

SAIS Master of Arts in Global Policy (MAGP)
Module 1, 2017
International Politics and Decision-making
SA.620.720
Professor Daniel S. Markey
Fridays 9 AM - 12 PM
9/22, 10/6, 10/20, 11/3, 12/1

Course Content

This course presents theoretical and practical frameworks for understanding international politics and the policy decisions that shape global outcomes. It considers major international trends, such as the rise and fall of great powers, cooperation and conflict between states, and the influence of non-state actors on security, economics, and politics. With an emphasis on contemporary world affairs, it also explores the institutions, interests, ideas, and personalities behind international events.

The course is framed as an extended discussion of Kenneth N. Waltz's classic *Man, the State, and War*. Different, often critical, perspectives on themes from that book guide each week's reading. Each class meeting will also introduce material on decision-making processes and illustrative historical/contemporary cases.

Course Requirements

The course will include seminar-style discussion of the week's readings as well as a variety of activities designed to apply theory to historical and contemporary cases. Students will work independently and in groups to write a short research paper, prepare policy memos, compile an outline of a leadership profile, and write a short reflection note.

A note on reading and class participation: **Students are expected to complete all of the required reading prior to each class and must come to class prepared to participate fully in the discussions.** Students should be ready to answer basic—and some not-so-basic—questions about all required readings.

Everyone has a different approach, but I recommend that you take notes as you read, either in the margins of the text or separately. Be sure to bring those notes and the texts (on a laptop, if needed) to every class. Review the syllabus carefully before each session so you are ready for all activities. Work with fellow classmates to make sure you cover the material thoroughly. Reading groups are strongly encouraged.

Course grades will be assigned as follows:

- Individual participation in classroom discussions: 30%
- Paper: 30%
- Group grades on in-class work (memos, outline): 30%
- Final reflection note: 10%

I will use letter grades (A, A-, B+, B, etc.) for each of your assignments. Using the standard U.S. scale, each of these letters corresponds to a number (A equal to 4, A- equal to 3.67, B+ equal to 3.33, B equal to 3, and so on). I will then multiply the numbers by their percentage weight to get your final grade. For example, if you have grades of A, A-, B+, and B, I would run the following calculation: $.3*4 + .3*3.67 + .3*3.33 + .1*3 = 3.6$. The closest letter grade is an A- (equal to 3.67), so that would be your grade for the course. In cases where there is serious ambiguity between grades (say you are right between an A- and B+), your individual grade for the final reflection note will serve as the tiebreaker.

Contact Information

I will attempt to answer brief questions by e-mail (dmarkey@jhu.edu) but will schedule a phone or in-person meeting for extended conversations. My office is in Rome 406.

Students must check their JHU e-mail accounts and Blackboard for course updates and assignments.

Required Book (MAGP will purchase)

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954, 1959, 2001).

CLASS SCHEDULE

Class 1 – September 22

Strongly Recommended Background readings (if you haven't read them already)

- Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 110 (Spring 1998).
- Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Pearson, 2nd edition, 1999), Introduction.

The Anarchical System

- READ: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, chapters 1 and 6.

Rational Choice

- READ: Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), chapter 1.

The Peloponnesian War

- SKIM: Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War: And the Preservation of Peace*, "The Peloponnesian War 431-404 B.C.," (New York: Anchor, 1995) chapter 1, pp. 14-79.
- READ: Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Penguin Classics, 1971), "Introduction" Book 1, sections 1-23; "Allied Congress at Sparta" Book 1, sections 118-125 (5 pages); and the Melian Dialogue (Book 5, 84-116).
- READ: Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia* (Norton, 2011), pp. 38-42.

Further Reading (for those seeking sources on similar themes):

- Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1532.
- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651.
- Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power*, 1948.
- J. David Singer, "The Level- of- Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics*, Vol. 14 (1961): 77- 92.
- E.H Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, 1964.
- Thomas Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).
- G. Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *APSR* (Sept 1969): 696-718.
- S. Krasner, "Allison in Wonderland: Are Bureaucracies Important?" *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1972): 159-179.
- Stanley Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: International Relations," *Daedalus* 106/3 (1977): 41-60.

- Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics*, Vol. 30 (1978): 167- 214.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1979.
- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, 1981.
- Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*, 1987.
- Robert Powell, “Absolute and Relative Gains in IR Theory,” *American Political Science Review* 85 4: 1303-20 (Dec. 91).
- James Fearon, “Rationalist Explanations for War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 49 (1995): 379- 414.
- Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, 1997.
- David A. Lake and Robert Powell, eds. *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, 1999.
- Stephen Van Evera, “Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War,” *International Security* 22 (Spring 1998): 5-43.
- Jack Levy, “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1 (1998): 139-165.
- Robert Jervis, “Realism in the Study of World Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52 (1998): 971-992.
- James Fearon, “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52 (1998): 269- 306.
- Stephen Walt, “Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies,” *International Security*, Vol. 23 1999: 5- 48.
- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 2001.
- Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, 2011.

