

International Relations INR 6107
U. S. Foreign Policy

Fall 2004
T 18:25 - 21:05
Section 01

Dr. Paul A. Kowert
Office: DM 436A
Hours: T R 4:00 - 5:00 PM

This course examines the processes that shape U. S. foreign policy and the environmental structures that constrain it. Unlike most other international relations courses, it is concerned not only with outcomes, but also with the way policy decisions are made, with who is responsible, and with intentions as well as results. By investigating these micro-theoretical foundations for U. S. foreign policy, the causes of broader patterns and outcomes will also become clearer. And although this course focuses specifically on U. S. policy, the types of analysis developed here should be readily applicable to other policy making contexts.

Course Requirements

As in any graduate seminar, active participation is essential. Required readings, indicated by an asterisk (*) on the syllabus, should always be completed before class. To facilitate participation, and as a prelude to each week's discussion, every student is responsible for bringing a brief (2 or 3 sentences) **written summary** of the central points of each required reading to class. Please note that the purpose of these written summaries is **not** to outline the reading (you should do this separately, in your notes), but rather to identify the main argument. Students should also take notes on the major questions raised by each week's readings. The readings summaries will be collected in class periodically, and without advance warning.

The course requires two brief (about 4 pages) review essays summarizing and criticizing the assigned readings. **A review essay is not a book report:** it should summarize the reviewed work only as necessary. Its objective is to state your own, original argument (reacting to the argument in the reviewed work). The course also requires a **series of policy reports** (most will be very short—one or two pages), which will describe aspects of the U. S. foreign policy making process. Each policy report assignment will be distributed in class, and the report will be due at the beginning of the following class (or as noted in the assignment). In producing these reports, be certain to document all sources meticulously.

All written work for this class *must* be typed and double-spaced with one-inch margins. It should conform stylistically to the standards of a prominent international relations journal (e.g., *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, or *World Politics*). Style manuals such as Kate Turabian's *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* or William Strunk and E. B. White's *The Elements of Style* may also be helpful. Papers should conform to university and professional standards for academic honesty and integrity. In particular, all students should review the relevant sections of the Student Handbook and of my website (<http://www.fiu.edu/~kowert/students.html>) on how to avoid plagiarism. All written work is due at the beginning of class on the assigned dates. Late papers will be accepted only at the professor's discretion and will be penalized. Grades will be determined on the basis of these course requirements as follows:

Participation/Readings Summaries	10%
First Review Essay	25%
Second Review Essay	25%
Policy Reports	40%

You are always welcome to discuss this course or other academic issues with me during my office hours. I will also be happy to make an appointment for another time if you cannot see me during office hours. Don't hesitate to ask if you have any questions or problems.

Syllabus

Week 1 (Aug. 31) — *Level of Analysis and Theory in U. S. Foreign Policy*

- * Jervis, Robert, "Perception and the Level of Analysis Problem," in Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), chapter 1 (pp. 13-31).
- * Levy, Jack, "Political Psychology and Foreign Policy," in David O Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 253-284.

Carlsnaes, Walter, "The Agent-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 245-270.

Eckstein, Harry, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 7 (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 79-137.

George, Alexander, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., *Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 43-68.

Herrmann, Richard, "The Empirical Challenge of the Cognitive Revolution: A Strategy for Drawing Inferences about Perceptions," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 175-203.

Singer, J. David, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Snyder, Jack, "Richness, Rigor, and Relevance in the Study of Soviet Foreign Policy," *International Security* 9 (1984/85), pp. 89-108.

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

Waltz, Kenneth, *Theory of International Relations* (New York: Random House, 1979).

Part I — The Decision Making Process

Week 2 (Sept. 7) — *Presidents, Personality, and Leadership*

- * Winter, David G., "Personality and Foreign Policy: Historical Overview of Research," in Valerie Hudson and Eric Singer, *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 135-162.
- * Greenstein, Fred, "Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically?" *Political Psychology* 13 (1992), pp. 105-128.
- * Kowert, Paul, "Where *Does* the Buck Stop?: Assessing the Impact of Presidential Personality," *Political Psychology* 17 (1996), pp. 421-452.
- * Wayne, Stephen J., "President Bush Goes to War," in Stanley Renshon, ed., *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).

Barber, James David, *The Lawmakers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

Barber, James David, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

Etheredge, Lloyd, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968," *American Political Science Review* 72 (1978), pp. 434-451.

