

# PSCI 282 FOREIGN POLICY

Winter 2021

Synchronous Online Lecture: **Tuesdays, 4:00—5:20 pm, EST**

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Office Hours: to be determined.

*The University of Waterloo is situated on the Haldimand Tract, the land promised to the Six Nations that includes six miles on each side of the Grand River, and is within the traditional territory of the Neutral, Anishinaabe, and Haudenosaunee peoples.*

## **COURSE OVERVIEW:**

This course will introduce you to Foreign Policy Analysis, a field that studies states' behaviour towards one another by examining their decision-making processes, the means by which they implement decisions, and the ultimate effects they achieve. More broadly, foreign policy concerns the ways in which governments (and other actors) contend with the major challenges of our times, including climate change, the risk of great power war, inequality, and human rights. Foreign Policy, therefore, offers a unique lens on persistence and change in world politics, revealing the influence of both traditional international relations practice and contemporary globalization. Given these considerations, the course will explore five major questions:

- 1) What are the determinants (or "causes" or "influences") of foreign policy?
- 2) When and why does foreign policy change?
- 3) What makes a foreign policy successful?
- 4) How do we judge the morality of foreign policies?
- 5) Is the world of foreign policy one of self-help or global governance?

The course is organized to examine the foreign policy of actors that are differently situated within world politics – hegemons, middle powers, small/poor states, and non-state actors. This structure is largely a convenience that will allow us to examine a number of key theories, concepts, issues, and examples of contemporary foreign policy.

## **Learning Outcomes:**

By successfully completing this course, you will be able to:

- Analyze foreign policy, particularly its influences, sources of persistence and change, practical processes, real-world impact, and morality.

- Apply key concepts and perspectives (such as power, hegemonic transition, and global governance) to current affairs.
- Comprehend the global issues that shape your world, such as climate change, war, human rights, international security, and trade.
- Communicate policy advice and policy evaluations by writing concise policy briefs.

### **Weekly Lectures:**

Each week centres on a synchronous online lecture that you can access each Tuesday at 4pm EST through the 'virtual classroom' feature on the course LEARN site (from the header links, click 'connect' then 'virtual classroom'). These sessions use the Bongo platform – you can familiarize yourself with its key features here: <https://bongolearn.zendesk.com/hc/en-us/categories/360000374534-Virtual-Classroom>. I recommend you attend the live session if at all possible so that you can ask clarifying questions through the live chat function (which I will enable at the end of each lecture). If you are unable to attend synchronously, or wish to review the lecture later, a recording will post automatically to the virtual classroom page after each session. Weekly discussion threads will open on the course LEARN site shortly after each lecture (from the header links, click 'connect' then 'discussions'). Weekly readings are available on the course LEARN site under the 'content' header link. Most are also available through the library website, as are the 'additional readings' listed each week (for those who would like to pursue topics further).

## EVALUATION:

Discussion Board Participation	40% (5 posts x 8% each, weeks 2-6)
Policy Brief Assignment	30% (distributed March 2, due March 19)
Final Exam (Take-Home)	30% (distributed March 31, due April 6)

**Discussion Board Participation:** In the first half of the course (weeks 2-6), following the lecture, I will post several questions related to the week's themes as threads on the discussion board of the course's LEARN page (from the header links, click 'connect' then 'discussions'). Please post a response to ONE question thread. Your post may be a direct answer to the question, or respond to other students' answers. Your post should be concise, to the point, and in the 200-300-word range (roughly).

There are no right or wrong answers, but good posts will reflect your awareness of current events and may require some web-based research. I expect you to interact respectfully and constructively with your peers. If you disagree with another student, focus your critique on the ideas at issue, not the person who presented them. Ad hominem attacks, threatening language, and disrespect will not be tolerated. I will chime in as I see fit to keep the discussions on track and suggest additional directions they may take.