Class Activities

- Part I: Come to class prepared to discuss the meaning of Waltz’s “anarchical system,” and pay close attention to the section on Rousseau’s stag hunt. Understand the meaning of “rational decision making” as Schelling uses it. Consider how Waltz’s theories also depend on “rationality.”
- Part II: Skim Kagan and read at least the selected portions of Thucydides (although you may wish to read more for context). Come prepared to argue what you think constitutes the “truest” cause of war between Athens and Sparta. Which side, if any, is at fault? Be ready to discuss both sides of the issue. Also, how should we interpret the Melian dialogue? Is Thucydides a “realist”?
- Part III: Read Friedberg’s chapter article. Would you apply Thucydides’ lessons to current relations between China and the United States as he does?

Class 2 – October 6

Domestic Politics and Global Politics

- READ: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapter 4.
- READ: Michael W. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 12, No. 3 and No. 4 (Summer and Fall 1983), pp. 205-235; 323-53.

How States Make Foreign Policy Decisions

- READ: Andrew Moravcsik, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” *International Organization* 51, 4 (1997), pp. 513-554.

U.S. Democracy Promotion

- WATCH Rice: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mVMTAteEkjM>
- WATCH Obama: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_889oBkkNU
- WATCH Tillerson: <https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2017/05/270620.htm>

Further Reading (for those seeking sources on similar themes):

- Immanuel Kant, “Perpetual Peace,” [in *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West* (Columbia University Press, 1946): 878-90]
- Woodrow Wilson, “The Fourteen Points.”
- Peter Gourevitch, “The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics,” *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1978): 881-912.
- Michael Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” *The American Political Science Review* 80, 4 (Dec. 1986): 1151-1169.
- Robert Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logics of Two-Level Games,” *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1988): 424-460.
- Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*, 1991.
- John Owen, “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,” *International Security*, Vol. 19 (1994): 87-125.
- James D. Fearon, “Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (1994): 577-592.
- Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Debating the Democratic Peace*, 1996.
- Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information*, 1997.
- Kenneth Schultz, “Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1999): 233-266.
- Bruce Russett and John Oneal, “The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885- 1992,” *World Politics*. Vol. 52 (1999): 1- 37.
- Kenneth A. Schultz, *Democracy and Coercive Diplomacy*, 2001.
- Michael Desch, “Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters,” *International Security*, Vol. 27 (2002): 5- 47.
- Bruce Russett and Zeev Maoz, “Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, 1946- 1986,” *American Political Science Review* 87, 3 (1993): 624-638.

- Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, “Prone to Violence,” *The National Interest*, Winter 2005-6.
- Mark Haas, *Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Gary J. Bass, *Freedom's Battle: The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention* (Vintage, 2009).
- Tony Smith, *America's Mission* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- Jack Snyder and Erica Borghard, “The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, not a Pound,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (2011): 437-456.

Class Activities

- Part I: Come prepared to compare and contrast the arguments made about “Liberal” theories of international politics by Waltz, Doyle, and Moravcsik.
- Part II: Consider the historical track record of foreign policies aimed at promoting democracy in other states. Are these efforts worthwhile? What makes them more or less likely to succeed? **Come to class prepared to discuss the logic of policies of U.S. democracy promotion in other states.**

Class 3 – October 20

International Society and the Constructivist Challenge to Realism

- READ: Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It,” *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 391-425.

How do ideas influence international policy decisions and outcomes?

- READ: Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, “Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework,” in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

The International Red Cross

- READ: Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), chapter 3.

Further Reading (for those seeking sources on similar themes):

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).
- Jonathan L. Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization* 49, 2 (Spring 1995): 229- 252.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

- Martha Finnemore and Kathrin Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998): 887-918.
- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Alex Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Nina Tannenwald, “The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non- use,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53 (1999): 433- 46.
- Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- Nina Tannenwald, “Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo,” *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (2005): 5-49.
- Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States* (2008).
- Beth Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Susan D. Hyde, “Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (2011): 356-369.

Class Activities:

- Part I: Come prepared to discuss Wendt and Goldstein/Keohane readings. Read Wendt closely, and struggle with his language assisted by a dictionary when necessary. Be prepared to explain the meaning of words such as “exogenous” or “intersubjectivist epistemology.” What types of ideas do Goldstein/Keohane identify, and how do ideas serve as “switchmen”?
- Part II: Read the Finnemore chapter, paying close attention to how she “proves” that ideas mattered in international politics. What steps does she take, what proof does she offer? Outline her argument carefully. Then, pick another example of how ideas and identities have decisively shaped international political outcomes. **Come to class on October 20 ready to discuss how your paper would need to be outlined.** Your paper, (under 2000 words), will be due via Blackboard November 22 (Wednesday before Thanksgiving).

Class 4 – November 3

Order in the System: Liberal institutionalism

- READ: Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), chapters 1 and 6.
- SKIM: John J. Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1994/5): 5-93.

Policymaking and International Institutions

- READ: Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Feb., 1998), pp. 3-32.