Hermann, Margaret G., "When Leader Personality Will Affect Foreign Policy: Some Propositions," in James Rosenau, *In Search of Global Patterns* (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp. 326-333.

Hermann, Margaret, ed., *A Psychological Examination of Political Leaders* (New York: The Free Press, 1977).

Hudson, Valerie, "Birth Order and the Personal Characteristics of World Leaders," in V. Hudson and Eric Singer, *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 135-162.

- George, Alexander and Juliette George, *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (New York: Dover, 1956).
- George, Alexander and Juliette George, *Presidential Personality and Performance* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998).
- Glad, Betty, "Why Tyrants Go Too Far: Malignant Narcissism and Absolute Power," *Political Psychology* 23 (2002), pp. 1-37.
- Greenstein, Fred, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader* (New York: Basic, 1982).
- Greenstein, Fred, "Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically?" *Political Psychology* 13 (1992), pp. 105-128.
- Renshon, Stanley, ed., *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1995).
- Shephard, Graham, "Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1969-1984: A Second Test of Interpersonal Generalization Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988), pp. 91-123.
- Simonton, Dean Keith, "Personality and Politics," in L. A. Pervin, ed., *Handbook of Personality, Theory and Research* (New York: Guilford, 1990), pp. 670-692.
- Snare, Charles E., "Applying Personality Theory of Foreign Policy Behavior: Evaluating Three Methods of Assessment," in Valerie Hudson and Eric Singer, *Political Psychology and Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 135-162.
- Winter, David, "Leader Appeal, Leader Performance, and the Motive Profiles of Leaders and Followers," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52 (1987), pp. 196-202.
- Winter, David, "Personality and Political Behavior," in David O Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 110-145
- Young, Michael D. and Mark Schafer, "Is There Method in Our Madness? Ways of Assessing Cognition in International Relations," *Mershon International Studies Review* 42 (1988), pp. 63-96.

Week 3 (Sept. 14) — Emotion and Motivation

- * Marcus, George, "The Psychology of Emotion and Politics," in David O Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis, *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 110-145.
- * Holsti, Ole R., *Crisis, Escalation, War* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972), chapters 1, 5, 7.
- * Janis, Irving, *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management* (New York: Free Press, 1989), chapter 4.

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- Cottam, Richard, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1977).
- Fernandez, Damian, *Cuba and the Politics of Passion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).
- Fiske, Susan, "Schema-Triggered Affect: Applications to Social Perception," in Susan Fiske and Margaret Clark, eds., *Affect and Cognition* (1982), pp. 55-78.
- Frank, Jerome D., "The Role of Pride," in Ralph K. White, ed., *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), pp. 220-226.
- Herrmann, Richard, "Perceptions and Foreign Policy Analysis," in Donald Sylvan and Steve Chan, eds., *Foreign Policy Decision Making* (New York: Praeger, 1984), pp. 25-52.
- Holsti, Ole R. and Alexander L. George, "The Effects of Stress on the Performance of Foreign Policy-Makers," in Cornelius P. Cotter, ed., *Political Science Annual*, Vol. 6 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), pp. 255-319.
- Janis, Irving and Leon Mann, *Decision Making: A Psychological Analysis of Conflict, Choice, and Commitment* (New York: Free Press, 1977).
- Jervis, Robert, et al., *Psychology and Deterrence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).
- Lebow, Richard Ned, *Between Peace and War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), chapters 1, 5.
- Lebow, Richard Ned, *Nuclear Crisis Management: A Dangerous Illusion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Tetlock, Philip and Ariel Levi, "Attribution Bias: On the Inconclusiveness of the Cognition-Motivation Debate," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 18 (1982), pp. 68-88.
- Walker, Stephen G., "The Motivational Foundations of Political Belief Systems: A Re-Analysis of the Operational Code Construct," *International Studies Quarterly* 27 (1983), pp. 179-202.

Week 4 (Sept. 21) — Information and Belief Systems

- * George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: the Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), chapters 2-3.
- * Herrmann, Richard K. and Michael P. Fischerkeller, "Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research After the Cold War," *International Organization* 49 (1995), pp. 415-450.

Axelrod, Robert, *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Fiske, Susan and Shelley Taylor, *Social Cognition* (New York: Random House, 1984).

George, Alexander, "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (1969), pp. 190-222.

Holsti, Ole R., "Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy: Dulles and Russia," in David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), pp. 25-96.

