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Office Hours: Wdn., Thu. 14:00-15:00h¹

Fall/Winter 2013/14
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FOREIGN POLICY: THEORY AND PRACTICE (in English)

[HP; PW-MA-5, IS-MA-1, W LA1-5]
Thursday 4-6pm
PEG 3.G 129

Course Description:

In the second half of the past century International Relations (IR) theorizing has bifurcated into what is sometimes called “systemic” (or “IR”) theory on the one hand and “sub-systemic” (or “foreign policy”) theory on the other. Although the two are obviously related theorists often seem(ed) to assume that different theoretical tools were needed in order to properly address structures and processes in the international system of states in contrast to such structures and processes at the level of the state. This course is based on two linked premises: (a) that the theoretical tools of IR and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) – as disciplinary designations of theoretical inquiry – can and should be applied to international politics and foreign policy, the subject matter; (b) that our understanding of international relations and foreign policy will be enhanced by combining theoretical inquiry and practical experience. Accordingly the first part of this course will examine a broad range of theoretical concepts and tools in IR and FPA. Readings will engage conceptual issues as well as different ways of theorizing foreign policy decision-making. One set of readings will then apply these different ways of theorizing to the most critical crisis of the 20th century, the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Another important historical turning point, the so-called “Two-plus-Four” settlement with regard to German unification in 1990, will serve as a different test-case to apply some of the knowledge gained about foreign policy decision-making in a simulation exercise.

A. Requirements for ALL Students (“Leistungsschein” and “Teilnahmeschein”)

This course will be taught as a joint reading and discussion seminar. Therefore class participation is critical.

1. All Students are expected to do all the required readings prior to class. Since the reading “load” may be heavier than usual (at least for Frankfurt graduate studies, as rumor has it), you ought to consider carefully whether you are willing to make the effort. More specifically, if reading 50-150 pages per week for

¹ There will be no office hours on Wednesday 16.10., 13.11. and 11.12.2013 as well as 29.1.2014 due to my membership in the “Senat” of Goethe University.

this course is too demanding for you, this is probably not your course! Just sitting in class and listening to what others have to say is unproductive for all participants. So please consider carefully whether you are willing to make a serious commitment.

2. In order to entice participants to engage as thoroughly intellectually with the substance of the readings as possible students will be required to submit via the mailing list at least **one question or suggestion for discussion for sessions 2-12 based on the required readings** (= eleven questions in all). These questions are to be sent to my student assistant Carina Berg (carina_berg@aol.de) **no later than Wednesday 6pm**. Carina will circulate the list of all questions Thursday morning before 9am. This will help us to structure our discussions in class. Please make sure to prepare your work schedule during the semester accordingly. Late submission or failure to submit a question for two or more sessions means that the course cannot be taken for credit.

Let me explain the **rationale** for this task: Since this is a discussion seminar the quality of the discussion depends crucially on all of us being well prepared. In your case this involves in particular that you come prepared to discuss the core arguments/concepts of the texts we are reading. The questions you consider worth discussing are at least as important as the ones I would rank high on my own list. Therefore, you should spend sufficient time after doing the required readings to think about what you believe to be the most important issues/questions to be discussed in class. This can either relate to some concept, issue or argument which needs to be clarified or, better still, some aspect of the text which you consider it to be so important (irrespective of whether you agree or disagree with it) that it needs to be developed in more detail in class. Try to push yourself to suggest topics for discussion which indicate that you already know a few important things after having read the respective texts. In other words, do not merely ask “what does X mean when she says y” but try to intelligently contextualize and elaborate the problem you consider worth discussing. I will provide examples of possible discussion questions for the first two sessions.

3. Preparation for and Participation in an **all-day “Block Seminar” on Friday 14 February 2014**. This involves participation in preparing a **4-5 page policy paper** (or “memo”) **as part of a group of students (“AG”)** which specifies the assessments and interests of a particular branch of the US government in the context of the preparations of a particular event in the context of the “Two-plus-Four” Negotiations. Details will be provided in due course.

B. Additional Requirements for Students aiming at a “Leistungsschein”

Students have a choice between either a ...

1. term paper (“**Hausarbeit**”² or “**Rezension**”³) on a theme or book related to the course and to be specified with me during office hours. The length of the paper

² Cf. http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726062/Hinweise_des_FB03.rtf and <http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726074/Korr-Hausarbeit.pdf>

should be 8-10 pages for students at advanced BA level and 10-15 pages for MA students.

or

2. **Take-Home-Exam** (2-4 questions which have to be addressed in the form of “essays”⁴). The total length of these essays will be approx. 5 pages for students at advanced BA level and 8 pages for MA students. The exam will be handed out on 13 February 2014; it is **due on 20 February 2014, 12noon**.

