

Lovisenberggata 13 | 0456 Oslo
Tel 23 23 38 20 | Fax 23 23 38 21
info@bjorkneshoyskole.no



Course Guide

Foreign Policy Analysis

FPA4007

Academic year
2012 | 2013

Course Coordinator: Dr. Christopher Michael White



In this course we examine the various theories of foreign policy and how foreign policy is made, focussing in particular on states. The intention is to provide students with an insight into the decision making process, including how policy instruments are chosen, the role of leadership in the process, the importance of history and identity in framing the foreign policy goals of a country and the relevance of such factors as biases, perceptions, psychology and interests (bureaucracies) in shaping the agenda. The course will include a close reading of the foreign policies of the United Kingdom, France and the United States which we will use to shed light on the complexities involved in understanding why states behave as they do.

Learning goals

After completing this module, you will be able to:

- ✓ Understand the key central concepts in foreign policy analysis
- ✓ Have an awareness of the key foreign policy literature
- ✓ Display a critical appreciation of the various contending theories in foreign policy analysis and the complexities associated with understanding foreign policy at different the levels of analysis
- ✓ Have a good basic understanding of US, UK and French foreign policy.
- ✓ Appreciate the relevance of foreign policy analysis in an increasingly complex and interconnected world.

Main elements

The module is organised around the following core topics:

- Problems of foreign policy analysis – levels of analysis and the structure/ agency debate
- Realism and the Rational Actor Model

- Middle range theories and the decision making process
- Psychological Element in decision making
- UK, France and US foreign policies
- Globalisation and the relevance of foreign policy in a complex and interconnected world

Teaching

The teaching will be organised in 12 lectures; ten with a thematic focus and two which introduce and summarise the course. Each of the ten thematic lectures are accompanied by a mainly student lead seminar where the readings for each lecture can be critically discussed. During the first session, groups of students take responsibility for preparing and leading these seminars.

Each lecture consists of two sessions of 45 minutes and each seminar lasts 45 minutes.

What is expected of you as a student?

It is expected that students are prepared in advance of all seminars and lectures. As a minimum you should read what is listed as essential readings before every lecture. In addition, at least once you will be part of a group responsible for preparing and leading a discussion of the readings during a 45 minutes long seminar after a lecture. Additionally, you will be expected to produce an assessment of why the Soviets decided to station ICBM on the island of Cuba. This analysis should be no shorter than 1200 words and you will need to achieve a pass on this to proceed to the essay and exam. The deadline for this analysis is **Tuesday September 11th**. As part of a group you will undertake a 'psycho-profile' of a key leader from the past. This profile will be presented in class on **September 19th** with a view to explaining a key foreign policy decision in terms (at least partially) of their character. The leader will be agreed in the first session.

FPA4007 Foreign Policy Analysis counts 10 ECTS-credits. Each student will also write an essay which will count 40 % of the final mark for the course. A final written exam lasting three hours counts 60 %. You have to hand in and get a pass mark on the essay to get to sit for the exam. The standard A-F marking scheme, where A is the best mark and F is fail, is used.

The essay questions will be made available after the start of the module. The essay should have a length of about 1500 words (+/- 10 %, i.e. no less than 1350 words and no more than 1650 words) not including the bibliography. The essay is due on **Friday 23rd November**. The essay is to be submitted via the web platform Qybele or in the case of visiting students via email to christopher.white@bjorkneshoyskole.no

The written exam (closed book) is scheduled for **Monday 17th December**.

Curriculum

The main textbook of the module is *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, (2011) by Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr. and you will also have to buy the book *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (2012) by Chris Alden and Amnon Aran.

A very good additional text that you might want to purchase is *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, Christopher Hill, Palgrave 2003. Also, have a look at www.foreignpolicy.com, where you'll find a wealth of interesting articles. It goes without mention that you also ought to read a good weekly periodical, Economist, Newsweek or Time to mention but three. The International Herald Tribune is a good daily with an emphasis on international politics, and if you have time try to get hold of *Modern Times: A History of the World from the 1920s to the Year 2000* by Paul Johnson, this is in my view one of the best historical surveys of the twentieth century.