I will evaluate your response on a scale of 0-to-8 based on its thoughtfulness, insight, and overall contribution to the discussion (each of your five posts makes up 8% of your final grade). Failure to post a response will result in a mark of 0; responses that do not demonstrate much thought and effort will receive 1-to-5 marks; and responses that provide good insight to the discussion will receive 5.5-to-8 marks. While my evaluation will focus on your first, or 'main,' post, I encourage you to follow up on the discussion and will consider your additional responses (though they are not necessary to your grade). Discussion on these threads will close at 4pm EST the Tuesday after they are posted. You will not be able to post after the deadline.

**Policy Brief:** You will write a short (1500-2000 word) policy brief in which you will consider a foreign policy issue from the news, analyze its relationship to a particular country's interests, and make recommendations for action by that country. The particular issue and responding countries will be announced in a more detailed description of the assignment distributed after week 7's lecture (on March 2). Your policy briefs are due on Friday, March 19, by 11:59 pm EST through the dropbox on the course LEARN site (from the header links, click 'submit' then 'dropbox'). Late submissions will be penalized 5% for each day late, including weekends.

**Take-Home Final Exam:** You will have one week at the end of the course to complete the final exam. The exam consists of essay responses of roughly 750-1000 words to three questions selected from a short list of question options. Your responses should demonstrate strong knowledge of course themes, lecture topics and readings. Good responses will require preparation before the exam is posted, so please study in advance in order to maximize your performance. Late submissions will not be accepted, except in cases of a valid and verified reason.

## ADDITIONAL RESOURCES:

The following publications (and many others) provide innumerable insights on foreign policy.

### Scholarly Journals:

- *International Affairs*
- *International Journal*
- *Foreign Policy Analysis*
- *International Security*
- *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*
- *International Studies Quarterly*

### Periodicals:

- *Foreign Affairs*
- *Foreign Policy*
- *The Economist*

You can also check out the following organizations for relevant projects, publications, and commentary:

- Centre for International Policy Studies (University of Ottawa): <https://www.cips-cepi.ca/>.
- Centre for International Governance Innovation (Waterloo): <https://www.cigionline.org/>.
- Canadian International Council: <https://thecic.org/homepage/>.
- Council on Foreign Relations (US): [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org).
- Council on Foreign Relations *World101*: [www.world101.cfr.org](http://www.world101.cfr.org).
- Clingendael Institute (Netherlands Institute of International Relations): <https://www.clingendael.org/>.

## UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS:

Institutional-required statements for undergraduate course outlines approved by Senate Undergraduate Council, April 14, 2009.

### **Cross-listed course:**

Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

### **Academic Integrity:**

**Academic Integrity:** In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

**Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to [Policy 71 - Student Discipline](#).

**Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read [Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4](#).

**Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read [Policy 72 - Student Appeals](#).

Other sources of information for students:

[Academic integrity](#) (Arts)

[Academic Integrity Office](#) (uWaterloo)

### **Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

**Note for students with disabilities:** The [AccessAbility Services office](#), located in Needles Hall Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of

the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS office at the beginning of each academic term.

### **Writing and Communication Centre:**

The Writing and Communication Centre (WCC) works with students as they develop their ideas, draft, and revise. Writing and Communication specialists offer one-on-one support in planning assignments, synthesizing and citing research, organizing papers and reports, designing presentations and e-portfolios, and revising for clarity and coherence.

You can make multiple appointments throughout the term, or you can drop in at the Library for quick questions or feedback. To book a 25 or 50-minute appointment and to see drop-in hours, visit [www.uwaterloo.ca/wcc](http://www.uwaterloo.ca/wcc). Group appointments for team-based projects, presentations, and papers are also available.

**Please note** that communication specialists guide you to see your work as readers would. They can teach you revising skills and strategies, but will not change or correct your work for you.

### **Mental Health Support:**

Your mental health is a crucial concern for the University, its faculty, and its staff. Please do not hesitate to seek out the mental health support you may need:

#### **On Campus**

- Counselling Services: [counselling.services@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:counselling.services@uwaterloo.ca) / 519-888-4567 ext. 32655.
- **MATES**: one-to-one peer support program offered by Federation of Students (FEDS) and Counselling Services.
- Health Services Emergency service: located across the creek from Student Life Centre.