Holsti, Ole, "Foreign Policy Viewed Cognitively," in Robert Axelrod, *Structure of Decision: The Cognitive Maps of Political Elites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 18-54.

Hudson, Valerie M., ed., *Artificial Intelligence and International Politics* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991).

Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Jervis, Robert, "Representativeness in Foreign Policy Judgments," *Political Psychology* 7 (1986), pp. 483-505.

Kahneman, Daniel, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, eds., *Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Lampton, David M., "The U. S. Image of Peking in Three International Crises," *Western Political Quarterly* 36 (1973), pp. 28-49.

Nisbett, Richard and Lee Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

Renshon, Stanley A. and Deborah Welch Larson, *Good Judgment in Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Sylvan, Donald, Thomas Ostrom, and Katherine Gannon, "Case-Based, Model-Based, and Explanation-Based Styles of Reasoning in Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 38 (1994), pp. 61-90.

Vertzberger, Yaacov, *The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Week 5 (Sept. 28) — Learning

- * Khong, Yuen Foong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), chapters 2, 5.
- * Larson, Deborah, *Origins of Containment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), introduction, chapter 1.

Blum, Douglas W., "The Soviet Foreign Policy Belief system: Beliefs, Politics, and Foreign Policy Outcomes," *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), pp. 373-394.

Breslauer, George and Philip Tetlock, *Learning in American and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991).

Etheredge, Lloyd, *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions* (New York: Pergamon, 1985).

Fiske, Susan and Shelley Taylor, *Social Cognition* (New York: Random House, 1984).

Jervis, Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

May, Ernest, *"Lessons" of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Neustadt, Richard E. and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

- Nisbett, Richard and Lee Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1980).
- Steinbruner, John, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, "Foreign Policy Decision-makers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and its Shortcomings," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 223-247.
- Vertzberger, Yaacov, *The World in Their Minds: Information Processing, Cognition, and Perception in Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Week 6 (Oct. 5) — Parametric Choice

- * Elster, Jon, "Introduction," in Jon Elster, ed., *Rational Choice* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), p. 1-33.
- * Janis, Irving, *Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management* (New York: Free Press, 1989), chapter 5.
- * Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Longman, 1999, 1st ed. 1971), chapter 2.

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- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, *The War Trap* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, "The Contribution of Expected-Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Winchester, Massachusetts: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman, *War and Reason: Domestic and International Imperatives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Elster, Jon, *Ulysses and the Sirens: Studies in Rationality and Irrationality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Elster, Jon, *Rational Choice* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).
- Friedman, J., *The Rational Choice Controversy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- Green, Donald P. and Ian Shapiro, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
- Levy, Jack, "Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997), pp. 87-112.
- Majeski, Stephen and David Sylvan, "Simple Choices and Complex Calculations: A Critique of the War Trap," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 28 (1984), pp. 316-340.
- McDermott, Rose, *Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).
- Oneal, John R., "The Rationality of Decision Making During International Crises," *Polity* 20 (1988), pp. 598-622.
- Quattrone, George and Amos Tversky, "Contrasting Rational and Psychological Analyses of Political Choice," *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988), pp. 719-736.
- Sen, Amartya K., "Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1977), pp. 317-344.
- Schelling, Thomas, *Micromotives and Macrobehavior* (New York: Norton, 1978).
- Stein, Janice Gross and Raymond Tanter, *Rational Decision Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980).
- Wagner, R. Harrison, "War and Expected Utility Theory," *World Politics* 36 (1984), pp. 407-423.

Week 7 (Oct. 12) — Strategic Choice

- * Morrow, James D., *Game Theory for Political Scientists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), chapter 3.
- * Morrow, James D., "The Strategic Setting of Choices: Signaling, Commitment, and Negotiation in International Politics," in David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds., *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 77-114.

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- Brams, Steven J., *Game Theory and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1975).
- Brams, Steven J., *Rational Politics: Decisions, Games, and Strategy* (Boston: Academic Press, 1985).