A reader for the module with other essential readings will be handed out before the first lecture. The essential readings form the basis for essay and exam questions. For the essays in particular you are strongly encouraged to find additional relevant literature. Make use of the Bjørknes Library, the Nobel Library and others, and find sources online. Make sure to be critical of what you read and, very importantly, *be careful to reference properly*. Read the guidelines on essay writing and referencing at the end of this module guide thoroughly and repeatedly.

Lecture plan:

Key Theories

Lecture 1	Wednesday 22 August 13:30pm-16:15pm	Introduction
Lecture 2	Wednesday 29 August 13:30pm-16:15pm	Realism and the Rational Actor Model
Lecture 3	Wednesday 5 September 13:30pm-16:15pm	The Decision Making Process and The Bureaucratic Politics Approach
Film Evening	TBA	Key Case Study: Making sense of the Cuban Missile Crisis

Essay 1 Deadline 11 September.

The Ideational Dimension

Lecture 4	Wednesday 12 September 13:30pm-16:15pm	Belief, Perceptions, Public Opinion and the Role of History
Lecture 5	Wednesday 17 September 13:30pm-16:15pm	The Psychological Dimension: Leadership and Crisis

Key Case Study: Examining The Role of the Leader in Foreign Policy

Lecture 6	Wednesday 26 September 13:30pm-14:30pm	The International Structure: Questions Pertaining to Power, Empire and Globalization
-----------	---	---

<i>Guest Lecture</i> <i>Jan Egeland</i>	Wednesday 26 September 15:00pm	Global Trends. Is the World Getting Better or Worse?
--	-----------------------------------	---

Autumn break 1-7 October

Country Specific Case Studies

Lecture 7	Wednesday 10 October 13:30pm-16:15pm	French Foreign Policy (Tomas Roen)
Lecture 8	Wednesday 17 October 13:30pm-16:15pm	US Foreign Policy (Hilde Restad)

Lecture 9	Wednesday 24 October 13:30pm-16:15pm	Ambassador Jeszenszky, Hungarian Ambassador and former Hungarian Foreign Minister.
Lecture 10	Wednesday 7 November 13:30pm-16:15pm	British Foreign Policy
Lecture 11	Wednesday 14 November 13:30pm-16:15pm	British Foreign Policy

Revision class Wednesday 21 November

Essay 2 **Deadline Friday 23 November**

Exam **Monday 17 December**
09:00am-12:00pm

** Changes may occur*

Lecture 1

Wednesday 22 August

Introduction

Lecturer: Christopher White

In the first session we discuss what we will be examining over the coming weeks. Class presentations will be allocated, we clarify the group activities – who will be working together – and we agree on the leaders that will be assessed as part of the psycho-profile. We will also begin with a basic introduction to the topic, and reflect on why foreign policy remains relevant and challenging. Some basic ideas will be introduced regarding what we study and how we study the topic, some basic concepts will be introduced, in particular the national interest and the role anarchy in shaping foreign policy options.

Keywords for the lecture:

- Foreign Policy
- National Interest
- Exogenous and Endogenous causes
- Sovereignty and the state
- Levels of analysis

Essential reading (see reader chapters 1 & 2)

Brown, Chris. *Understanding International Relations*, 3rd Edition, pp63-77.

Stern, Geoffrey. *The Structure of International Society*, pp106-121.

Garrison, Jean. 'Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium' & Kaarbo, Juliet. 'Foreign Policy Analysis in the Twenty-first Century: Back to Comparison, Forward to Identity and Ideas', in *International Studies Review*, 2003, (5), pp155-6 & pp156-163.

Light, Margot. 'Foreign Policy Analysis', in Groom, A. and Margot Light (eds.), *Contemporary International Relations: A guide to theory*, Pinter, 1994, pp93-108. **(reader chapter 2)**

Optional further reading (reader Chapter 2)

Carlsnaes, Walter. *Foreign Policy*, in Carlsnaes, W (ed) *handbook of International Relations*, sage Publications, 2006, pp333-349.

White, Brian. *Analysing Foreign Policy: Problems and Approaches*, in Clarke, Michael and Brian White, *Understanding Foreign Policy Systems*, Edward Elgar, pp1-27.

LECTURE 2

Wednesday 29 August

Realism and the Rational Actor Model

Lecturer: Christopher White

In this session we critically examine in detail the realist contribution to foreign policy analysis and then move to a specific examination of the rational actor model, drawing on Graham Allison's chapter included in the reader. The realist approach, with its assumptions of a unitary rational actor concerned primarily about security and high politics, is influential and important. Is it nonetheless not without its limitations, not least the assumption of rationality, and unity of purpose. We thus critically assess its relevance before considering some of the limitations of assuming rationality in the politics of a state.