Further Reading (for those seeking sources on similar themes):

- Stephen Krasner, *Regimes* "Introduction" and "Conclusion" in *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982).
- Donald Puchala and Raymond Hopkins, "International Regimes: Lessons from Inductive Analysis," *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982).
- Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, 1984.
- J. M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism," *International Organization* 42, 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 485-508.
- L. Martin, "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism," *International Organization* 46, 4 (Autumn 1992): 765-92.
- Abram and Antonia Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47, 2 (Spring 1993): 175-206.
- Robert Powell, "Anarchy in International Relations Theory: the Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization*, 48 (1994): 313-344.
- George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom, "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (1996): 379-406.
- James Fearon, "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (1998): 269-306.
- Robert Jervis, "Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate," *International Security*, Vol. 24 (1999): 42- 63.
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (1999): 699-732.
- Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Beth Simmons, "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *American Political Science Review*, 94, 4 (December 2000): 819-835.
- Peter Rosendorff and Helen Milner, "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape," *International Organization* 55, 4 (Autumn 2001): 829-857.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- David L. Bosco, *Five to Rule them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*, 2009.

Class Activities:

- Part I: Arrive in class prepared to discuss how Keohane, Mearsheimer, and Abbott and Snidal consider the role and significance of international organizations/institutions in global politics.

- Part II: In class, your group will be assigned an international institution to research and then deliver a short presentation to the rest of the cohort. More details will be provided in class, but **please bring a laptop so you can do some quick research/writing.**

Class 5 – December 2

The Role of the Human/Individual in International Politics

- READ: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapter 2.
- READ: Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In” Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring, 2001), pp. 107-146.

Leadership Profiling

- READ: Benedict Carey, “Teasing Out Policy Insight from a Character Profile,” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2011.
- SKIM: Jerrold M. Post, “Explaining Saddam Hussein: A Psychological Profile,” Testimony to the House Armed Services Committee, December 1990.
- SKIM: Henry A. Murray, Analysis of the Personality of Adolph Hitler, October 1943 (accessed at <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/n/nur/pdf/nur01134.pdf>).

For Final Reflection Note

- READ: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, chapter 8.

Further Reading (for those seeking sources on similar themes):

- Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, 1841.
- Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, 1871.
- Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study*, 1964.
- Robert Jervis, “Hypotheses on Misperception,” *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (April 1968): 454-79.
- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Alexander L. George, *Presidential Decisionmaking in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice*, 1980.
- Irving Janis, *Groupthink* (Houghton Mifflin, 1982).
- Fred I. Greenstein, *Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization* (Princeton, 1987).
- Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*, 1990.
- James David Barber, *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House* (Routledge, 2015).
- Fred I. Greenstein, “Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically?” *Political Psychology* Vol. 13, No. 1 (Mar., 1992): 105-128.

- Robert Jervis, “The Drunkard’s Search,” in *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Duke University Press, 1993).
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*, Princeton University Press, 1993.
- James M. Goldgeier, *Leadership Style and Soviet Foreign Policy: Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev*, 1994.
- Paul ‘t Hart, *Beyond Groupthink: Political Group Dynamics and Foreign Policy-making*, 1997.
- Jack Levy, “Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (March 1997).
- Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, *Presidential Personality and Performance* (Westview 1998).
- Rose McDermott, *Risk-Taking in International Politics*, 1998.
- Daniel S. Markey, “Prestige and the Origins of War: Returning to Realism's Roots,” *Security Studies*, Vol.8, No.4 (Summer 1999): 126-173.
- Jerrold M. Post, *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, University of Michigan Press, 2005.

Class Activities

- Part I: Come prepared to discuss whether Byman and Pollack have successfully refuted Waltz on the role of the statesman in global politics. How do you think Waltz would respond to their article?
- Part II: Read Carey and skim Murray/Post. **Come to class with some basic background material about one current world leader who you believe is likely to shape international political outcomes.** In class, you will work with your group to outline a leadership profile, using Murray and Post as models. Please bring a laptop for research/writing.

Due December 5: Final Reflection Note

Review your notes from all five classes and readings. Also read Waltz’s conclusion in *Man, the State, and War* (chapter 8). What lessons and/or specific insights about international politics will you take away from this course? (800 words, more details to come).

DATES TO REMEMBER

Before class starts: Check out the “strongly recommended background readings” in Class 1.

September 22: First class. Come prepared to discuss all readings. If unfamiliar with Thucydides, also be sure to read Kagan.

October 6: Second class. Come prepared to discuss all readings. Think about the logic of U.S. democracy promotion in other states.

October 20: Third class. Come prepared to discuss all readings. As you read Finnemore, write up an outline of her argument. Come to class with another example of how ideas shape international political outcomes.

October 21-November 22: Use this time to work on your papers. Outline/draft early, work with classmates and the writing center. **Submit papers via Blackboard by midnight November 22.**

November 3: Fourth class. Come prepared to discuss all readings. Bring a laptop to work with your group on a policy memo related to international institutions.

December 2: Fifth class. Come prepared to discuss all readings. Bring basic background material on a leader and a laptop for group work on a leadership profile.

***December 5:* Submit final reflection paper via Blackboard by midnight.**