#### **Off campus, 24/7**

- **Good2Talk**: Free confidential help line for post-secondary students. Phone: 1-866-925-5454.
- Grand River Hospital: Emergency care for mental health crisis. Phone: 519-749-4300 ext. 6880.
- **Here 24/7**: Mental Health and Crisis Service Team. Phone: 1-844-437-3247.
- **OK2BME**: set of support services for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or questioning teens in Waterloo. Phone: 519-884-0000, ext. 213.

Full details can be found online on the Faculty of Arts [website](#).

Download [UWaterloo and regional mental health resources \(PDF\)](#).

Download the [WatSafe app](#) to your phone to quickly access mental health support information.

## WEEKLY SCHEDULE:

### Week 1: January 12 – Course Overview

In this preliminary session, we will go through the course syllabus. I will highlight the key themes of the course, the progression of weekly themes, the evaluation scheme, and course expectations—that is, what I expect from you as a student, and what you can expect from me as your instructor. Once I've gone through the syllabus, you can ask questions about the course using live chat. There is also a discussion board on the course LEARN site where you can ask questions about the course after the synchronous lecture.

### Week 2: January 19 – Introduction to Foreign Policy Analysis

This lecture will situate Foreign Policy Analysis within the broader fields of International Relations and Political Science by highlighting the unique features of the approach. I will also survey the multi-level factors that influence foreign policy decision-making, and provide an overview of key instruments of foreign policy using illustrative examples.

Preparation:

- Christopher Hill (2003). "What is to be Done? Foreign Policy as a Site for Political Action," *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2: pp. 233-255.

Additional Resources:

- Valerie M. Hudson and Benjamin S. Day (2020). *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Third Edition. Rowman & Littlefield.

### Week 3: January 26 – Power, Self-Help, and Global Governance

Power is a foundational concept in all of political science and international relations, but often remains ill defined and under-conceptualized. I will present Steven Lukes' 'three faces of power' and link it to related concepts, such as Joseph Nye's notion of 'soft power'. The lecture will then present two fundamentally different understandings of foreign policy: the 'realist' view of states constantly pursuing their survival in the self-help conditions of international anarchy, and the global governance view of foreign policy as an extension of domestic policy through global cooperation.

Preparation:

- Joseph Nye (2016). "On Soft Power," Foreign Policy Association video: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_58v19Otllg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_58v19Otllg).

- John J. Mearsheimer (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Pages 1-4, 29-36, 40-42, 48-54.
- Stephen Keukeleire and Simon Schunz (2015). "Analysing Foreign Policy in a Context of Global Governance," in *Theorizing Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*, edited by Gunther Hellmann and Knud Erik Jørgensen. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. Pages 58-80.

Additional Resources:

- Steven Lukes (2005 [1974]). *Power: A Radical View*. Second Edition. Houndsmills, UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

#### **Week 4: February 2 – Hegemonic Transitions and American Leadership**

A recurring theme in the history of international relations is the rise and fall of hegemons – leading countries that are powerful enough to set the conditions of world politics and thereby shape the foreign policies of all states. This lecture first explores such structural dynamics by examining Robert Gilpin's theory of hegemonic cycles (also known as power transition theory). It then examines the liberal international order established under American leadership after World War II. Finally, we will consider the effects of the Trump Presidency on America's role in the world as an example of how individual personality can shape foreign policy.

Preparation:

- G. John Ikenberry (2019). "Reflections on *After Victory*," *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, vol. 21, no. 1: pp. 5-19.
- Randall Schweller (2018). "Three Cheers for Trump's Foreign Policy: What the Establishment Misses," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 97, no. 5: pp. 133-143.
- Richard Haass (2020). "Present at the Disruption: How Trump Unmade U.S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 99, no. 5: pp. 24-34.

Additional Resources:

- Robert Gilpin (1981). *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- G. John Ikenberry, ed. (2014). *Power, Order, and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walter Russell Mead (2002). *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*. New York and London: Routledge.
- *Foreign Policy*, vol. 99, iss. 2 (2020). Special Issue: Come Home, America.