Keywords for the lecture:

- Realism
- National Interest
- Anarchy and Structure
- Reason
- Levels of analysis

Essential reading (see reader chapters 4)

Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikov, 'The Rational Actor Model', in *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* 2nd Edition, Longman, 1999, pp13-48.

Mintz and De Rouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Chapters 4 & 5, pp57-93.

Optional further reading (reader Chapter 5)

Aron, Raymond. *Peace and War: A Theory of International relations*, 1967, pp47-70.

On the state:

Mingst, Karen. *Essentials of International Relations*, 3rd Edition, Norton & Co., 2004, pp101-135.

LECTURE 3

Wednesday 5 September

The Decision Making Process and the Bureaucratic Politics Approach

Lecturer: Christopher White

In this session we reflect on the various strands of what has come to be known as the decision making approach. This orientation challenges many of the key assumptions in the realist position in effect problematizing any simple assumption that the 'state' acts. By examining how decisions are made, and who makes decisions, this approach sheds considerable light on the complexities involved when it comes to understanding foreign policy.

Keywords for the lecture:

- Decision Making
- Cognitive approaches
- Unilateral, Negotiated, Structured and Unstructured Decisions
- Reason
- Levels of analysis

Essential reading (see reader chapter 6)

Mintz and Derouen, Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making, chapters 1 & 2.

Alden and Aran, Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches, Chapters 2 & 3.

Smith, Steve. 'Perspectives on Foreign Policy System: Bureaucratic Politics Approaches', in Clark, M. Understanding Foreign Policy, pp109-134.

Garrison, Jean., 'Foreign Policymaking and Group Dynamics: Where We've Been and Where We're Going', International Studies Review, (5), 2003, pp177-183.

Optional further reading (reader Chapter 6)

Bureaucratic Responsiveness to the News Media: Comparing the Influence of The New York Times and Network Television News Coverage on US Foreign Aid Allocations, Political Communication, 20:3, 263-285

Mintz, Alex. 'Foreign Policy Decision Making in Familiar and Unfamiliar Settings: An Experimental Study of High-Ranking Military Officers', Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol.48, (1), 2004, pp91-104.

LECTURE 4

Wednesday 12 September

The Ideational and Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Perceptions, Public Opinion and the Role of History

Lecturer: Christopher White

In this session we reflect on the domestic sources of foreign policy, in particular on the ideational dimension, or the role of ideas and how they shape, frame and at times determine foreign policy views. Beliefs are considered in the first part of the lecture; we ask how our beliefs effect our actions and how we reason. We consider the role that history plays, not least in informing our views about who we are, but also how past events, for example the Munich agreement or the invasion of Pearl Harbour, effect how decision makers reflect on the wisdom of their options in the present. Finally in an age of globalisation and 24 hr news cycles, we ask whether public opinion plays an increasingly significant role in pushing or limiting the foreign policy options of a country?

Keywords for the lecture:

- Domestic International distinction
- Biases
- CNN effect
- Group think
- Historical analogy

Essential reading (see reader chapter 7 & 9)

Mintz and DeRouen, *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*, chapters 3 & 6.

Alden and Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, chapter 4.

Jervis, Robert. 'Understanding Beliefs', *Political Psychology*, Vol.27, No.5, 2006, pp641-663.

Putnam, R. 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of two-level games', *International Organisation*, 42, (3) 1988, PP427-460.

Optional further reading (reader Chapter 7)

Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Clarendon, 1990, pp98-118.

LECTURE 5

Wednesday 19 September

The Psychological Dimension: Leadership and Crisis

Lecturer: Christopher White

In this session we reflect on the role that leadership plays in foreign policy decision making and probe whether individuals make a difference. Can we ever understand the motives of individuals and leaders? Are decisions that are made always rational and explainable or do leaders at times choose inexplicable options that are not easily understandable according to basic models of rationality? The lecture will be followed by detailed psycho-profiles of some key leaders presented by the class groups.

Keywords for the lecture:

- Personality
- Cognitive approaches
- Agency
- Narcissism
- Levels of analysis

Essential reading (see reader chapter 8 & 10)

Herman, Margaret. Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany and Timothy Shaw, 'Who leads matters: the effects of powerful individuals', *International Studies Review*, 3(2), 2001, pp47-82.