The **final grade** will be calculated according to the following formula:

1. Discussion questions, participation in classroom discussion and simulation exercise, incl. group memo (30 %)
2. Term paper or Take-Home-Exam (70%)

Registration on Mailing List

There will be a mailing list for this course with the address FP13-14@dlst.server.uni-frankfurt.de. Registering with (and being registered by) this mailing list documents that you have made up your mind in committing to this course and that you have also been accepted.

Registration is done by sending an ***empty e-mail*** with the ***subject*** „***Registration Foreign Policy***“ to carina_berg@aol.de.

If the number of students interested in taking this course exceeds the number of students fitting into the class room remaining places will be assigned by lot among those students currently registered as “rejected” via LSF.

Readings

All readings will be made available electronically via dropbox. Registration (see above) is required to be “invited” to this dropbox. After registration you will receive an e-mail in due course which provides access to the respective dropbox. Please check your spam folder because these “invitations” are sometimes misdirected.

³ Cf. <http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726392/WA-Rezension.pdf>.

⁴ Cf. <http://www1.aucegypt.edu/academic/writers/>, <http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726195/WA-Essay.pdf> and [http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726207/WA-Essay Beurteilungsbogen.pdf](http://www.fbo3.uni-frankfurt.de/44726207/WA-Essay_Beurteilungsbogen.pdf).

Course Schedule

1. 17/10/2013: Introduction and Overview

Part I: Foreign Policy and Theory
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2. 24/10/2013: What is “Foreign Policy” (Analysis)?

Readings:

Hill, Christopher 2003: *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, Houndmills Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 1-5.

Stuart, Douglas 2008: *Foreign Policy Decision-Making*, in: Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: OUP, 576-593.

Hill, Christopher 2011: *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, SAGE Publications, <<http://www.sage-reference.com/view/intlpoliticalscience/n217.xml>>.

Ashley, Richard K. 1987: *Foreign Policy as Political Performance*, in: *International Studies Notes*, Vol. 13, 51-54.

3. 31/10/2013: Why (not) *Theorize* Foreign Policy as International Politics?

Readings:

Kurki, Milja / Wight, Colin 2007: *International Relations and Social Science*, in: Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith, eds. *International Relations Theories. Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford: OUP, 13-33.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979: *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1-17.

Debate about ‘Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy’ between Colin Elman and Kenneth Waltz in: *Security Studies* Vol. 6(1), 7-17, 54-61.

There will be no meeting on 7 November 2011

Part II: Agency and Models of Foreign Policy 'Decision-Making'

4. 14/11/2013: Foreign Policy Agency

Readings:

Carlsnaes, Walter 2008: Agents, Structures and Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, (eds.), Foreign Policy: Theory, Actors, Cases, Oxford: OUP, 85-100.

Hill, The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy, 51-85.

Zelikow Philip 1994: Foreign Policy Engineering: From Theory to Practice and Back Again, in: International Security, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring), 143-171.

5. 21/11/2013: Rationality and Agency

Readings:

Simon, Herbert 1985: Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science, in: American Political Science Review, Vol. 79, No. 2. (June), 293-304.

Kydd, Andrew H. 2008: Methodological Individualism and Rational Choice, in: Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., The Oxford Handbook of International Relations, Oxford: OUP, 425-443.

6. 28/11/2013: Aberrations from Rationality: Psychological Models

Readings:

Stein, Janice Gross 2008: Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Rational, Psychological, and Neurological Models, in: Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, (eds.), Foreign Policy: Theory, Actors, Cases, Oxford: OUP, 101-116.

Goldgeier, James / Tetlock, Philip 2008: Psychological Approaches, in: Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., The Oxford Handbook of International Relations, Oxford: OUP, 462-480.

7. 05/12/2013: Creative Agency

Readings:

Dewey, John 1916: Democracy and Education, chpt. 11, Experience and Thinking

Kratochwil, Friedrich 2008: Sociological Approaches, in: Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., The Oxford Handbook of International Relations, Oxford: OUP, 444-461.

Freeman, Richard 2008: Learning in Public Policy, in: Robert E. Goodin, Martin Rein, and Michael Moran, eds., The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy, Oxford: OUP, 367-388.

Part III: Foreign Policy Decision-Making in the Cuban Missile Crisis

8. 12/12/2013: What “Crisis”? Before and after “Essence of Decision”

Readings:

Kennedy, Robert F. 1999: Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis, W. W. Norton & Company.