## **Week 5: February 9 – China and Russia as Hegemonic Challengers?**

We will consider key sources, goals, and actions in the foreign policies of China and Russia, the challenges they pose to American hegemony and its associated liberal international order, and the extent to which these rising powers are pursuing their own hegemony on a regional and/or global basis.

### Preparation:

- Shiping Tang (2018). "China and the Future International Order(s)," *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 1: pp. 31-43.
- Odd Arne Westad (2019). "The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Are Washington and Beijing Fighting a New Cold War?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 98, no. 5: pp. 86-95.
- Anne L. Clunan (2018). "Russia and the Liberal World Order," *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 1: pp. 45-59.

### Additional Resources:

- Elias Götz (2019). "Enemy at the Gates: A Neoclassical Realist Explanation of Russia's Baltic Policy," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 15: pp. 99-117.
- *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2020). Forum on China's Rise in a Liberal Order in Transition.
- *International Affairs*, vol. 94, iss. 1 (2018), Special Issue: Ordering the World? Liberal Internationalism in Theory and Practice.
- *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2018). Special Issue: Rising Powers and the International Order.

## **February 16 – READING WEEK – No Classes Feb. 13-21**

## **Week 6: February 23 – Canada and Middle Power Diplomacy**

Middle powers are generally understood to 'punch above their weight' – to exercise greater influence on world politics than their hard power capabilities would warrant. In the post-Cold War era, Canada and like-minded states (such as Norway, Sweden, Australia, Denmark, and the Netherlands) sought to expand and reform the liberal international order by pursuing multilateralism and normative ideals in their foreign policies. More recently, the Trudeau government has reasserted this middle power role, in rhetoric if not in practice. Alternatively, the MIKTA faction of the G20 (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, and Australia) exercises a different type of middle power diplomacy by acting as a bridge between the established powers of the G7 and the emerging BRICS countries, and between global politics and their particular regions. Considering these examples, this session will examine what makes middle power foreign policy distinctive, and what impacts it actually has.

Preparation:

- Roland Paris (2018). "The Promise and Perils of Justin Trudeau's Foreign Policy," in *Justin Trudeau and Canadian Foreign Policy* edited by Norman Hillmar and Philippe Lagassé. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-29.
- Cohen, Andrew (2020). "Canada in the World: The Gentle Giant of Gesture," *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, vol. 26, no. 2: pp. 235-238.
- Andrew F. Cooper and Emel Parlar Dal (2016). "Positioning the Third Wave of Middle Power Diplomacy: Institutional Elevation, Practice Limitations," *International Journal*, vol. 71, no. 4: pp. 516-528.
- Conclusion: Delusions of Grandeur in the Goldilocks Zone," *International Journal*, vol. 71, no. 4: pp. 651-658.

Additional Resources:

- Chrystia Freeland (2017). "Address by Minister Freeland on Canada's Foreign Policy Priorities," delivered to the House of Commons on 6 June 2017. [https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address\\_by\\_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html](https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/06/address_by_ministerfreelandoncanadasforeignpolicypriorities.html).
- Global Affairs Canada (2017). *Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy*. <https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/iap2-eng.pdf>.
- *International Journal*, vol. 75, iss. 3 (2020). Special Issue: Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy.
- *International Journal*, vol. 71, iss. 1 (2019). Special Issue: Middle Power Liberal Internationalism in an Illiberal World.
- *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2018). Special Issue: Is Canada Back?

## **Week 7: March 2 – The Policy Cycle and How to Write a Policy Brief**

In this session, we will examine the processes and practicalities by which governments make foreign policy. After discussing the policy cycle framework and its limitations, we will turn to policy briefs (from within government and from civil society groups, such as NGOs and think tanks) as some of the key 'nuts and bolts' of policymaking. I will also discuss the details of your policy brief assignment.