Barash, David and Charles Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 2nd Edition, Sage, pp170-189.

Vogler, John. *Perspectives on the Foreign Policy System: Psychological Approaches*, pp135-162. In Clarke, M. and Brian White, *Understanding Foreign Policy: The Foreign Policy Systems Approach*, Edward Elgar, 1989.

Optional further reading (reader Chapter 10)

Dyson, Stephen. 'Alliance, Domestic Politics and Leader Psychology: Why Did Britain Stay Out of Vietnam and Go into Iraq?' *Political Psychology*, Vol28, No.6, 2007, pp647-666.

Post, Jerrold. 'The Impact of Crisis Induced Stress on Policy Makers', in *Leaders and their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behaviour*, Cornell University, 2004, pp100-122.

LECTURE 6

Wednesday 26 September

Globalisation and Foreign Policy: Structure, Power and Empire

(note: class finishes at 14:30 to allow for Jan Egeland's guest lecture, which starts at 15:00)

Lecturer: Christopher White

In this abridged session we consider the significance of globalisation and the changing power structures that characterise the current phase of global capital. We consider the significance of these changes, how they are altering not only the balance of power, but also how states define their national interest and we assess what this will mean for the way foreign policy is formulated in the West.

Keywords for the lecture:

- Globalisation
- Empire
- End of State
- Capitalism

Essential reading (see reader chapter 3)

Alden and Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, chapters 6 & 7.

Hudson, Valerie. 'Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations' *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2005, (1), pp1-30.

LECTURE 7

Wednesday 10 October

Explaining and Understanding French Foreign Policy

Lecturer: Tomas Roen

In this lecture Tomas will explore the origins of French foreign policy and chart its development from the end of the WWII, focussing on how, like the United Kingdom it has struggled to come to terms with a declining role following a painful withdrawal from North Africa. What exactly is the French national interest and who defines it. What role does France play in the modern world and what sort of challenges does it currently face? These questions will be addressed, along with the significance of recent challenges to the EU and what this means for French interests. Is France in danger of being outmanoeuvred by the Germans?

Essential reading (see reader chapter 13)

Macridis, Roy. 'French Foreign Policy: the quest for rank', in Macridis, R. *Foreign Policy in World Politics*, Englewood, 1985, pp22-77.

Belkin, Paul. 'France: Factors Shaping Foreign Policy and Issues in US-French Relations', Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, May 20 2009, pp.1-24.

LECTURE 8

Wednesday 17 October

Explaining and Understanding US Foreign Policy

Lecturer: Hilde E. Restad

In this lecture Dr. Restad will examine current US Foreign policy under Obama and question whether it has changed in any sort of fundamental way. Focussing in particular on the War on terror Dr. Restad will examine the strategies that the US administration uses to pursue their security interests in an age of asymmetrical warfare.

Essential reading

Resdad, Hilde. The War on terror from Bush to Obama: On Power and Path Dependency, NUPI Working Paper 798, 2012, pp.

More readings to follow

Lecture 10 & 11

Wednesday 7 and 14 November

Explaining and Understanding British Foreign Policy

Lecturer: Christopher White

In the last two lectures we examine the nature of British foreign policy. What it is, how it is made and who makes it. We consider the challenges that UK policy has faced over the last 60 years and reflect on some of the successes and failures, including Suez, the Falklands, Iraq and Afghanistan. We consider the so called special relationship with the US and in the second of our sessions we consider how the attempt to articulate a new ethical foreign policy has proved problematic. Finally we reflect on why Afghanistan and Iraq proved to be so controversial. Did the UK loose these wars?

Essential reading (see reader chapter 12)

White, Christopher. 'Foreign Policy: A Bleak Year', Palgrave Review of British Politics, Palgrave 2006, pp191-205.

White, Christopher. 'Brown's World View: Foreign Policy Under Our New Prime Minister', in Rush, M. and Philip Gidings (eds.), Hansard Society, 2008, pp193-204.

Hill, Christopher. 'Foreign Policy', in Seldon, A. (ed.), The Blair Effect, Little Brown Co., 2003, pp331-355.

Ledwidge, Frank. 'Losing Small Wars: British Military Failure in Iraq and Afghanistan', Yale University Press, 2011, pp16-59.