Laffey, Mark / Weldes Jutta 2008: Decolonizing the Cuban Missile Crisis, in: International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sept.), 555-577.

9. 19/12/2013: Allison/Zelikow’s Rational Actor Model

Readings:

Allison/Zelikow, chpts. 1 and 2, pp. 13-142.

10. 16/01/2013: Allison/Zelikow’s Organizational Process Model

Readings:

Allison/Zelikow, chpts. 3 and 4, pp. 143-253.

11. 23/01/2013: Allison/Zelikow’s Bureaucratic Politics Model

Readings:

Allison/Zelikow, chpts. 5 and 6, pp. 255-377.

Part IV: Simulation: Foreign Policy Decision-Making in the Context of the “Two-plus-Four” Negotiations on German Unification 1989/1990

Due to the heavy work load in preparation for the simulation there will be no meeting on 30 January 2014

12. 06/02/2013: Getting to “Two-plus-Four”: Context and Historical Background

Required Readings:

Ikenberry, G. John 2011: German Unification, Western Order, and the Post-Cold War Restructuring of the International System, in: Caldwell, Peter C./Shandley, Robert R. (Eds.): German unification. Expectations and Outcomes, New York: Palgrave Macmillan,
read pp. 15-29, browse rest.

Zelikow, Philip / Rice, Condoleezza 1995: Germany Unified and Europe Transformed. A Study in Statecraft, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press

Sarotte, Mary Elise 2009: 1989. The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe, Princeton: Princeton UP.

read pp. 1-10, 48-50, 62-68, 70-87, 99-115, 119-129, 196-201, 210-214 (= 70 pages) / *browse rest*

Additional Suggested Readings:

Kaiser, Karl 1991: Germany's Unification, in: Foreign Affairs Vol. 70, No. 1, 179-205.

Wohlforth, William C. (Ed.) 2003: Cold War Endgame. Oral History, Analysis, Debates, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, chpts. 1-2.

Hutchings, Robert L. 1997: American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War. An Insider's Account of U.S. Policy in Europe, 1989-1992, Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, chpt. 3.

Szabo, Stephen F. 1992: The Diplomacy of German Unification, New York: St. Martin's Press.

Genscher, Hans Dietrich 1998: Rebuilding a House Divided. A Memoir by the Architect of Germany's Reunification, New York: Broadway Books, chpt. 11.

Bozo, Frédéric 2009: Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War and German Unification, New York: Berghahn Books, chpts. 2-6.

Salmon, Patrick/Hamilton, Keith/Twigge, Stephen Robert 2009: Documents on British Policy Overseas, Series 3, Volume 7, German Unification 1989-90, Whitehall Histories, London: Routledge, 2009.

Useful Online Resources in order to prepare for the simulation:

Online chronology of key dates of German unification:

<http://faculty.washington.edu/krumme/german/chronology.html#90>

The “National Security Archive” (→ <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/index.html>) provides access to thousands of formerly classified documents

The “Electronic Briefing Books” from the National Security Archive (→ <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/index.html>) collect declassified documents around certain themes. Among them the following are particular interest to us:

Fall of Berlin Wall Caused Anxiety More than Joy at Highest Levels. Secret Documents Show Opposition to German Unification, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 293, edited by Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton (November 7, 2009), available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB293/index.htm>

A Different October Revolution: Dismantling the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 290, edited by Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton (October 9, 2009), available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB290/index.htm>

The Soviet Origins of Helmut Kohl's 10 Points, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 296 (November 18, 2009), available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB296/index.htm>

Bush and Gorbachev at Malta. Previously Secret Documents from Soviet and U.S. Files on the 1989 Meeting, 20 Years Later, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 298, edited by Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton (December 3, 2009) available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB298/index.htm>

The Washington/Camp David Summit 1990: From the Secret Soviet, American and German Files (May/June 1990), National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 320, edited by Svetlana Savranskaya and Thomas Blanton (June 13, 2010), available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB320/index.htm>

13. BLOCK SEMINAR Friday 14 February 2014, 10-18h: Simulation and Conclusion

Participation in this simulation exercise is mandatory for all students. Potential conflicts with other classes you might have ought to be settled early on.

Students will join in groups with institutional responsibilities modeled on the US government (ie. DOS, DOD, National Security Council etc.). They will play individually assigned roles as part of that particular institution and in the context of one historical situation in the course of “Two-plus-Four” which was critical and controversial from a US point of view. Details will be provided in due course.