- Brams, Steven J., *Negotiation Games: Applying Game Theory to Bargaining and Arbitration* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- Brams, Steven J., *Theory of Moves* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, "The Contribution of Expected-Utility Theory to the Study of International Conflict," in Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies* (Winchester, Massachusetts: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Avinash K. Dixit and Barry J. Nalebuff, *Thinking Strategically: The Competitive Edge in Business, Politics, and Everyday Life* (New York: Norton, 1991).
- Eatwell, John, Murray Milgate, and Peter Newman, eds., *The New Palgrave: Game Theory* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989).
- Harsanyi, John C., *Rational Behavior and Bargaining Equilibrium in Games and Social Situations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Lake, David A. and Robert Powell, *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- MacKay, Alfred F., *Arrow's Theorem: The Paradox of Social Choice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).
- Ordeshook, Peter, *Game Theory and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986).
- Poundstone, William, *Prisoner's Dilemma: John Von Neumann, Game Theory, and the Puzzle of the Bomb* (New York: Anchor, 1992).
- Schelling, Thomas, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Week 8 (Oct. 19) — Deterrence, Compellence, and Bargaining

- * Axelrod, Robert, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic, 1984), chs. 1, 2, 4.
- * Symposium on "The Rational Deterrence Debate," *World Politics* 41 (1989), contributions by Achen and Snidal, Lebow and Stein.

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- George, Alexander L. and Richard Smoke, *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).
- Geva, Nehemia and Alex Mintz, *Decisionmaking on War and Peace: The Cognitive-Rational Debate* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997).
- Keohane, Robert O., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," *World Politics* 41 (1989), pp. 143-169.
- Powell, Robert, *Nuclear Deterrence Theory: The Search for Credibility* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Stein, Arthur A., *Why Nations Cooperate: Circumstance and Choice in International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Week 9 (Oct. 26) — Group Dynamics

- * George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: the Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), chapter 8.
- * 't Hart, Paul, *Groupthink in Government: A Study of Small Groups and Policy Failure* (Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1990), chapters 1, 5, 6.
- * Kowert, Paul A., "Leadership and Learning in Political Groups: The Management of Advice in the Iran-Contra Affair," *Governance* 14 (2001), pp. 201-232.

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- Albanese, Robert and David Van Fleet, "Rational Behavior in Groups: The Free-Riding Tendency," *Academy of Management Review* 10 (1985), pp. 244-255.
- Cartwright, Dorwin, "Risk Taking by Individuals and Groups: An Assessment of Research Employing Choice Dilemmas," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 361-378.
- Garrison, Jean, "Framing Foreign Policy Alternatives in the Inner Circle," *Political Psychology* 22 (2001), pp. 775-807.
- George, Alexander, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: the Effective Use of Information and Advice* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980).

- Guetzkow, Harold, *Groups, Leadership, and Men* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951).
- Janis, Irving, *Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes*, 2nd ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982).
- Kowert, Paul A., *Groupthink or Deadlock: When Do Leaders Learn from Their Advisors?* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).
- Levine, John and Richard Moreland, "Progress in Small Group Research," *Annual Review of Psychology* (1990), pp. 585-634.
- Longley, J. and Dean G. Pruitt, "Groupthink: A Critique of Janis's Theory," *Review of Personality and Social Psychology* 1 (1980), pp. 74-93.
- McGrath, Joseph, "Time, Interaction, and Performance (TIP): A Theory of Groups," *Small Group Research* 22 (1991), pp. 147-174.
- Minix, Dean A., *Small Groups and Foreign Policy Decision-Making* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1982).
- Pruitt, Dean G., "Choice Shifts in Group Discussion: An Introductory Review," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 20 (1971), pp. 339-360.
- Raven, Bertram, "The Nixon Group," *Journal of Social Issues* 30 (1974), pp. 297-320.
- Semmel, Andrew K., "Small-Group Dynamics in Foreign Policymaking," in G. W. Hopple, ed., *Biopolitics, Political Psychology, and International Politics* (New York: St. Martins, 1982).