Curtis, Mark. Web of Deceit: Britain's Real Role in the World, Vintage Original, 2003, pp357-373.

Judd, Denis. Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present, Phoenix, 1996, pp359-371.

Darwin, John. Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World', MacMillan, 1988, pp126-166.

Appendix:

Prof. Dr. Géza Jeszenszky

Source 22 August 2012: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/index.php?Geza-Jeszenszky>

Born in Budapest in 1941. Due to his commitment to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was banned from higher education for two years. From 1961 read history, English, and later library science at Eötvös University, Budapest, receiving an M.A. in 1966, a Ph.D. in 1970, and a degree in librarianship in 1973.

After two years as a schoolteacher he joined the National Széchényi Library in 1968. In 1976 he was invited to teach at the Budapest (then Karl Marx) University of Economics, where he was appointed reader in the history of international relations in 1981 and was elected Dean of the School of Social and Political Science in 1989. Between 1973 and 1976 he held a research scholarship from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the Institute of History in Budapest. In 1980 he received the degree „Candidate of Historical Sciences” from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Dr. Jeszenszky is the author of a large number of scholarly publications and political writings, including **An Outline History of International Relations** (Budapest, 1984); **Az elveszett presztízs** [The Changing Image of Hungary in Britain, 1894-1918]. (Budapest, 1986, 2nd ed. 1994); Antall, József: **Selected Speeches and Interviews**. Ed. by Géza Jeszenszky. Budapest: József Antall Foundation, 2008; **Post-Communist Europe and Its National/Ethnic Problems** (Budapest, 2009), articles in **The East European Quarterly**, **Ethnos**, **Macalaster International**, **The Hungarian Quarterly**, **The New York Review of Books**, **Uncaptive Minds**, **Südosteuropa**, as well as in journals and collective volumes published in Hungary, the United States, the U.K. and Germany.

Jeszenszky taught courses on the history of international relations, modern Hungarian history, esp. foreign policy, on Central and Eastern Europe (the Habsburg Monarchy, the problem of national minorities) and on the transition process in the formerly Communist-dominated countries in the 1990s. In 1984-86 he was a visiting professor at the University of California, Santa Barbara, teaching the history of Central and Eastern Europe; in 1996 was Helen De Roy Professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Jeszenszky was a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (1988), which won the free elections in April 1990, nominating him Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government of J. Antall (1990-94).

As Minister, Jeszenszky made a personal contribution to the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and to the reorientation of Hungary's foreign policy. Dedicated to the idea of regional cooperation he helped establishing and maintaining the „Visegrád” cooperation of the restored Central European democracies. He negotiated bilateral treaties with Hungary's three neighbors, Ukraine, Slovenia and Croatia, countries who were ready to provide guarantees for the rights of their sizeable Hungarian population.

Following the elections of 1994 Jeszenszky became a member of the Opposition in Parliament. In 1995 he was elected President of the Hungarian Atlantic Council, a post he gave up when, following another change of government, he was appointed Ambassador to the United States of America. He served in Washington between 1998 and 2002, representing the government led by V. Orbán. In September 2002 he resumed teaching history and international relations at the Corvinus University of Budapest (formerly Budapest University of Economics and Public Administration). Recently, as a Visiting Professor, he also taught courses on the history and problems of Central Europe at the College of Europe, Warsaw-Natolin, at Pacific Lutheran University (Tacoma, WA) and at the Babes-Bolyai University at Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár in Romania.

In his dual capacity as a scholar and a politician Dr. Jeszenszky talked or read papers at numerous conferences, including the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the CSIS (Washington, D.C.), the American Hungarian Educators' Association, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, the Institute Francais des Relations Internationales, the Atlantic Council of the United States, and spoke at a large number of universities all over the world. Several times he was a speaker at the NATO School (SHAPE) at Oberammergau, Germany.

Jeszenszky received a number of decorations and awards including a C.I.E.S. Fulbright Grant (1984-86) and a Guest Scholar Grant from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1985). He is also recipient of several high state decorations from Italy, Spain, Poland, Slovenia, Croatia, Korea etc.

Dr. Jeszenszky is married, has a son and a daughter. He is an active sportsman, his favorites are skiing, rowing and mountaineering. He is the President of the Hungarian Carpathian Association.