Preparation:

- Paul Cairney (2012). *Understanding Public Policy: Issues and Theories*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 32-45 (on the policy cycle).
- Robert Fonberg (2020). "Practical Guide to Writing Briefing Notes in the Government of Canada." Defence & Security Foresight Group. [https://uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/ca.defence-security-foresight-group/files/uploads/files/dsfg\\_policy\\_brief\\_writing\\_guide\\_v2.pdf](https://uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/ca.defence-security-foresight-group/files/uploads/files/dsfg_policy_brief_writing_guide_v2.pdf).

- Note that the policy brief assignment, as an exercise, differs in some ways from the writing process and format described by Fonberg (read the assignment instructions carefully).

**\*\*\*The policy Brief Assignment will be posted on LEARN shortly after this lecture.**

Policy briefs must be submitted through LEARN by 11:59 EST on Friday, March 19.

### **Week 8: March 9 – Small/Poor States and Climate Change**

The majority of the world's countries are considered 'small' (whether geographically, demographically, or economically) and particularly vulnerable as a consequence. These states, however, have frequently managed their position with a range of creativity. Nonetheless, small and poor states remain particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change. International cooperation has fallen far short of the concerted effort required to address what is now the greatest challenge facing humanity. The issue lays bare the inequality of world politics, and such iniquity may multiply the harms of a warming world.

Preparation:

- Godfrey Baldacchino (2009). "Thucydides or Kissinger? A Critical Review of Smaller State Diplomacy," in *The Diplomacy of Small States: Between Vulnerability and Resilience*, edited by Andrew F. Cooper and Timothy M. Shaw. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan and Centre for International Governance Innovation, pp. 21-40.
- Abrahm Lustgarten (2020). "The Great Climate Migration," *The New York Times Magazine*. June 23.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/23/magazine/climate-migration.html>.
- Mohamed Adow (2020). "The Climate Debt: What the West Owes the Rest," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 99, no. 3: pp. 60-68.

Additional Resources:

- James Ker-Lindsay (2016). "Climate Change and State Death," *Survival*, vol. 58, no. 4: pp. 73-94.
- Chi Xu et al. (2020). "Future of the Human Climate Niche," *Proceedings of the National Academy of the Sciences [PNAS]*, vol. 117, no. 21: pp. 11350-13355.
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC] Homepage:  
<https://unfccc.int/>.

**March 16 – UNIVERSITY LONG WEEKEND – No Class Mar. 15 & 16**

### **\*\*\*March 19 – Policy Brief Assignment Due**

Submit your assignment through the course LEARN site dropbox by 11:59 pm EST. Late submissions will be penalized 5 percent for each day late, including weekends.

### **Week 9: March 23 – Non-State Foreign Policy and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**

Foreign policy analysis typically focuses on the strategies and decision-making processes of states. With the advance of globalization, however, non-state actors – including global civil society groups, private business firms, and sub-state groups – increasingly exercise their voices in world politics. A prime example is the role of aboriginal peoples in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which offers them a new tool with which to make demands upon their national governments.

Preparation:

- Various Authors (2014). “The Internationalization of Indigenous Rights: UNDRIP in the Canadian Context.” Centre for International Governance Innovation Special Report. Read contributions by Mitchell (pp. 1-3), Coates and Holroyd (pp. 5-9), Boyer (pp. 11-15), Rodon (pp. 17-21), Mitchell (pp. 43-48), and Corntassel (pp. 65-71).
- Dawn Pritchard (2017). “At COP23, Moving Towards greater Engagement with Indigenous Peoples.” Centre for International Governance Innovation Opinion. November 28. <https://www.cigionline.org/articles/cop23-moving-toward-greater-engagement-indigenous-peoples>.

Additional Resources:

- United Nations General Assembly (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. A/RES/61/295. September 13, 2007. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html>.

### **Week 10: March 30 – Course Wrap-Up**

This final lecture will review key course themes, address outstanding foreign policy topics not covered in previous lectures, and provide guidance for the take-home exam.

Preparation:

- To be determined.

### **\*\*\*The take-home final exam will be posted on LEARN on March 31<sup>st</sup> at 9am EST**

The exam must be submitted through the LEARN dropbox by 11:59pm EST on April 6. Late submissions will not be accepted, except in cases of a valid and verified reason.