

## **DHP D211**

# **THE POLITICS OF STATECRAFT**

**Spring 2010**

Professor Daniel Drezner

There is theory, and then there is practice. It is relatively easy to develop theories, strategies, explanations, constructs, or simple rules-of-thumb for conducting foreign policy. It is quite another thing to know which of these abstract options is the optimal choice. What is the best way for the United States to advance its interests in the world? How does the U.S. deal with Iran? North Korea? Sub-Saharan Africa? Which strategy is the right one? Are the best short-term options consistent with long-term goals? Should material interests alone guide policymakers, or should ethical and humanitarian impulses be factored in?

There's another problem. Even if a policymaker could divine the optimal foreign policy response, there's the small matter of executing it. What if the policy is imperfectly implemented? How do domestic, bureaucratic, and cognitive constraints affect policymaking decisions?

The goal of this course is to offer a greater understanding about the politics of the policymaking process. A good policymaker must have the analytic tools necessary to respond to external events or forward the national interest. That alone is insufficient, however. There are two other components to the crafting of foreign policy. First, the policymaker must have a grasp of the domestic and bureaucratic environment in which policy is being crafted, and recognize how that environment affects both private and public actions. Second, the policymaker must also learn the various "dark arts" associated with the policymaking process. The most brilliant foreign policy architect in the world will have no influence unless s/he can make a coherent presentation at a National Security Council briefing, a congressional hearing, or write a concise but accurate briefing paper.

To that end, this course is designed to test the analytic portion of policymaking as well as the interpersonal skills needed to further one's views. There will be a series of exercises designed to test your mettle in different policy settings – and you will be graded on your performance.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

I expect the following if you take this class:

- You will keep abreast of current events in American foreign policy. This includes reading a daily newspaper or three (the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, etc.) plus the *Economist*.
- In class, you will turn off or mute your cell phone – and any other electronic device that makes noise. If your phone rings in class, I will make you sing a song of my choosing – and bear in mind I have a soft spot for maudlin ballads.

- I expect your full participation. This means you should have read the assigned material before the class date. I place a high degree of importance on class participation. This does not mean talking for talking's sake, it means making incisive observations that display original thinking. Oh, and I will call on you on occasion, just to be mean.

Your grade will be based on the following:

- A policy options memo. You will be asked to revise the policy options memorandum outlining possible policy options to deal with a problem of my choosing. The memo should delineate all of the feasible options, assess their likelihood of success, and offer a clear set of actionable recommendations. Your analysis will be based on information you have gleaned from the first part of the class. This will be a reworking of your original options paper – but now you will need to weigh and assess the problems of policy implementation and political support. You will get two cuts at this – and combined, they will count for 50% of your grade.
- In-class simulation and class participation. There will be multiple exercises to simulate real policymaking activities: congressional testimony, mock NSC briefings, Sunday morning talk shows, etc. These will include a mixture of both written and performance elements. These exercises – plus your overall in-class participation – will count for 30% of your grade.
- An op-ed on an issue of your choosing. This exercise will count for 15% of your grade. NOTE: this does not have to be on the same topic as your op-ed from last semester.

## REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS

Daniel W. Drezner, ed., *Avoiding Trivia: The Role of Strategic Planning in American Foreign Policy*. (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

Leslie H. Gelb. *Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).

Amy B. Zegart, *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

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

Jack Goldsmith, *The Terror Presidency: Law and Judgment Inside the Bush Administration* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).

**1) Introductory class (1/20)****2) Who are the policy gatekeepers? (1/25)**

Michael Mazarr, “The Iraq War and Agenda Setting,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3 (January 2007), 1–23.

Chaim Kaufmann, “Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War,” *International Security* 29 (Summer 2004): 5-48.

Peter Hägel and Pauline Peretz, “States and Transnational Actors: Who’s Influencing Whom? A Case Study in Jewish Diaspora Politics during the Cold War,” *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (December 2007): 467-493.

Emile Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alex Montgomery, “Network Analysis for International Relations,” *International Organization* 63 (July 2009): 559-592.

**PART I: SYSTEMIC CONSTRAINTS****1) When does the system matter? (1/27)**

Gerry C. Alons, “Predicting a State’s Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3 (July 2007), 211–232.

Steven Saideman and William Ayres, “Pie Crust Promises and the Sources of Foreign Policy: The Limited Impact of Accession and the Priority of Domestic Constituencies,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3 (July 2007), 189-210.

John Duffield, “Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism,” *International Organization* 53 (October 1999): 765-803.

Philip Gordon, “The End of the Bush Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs* 85 (July/August 2006): 75-86.

**PART II: DOMESTIC POLITICS****1) Public opinion (2/1)**

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," *World Politics* 43 (July 1991): 479-512.

Peter F Trumbore, "Public Opinion as a Domestic Constraint in International Negotiations: Two-Level Games in the Anglo-Irish Peace Process," *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (September 1998), 545-565.

Dennis Chong and James Druckman, "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 101 (November 2007): 637-655.

## **2) American public opinion (2/3)**

Richard Eichenberg, "Victory Has Many Friends: U.S. Public Opinion and the Use of Force, 1981-2005," *International Security* 30 (Summer 2005): 140-177.

