      Psychology and Constructivism
      Honor, Respect, Recognition, Humiliation, and Status
         Theoretical Background
         Applications to International Relations and Foreign Policy
         Social Comparison

9. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - I
Introduction to Political Psychology
Early Psychological Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis
Contemporary Theories of Psychology and Foreign Policy - Overviews
Beliefs and Images
Operational Code
Cognitive Biases
  Overconfidence

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

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

11.   PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES - III
        Motivated Reasoning and Emotions
            From Social Psychology
        Anger
        Neuroscience and Politics
        Methodological Issues in the Study of Psychological Models
            Are Elites and Masses Different?
        Gender Differences in Decision-Making
        Evolutionary Psychology and Biopolitics

        PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY
        General Theoretical Approaches to Personality
        Applied Personality Studies
        Alexander George's Research Program on Presidential Personality
        Psychobiography
        Psychoanalytic Studies of Decisions for War
        Illness

12.   THREAT PERCEPTION, CRISIS DECISION-MAKING, AND BARGAINING
        Threat Perception and Intelligence Failure
        Intelligence Failure: Case Studies
        Crisis Decision-Making
            The Impact of Stress
        Psychology of Bargaining
        Psychology of Conflict Resolution

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

        COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING
        General
        European Countries
        The European Union
        Russia
        China
        Small States and Developing States

14.   RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST

Number indicates week of semester; letter indicates multiple topics in a given week.
Asterisk (*) denotes required reading.
<u>Note</u>: The additional reading, beyond the asterisked required reading, is not really
"recommended," but instead a guide for those writing papers on a particular topic. I hope
this analytically organized bibliography of the field of Foreign Policy Analysis will be
helpful in your future research and teaching.

1.   **COURSE INTRODUCTION** (September 3)
        Course objectives, organization, procedures, readings, requirements, etc.
        Required reading in sections 1a,b

   THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

1a.   **Overviews of the Field**
   * Valerie M. Hudson, "The Situation and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis." In
          Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*.
          2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014. 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. Chap.
          20.
      Marijke Breuning, "Why Study Foreign Policy Comparatively?" In Breuning,
          Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction. New York: Palgrave/
          Macmillan, 2007. Chap.1.
      Christopher Hill, *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. 2nd ed. NY: Palgrave,
          2016.
      Derek Beach, *Analyzing Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2012.
      Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy." *Diplomatic
          History*, 13, 1 (Winter 1989), 15-43.
      Jean A. Garrison, ed., "Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium."
          International Studies Review, 5, 2 (June 2003): 155-202.
      Steve Smith, "Theories of Foreign Policy: An Historical Overview." *Review of
          International Studies*, 12, 1 (January 1986), 13-29.
      Steve Smith, 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.

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, "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."
   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.
   Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 14-20.

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), pp. 245-70.
   Gil Friedman and Harvey Starr, *Agency, Structure, and International Relations: From Ontology to Empirical Inquiry*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

2. **THE "RATIONAL" (ANALYTIC) MODEL** (September 10)
Required reading in sections 2a,d,e

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 and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-
Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 130-33.
David A. Lake and Robert Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic
Choice Approach." In Lake and Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and
International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the
Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: Longman, 1999. Intro & chap. 1-2.
John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision*. Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1974. Chap. 1-2.
Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War*. Chichester, UK:
Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Pp. 130-33 only.

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

REALIST THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY

2d.   **Are There Realist Theories of Foreign Policy?**
  * 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. Combined with Elman pdf.
  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.
  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.

3.　　**GOVERNMENTAL-LEVEL EXPLANATIONS – I** (September 17)
Required reading in sections 3a,c,g,l

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.

Charles Perrow, *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay*. 3rd ed. New York: Random House, 1986.

Jonathan Bendor and Terry Moe, "An Adaptive Model of Bureaucratic Politics." *American Political Science Review* 79 (1985): 755-74.

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, "Decision-Making: The Organizational Level." In Levy & Thompson, *Causes of War*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

3b.   **Governmental Politics/Organizational Process: Applications**

Abdulkader H. Sinno, *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decisionmaking and the Disasters of 1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Jack S. Levy, "Organizational Routines and the Causes of War," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (June 1986), 193-222.

Barry R. Posen, *The Sources of Military Doctrine*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984. (esp. pp. 41-59).

Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organization, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Kevin Marsh, "Obama's Surge: A Bureaucratic Politics Analysis of the Decision to Order a Troop Surge in the Afghanistan War." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10:3 (2013), 265-288.

Edward Rhodes, "Do Bureaucratic Politics Matter? Some Disconfirming Findings from the Case of the U.S. Navy." *World Politics* 47 (October 1994): 1-41.

Stuart J. Kaufman, "Organizational Politics and Change in Soviet Military Policy." *World Politics* 46, 3 (April 1994): 355-82.

Kimberly Marten Zisk, *Engaging the Enemy: Organization Theory and Soviet Military Innovation, 1955-1991*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

James C. Thomson, "How Vietnam Happened? An Autopsy." *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1973: 47-53.

3c.   **Evaluations of Bureaucratic/Organizational Models**

*   Robert J. Art, "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique." *Policy Sciences* 4 (1973): 467-90.

*   Jonathan Bender and Thomas H. Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86, 2 (June 1992): 301-22.

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November 26. NO CLASS. Rutgers defines this Tuesday as a Thursday.

13. **PRESENTATIONS**
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   FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING (December 3)

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13c. **General**

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Klaus Brummer and Valerie M. Hudson, eds., *Foreign Policy Analysis Beyond North America*. Boulder, CO: Reinner, 2015.

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14. **PRESENTATIONS**