Part II — Constraints on Foreign Policy Making

Week 10 (Nov. 2) — Bureaucracies and Organizations

FIRST REVIEW ESSAY DUE

- * Allison, Graham and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Longman, 1999, 1st ed. 1971), chapter 4.
 - * Krasner, Stephen, "Are Bureaucracies Important?" *Foreign Policy* 7 (1971), pp. 159-179.
 - * Cohen, Michael D., James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17, 1 (1972), pp. 1-25.
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- Allison, Graham T. and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," in Raymond Tanter and Richard H. Ullman, *Theory and Policy in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Anderson, Richard D. *et al.*, "Explaining Self-Defeating Foreign Policy Decisions: Interpreting Soviet Arms for Egypt in 1973 through Process or Domestic Bargaining Models?" *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992), pp. 759-767.
- Bendor, Jonathon and Thomas Hammond, "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992), pp. 301-321.
- Destler, Irving M., *Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy: The Politics of Organizational Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
- Fernandez, Damian, "Opening the Blackest of Black Boxes: Theory and Practice of Decision Making in Cuba's Foreign Policy," in Jorge Domínguez, ed., *Cuban Studies* 22 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), pp. 53-78.
- Halperin, Morton, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1974).
- Halperin, Morton, "Why Bureaucrats Play Games?" *Foreign Affairs* (1971), pp. 70-90.
- Harari, Ehud, "Resolving and Managing Policy Conflict: Advisory Bodies," in S. N. Eisenstadt and Eyal Ben-Ari, eds., *Japanese Models of Conflict Resolution* (London: Kegan Paul, 1990), pp. 138-161.
- Hilsman, Roger, *To Move a Nation* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967).
- Hopple, Gerald, "Elite Values and Foreign Policy Analysis," in L. S. Falkowski, ed., *Psychological Models in International Politics* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 211-249.
- Kier, Elizabeth, "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars," *International Security* 19 (1995), pp. 65-93.

- Kier, Elizabeth, *Imagining War: French and British Military Doctrine Between the Wars*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Kissinger, Henry, "Bureaucracy and Policymaking," in Morton Halperin and Arnold Kanter, eds., *Readings in American Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
- March, James and Herbert Simon, *Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1958).
- Rowen, Henry, "Bargaining and Analysis in Government," in Louis Gawthrop, ed., *The Administrative Process and Democratic Theory* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 31-37.
- Simon, Herbert, *Administrative Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1968).
- Stewart, Philip D., et al, "Modeling the 1973 Soviet Decision to Support Egypt," *American Political Science Review* 83 (1989), pp. 35-89.
- Welch, David, "The Organizational Process and Bureaucratic Politics Paradigms," *International Security* 17 (1992), pp. 112-146.

Week 11 (Nov. 9) — Public Opinion

- * Holsti, Ole, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 439-466.
- * Aldrich, John, John Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida, "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience?'" *American Political Science Review* 83 (1989), pp. 123-141.
- * Jentleson, Bruce, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992), pp. 49-74.
- * Morgan, T. Clifton and Kenneth N. Bickers, "Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36 (1992), pp. 25-52.

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- Almond, Gabriel, *The American People and Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1960).
- Chittick, William O., Keith Billingsley, and Rick Travis, "A Three-Dimensional Model of American Foreign Policy Beliefs," *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995), pp. 313-331.
- Citrin, Jack et al, "Is American Nationalism Changing? Implications for Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 38 (1994), pp. 1-31.
- Cohen, Bernard C., *The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
- Foyle, Douglas, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Elite Beliefs as a Mediating Variable," *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997), pp. 141-169.
- Gibbs, David N., "Secrecy and International Relations," *Journal of Peace Research* 32 (1995), pp. 213-228.
- Hill, Kevin, "The Domestic Sources of Foreign Policymaking: Congressional Voting and American Mass Attitudes Toward South Africa," *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), pp. 195-214.
- Holsti, Ole R. et al, "Of Rifts and Drifts: A Symposium on Beliefs, Opinions, and American Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 30 (1986), pp. 373-484.
- Holsti, Ole R. and James Rosenau, *American Leadership in World Affairs: Vietnam and the Breakdown of Consensus* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984).
- Hughes, Barry, *Domestic Context of American Foreign Policy* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1978).
- Kusnitz, Leonard A., *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: America's China Policy, 1949-1979*.
- Mueller, John, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (New York: Wiley, 1973).
- Powlick, Philip, "The Sources of Public Opinion for American Foreign Policy Officials," *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (1995), pp. 427-451.
- Rosenau, James N., *The Attentive Public and Foreign Policy: A Theory of Growth and Some New Evidence* (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1968).
- Russett, Bruce and Elizabeth Hanson, *Interest and Ideology: Foreign Policy Beliefs of American Businessmen* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975), selections.
- Wittkopf, Eugene R., *Faces of Internationalism: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

Week 12 (Nov. 16) — *Interest Groups and the Weak American State*

- * Katzenstein, Peter J., "Introduction," *International Organization* 31 (1977), pp. 587-606.
- * Katzenstein, Peter J., "Conclusion," *International Organization* 31 (1977), pp. 879-920.
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Part III — Conclusion

Week 15 (Dec. 7) — *American Power and the Study of U. S. Foreign Policy*

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