Daniel W. Drezner, "The Realist Tradition in American Public Opinion." *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (March 2008): 51-70.

Pew Research Center, *America's Place in the World 2009*, <http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/569.pdf>, pp. 1-58.

## **3) Legislatures (2/8)**

Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-level Games," *International Organization* 42 (Summer 1988): 427-460.

David Auerswald and Forrest Maltzman, "Policymaking through Advice and Consent: Treaty Consideration by the United States Senate," *Journal of Politics* 65 (November 2003): 1097-1110.

Peter Cowhey, "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments." *International Organization* 47 (Spring 1993): 299-326.

## **4) Congress (2/10)**

Aaron Friedberg, "Is the U.S. Capable of Acting Strategically? Congress and the President." *The Washington Quarterly* 14 (Winter 1991): 5-23.

James Lindsey, "Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters," *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (Winter 1992/93): 607-628.

Norman Ornstein and Thomas Mann, "When Congress Checks Out," *Foreign Affairs* 85 (November/December 2006): 67-82.

### **5) Foreign Policy and the Law (2/17)**

Goldsmith, *The Terror Presidency*, all

Jack Goldsmith, "The Cheney Fallacy," *The New Republic*, May 18, 2009. Accessed at <http://www.tnr.com/article/politics/the-cheney-fallacy>. \

## **2/22: POLICY SIMULATION I: MOCK CONGRESSIONAL HEARING**

### **6) Pluralism and Interest Group Politics (2/24)**

Mathew D. McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz, "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms," *American Journal of Political Science*, 28 (February 1984): 165-179.

Ka Zeng, "Trade Structure and the Effectiveness of America's 'Aggressively Unilateral' Trade Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (March 2002): 93-115.

Daniel Kono, "Optimal Obfuscation: Democracy and Trade Policy Transparency," *American Political Science Review* 100 (August 2006): 369-384.

### **7) Case study: The Israel Lobby (3/1)**

Stephen M. Walt and John Mearsheimer, "The Israel Lobby." *The London Review of Books* 28 (March 23, 2006).

Michael Massing, "The Storm Over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books* 53 (June 8, 2006).

Walter Russell Mead, "Jerusalem Syndrome," *Foreign Affairs* 86 (November/December 2007).

Robert C. Lieberman, "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (forthcoming).

### **8) Ideas, experts and policy entrepreneurs (3/3-3/10)**

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The *Real* New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (September/October 1997): 183-197.

Richard Haass, "Think Tanks and US Foreign Policy: A Policymaker's Perspective," *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda* 7 (November 2002): 5-8.

George, *Bridging the Gap*, pp. 115-146.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security* 27 (1): 5-39.

R. Charli Carpenter, "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Issues and Non-Issues Around Children and Armed Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly*, 51 (March 2007).

Daniel Drezner, *All Politics Is Global*, chapter three.

**3/10: ENTREPRENEURIAL OP-ED DUE**

## **PART II: THE ORGANIZATION OF POLICYMAKING**

### **9) Bureaucratic politics (3/15-3/29)**

Amy B. Zegart, *Spying Blind*, 1-109, 163-239.

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy* 1-28, 95-110, 179-195.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), selected chapters.

Nora Bensahel, "Mission Not Accomplished: What Went Wrong with Iraqi Reconstruction," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29 (June 2006): 453 – 473.

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Early U.S. Missteps in the Green Zone," *Washington Post*, September 17, 2006, p. A1. Accessible at [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/16/AR2006091600193\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/16/AR2006091600193_pf.html).

**3/17: GUEST LECTURER: Charli Carpenter**

**3/31-4/5: POLICY SIMULATION I: MOCK CRISIS SIMULATIONS**

### **10) The psychology of the policymaking process (4/12-4/14)**

Neustadt and May, *Thinking in Time*, selected chapters

Isaiah Berlin, "On Political Judgment," *The New York Review of Books*, October 3, 1996.

Philip E. Tetlock, "Theory-Driven Reasoning About Plausible Pasts and Probable Futures in World Politics: Are We Prisoners of Our Preconceptions?" *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (April 1999): 335-366.

David Patrick Houghton, "The Role of Analogical Reasoning in Novel Foreign-Policy Situations," *British Journal of Political Science* 26 (October 1996): 523-552.

Stephen B. Redd, "The Influence of Advisers on Foreign Policy Decision Making," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (June 2002): 335-364.

Daniel Kahneman and Jonathan Renshon, "Why Hawks Win," *Foreign Policy* 158 (January/February 2007): 34-39.

Mark Lilla, "The Lure of Syracuse," *New York Review of Books*, September 20, 2001.

## **PART III. Today's policy debates**

### **1. Climate change: (4/19)**

ADD READINGS

#### **4/21: POLICY SIMULATION II: MEET THE PRESS**

### **2. The ethics of statecraft (4/26-4/28)**

SPECIAL MOVIE SESSION, EVENING OF 4/26

David Welch, "Can We Think Systematically About Ethics and Statecraft?" *Ethics & International Affairs* 8 (1994): 23-37.

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001. Accessible at <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200109/power-genocide>.

Gerard Prunier, "The Politics of Death in Darfur," *Current History*, May 2006, pp. 195-202.

#### **4/30: POLICY OPTIONS PAPER REDUX DUE**