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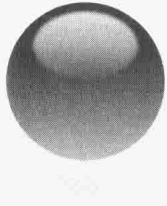
THIRD EDITION

EDITED BY

STEVE SMITH, AMELIA HADFIELD, TIM DUNNE



 online
resource
centre



Foreign Policy

Theories, Actors, Cases

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Steve Smith

Amelia Hadfield

Tim Dunne



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Foreign Policy

Praise for the previous edition, *Foreign Policy 2e*

'The editors have mobilized an outstanding group of scholars and practitioners to explore through literature reviews and case studies how theories of international relations, such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism, can help us to understand foreign policy behaviour. They also demonstrate how the choice of analytical level—the states system, national and organizational characteristics, and personality traits—affect the explanations that emerge. The original studies are sensitive to the role of non-state actors in accounting for foreign policy choices, and they also include important examples of middle powers' influence in certain global issue areas. The editors' theoretical vision of the project assures readers of a comprehensive and enduring effort. This volume is an authoritative last word in the field of foreign policy analysis.'

K. J. Holsti, University Killam Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia

'A unique and indispensable resource. Its coverage is remarkably comprehensive and provides a judicious blend of theory and illustration. The theoretical chapters are clear and accessible, and the case materials and topical chapters offer a rich array of pedagogical possibilities. Like *The Globalisation of World Politics*, this book deserves to be widely adopted.'

Stephen M. Walt, Harvard University

'The editors have filled a long-neglected gap by producing a volume that authoritatively covers the state of the art in the study of foreign policy. The book looks set to become a definitive text for the teaching and study of foreign policy.'

Richard G. Whitman, University of Kent

'The book combines old and new perspectives with discerning care. In-depth explorations of empirical examples present a geographically diverse set of cases for teaching. Highly recommended.'

Olav F. Knudsen, Swedish Institute of International Affairs

Foreword

JAMES N. ROSENAU

My contribution to the analysis of foreign policy began on a blackboard. I was prompted to clarify for students what variables were central to probing the dynamics of foreign policy. The result was an eight-column matrix that listed the relative importance of five key variables in eight types of countries (Rosenau 1966). That matrix still informs my teaching and research. It also implicitly underlies more than a few of the chapters in this volume. Needless to say, I am honoured that this volume takes note of my contribution to the field.

I called the eight-column matrix and the description of it a 'pre-theory of foreign policy'. It provoked sufficient interest among colleagues around the country to convene a series of conferences that explored various facets of the pre-theory, which in turn led to the publication of a collection of essays prepared for the conferences (Rosenau 1974). This collaboration among some twenty scholars who had developed a keen interest in comparing foreign policies gave rise to the founding of the Inter-University Comparative Foreign Policy (ICFP) project. The members of ICFP remained in continual contact for some six years, thus demonstrating that like-minded colleagues can pool their resources and sustain collaboration across some ten universities during a period of diminishing support for comparative and quantitative research.

The matrix was impelled by the milieu of the field at that time. It was a period in which comparison was very much in vogue and it seemed to me that foreign policy phenomena were as subject to comparative analysis as any other political process. Indeed, I still find it remarkable that no previous analyst had undertaken a comparative enquiry of when, how, and why different countries undertook to link themselves to the international system in the ways that they did.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the original pre-theory sparked wide interest not only because it stressed the need for comparative analysis, but for several other reasons that also underlay the enthusiasm for the ICFP. First, the pre-theory offered a means for analysing the conduct of foreign policy in previous years as well as anticipating future developments in a country's external behaviour. Second, as stressed below, it provided a means for bringing foreign and domestic policy together under the same analytical umbrella. Third, it highlighted the virtues of case studies as a basis for comparing, analysing, and interpreting foreign policy phenomena. All of these central characteristics of the field are fully represented in the chapters that comprise this volume.

Much progress has occurred in the field since the founding of the ICFP. The very fact that it is now comfortably regarded as a 'field' is in itself indicative of how securely it has been established. This is not to say, however, that the field is easily mastered. On the contrary, several of its key aspects pose difficult analytical problems. If politics is conceived as processes of trying to control the actions and attitudes of other actors in the more remote environment, a formulation I have always considered sound and worthy of applying to empirical materials (Rosenau 1963), it follows that analysis must focus on a wide range of phenomena—from individuals and their orientations to the groups and institutions that form the bases of societies, economies, and polities. Put succinctly, little of human behaviour falls outside the scope of the analysis of foreign policy phenomena.

Some possible sources of fragementation at four levels of aggregation

Levels of aggregation → Sources of fragementation ↓	MICRO	MACRO	MACRO-MACRO	MICRO-MACRO
Skill revolution	expands people's horizons on a global scale; sensitizes them to the relevance of distant events; facilitates a reversion to local concerns	enlarges the capacity of government agencies to think 'out of the box', seize opportunities, and analyse challenges	multiplies quantity and enhances quality of links among states; solidifies their alliances and enmities	constrains policy making through increased capacity of individuals to know when, where, and how to engage in collective action
Authority crises	redirect loyalties; encourage individuals to replace traditional criteria of legitimacy with performance criteria	weaken ability of both governments and other organizations to frame and implement policies	enlarge the competence of some IGOs and NGOs; encourage diplomatic wariness in negotiations	facilitate the capacity of publics to press and/or paralyse their governments, the WTO, and other organizations
Bifurcation of global structures	adds to role conflicts, divides loyalties, and foments tensions among individuals; orients people towards local spheres of authority	facilitates formation of new spheres of authority and consolidation of existing spheres in the multicentric world	generates institutional arrangements for cooperation on major global issues such as trade, human rights, the environment, etc.	empowers transnational advocacy groups and special interests to pursue influence through diverse channels
Organizational explosion	facilitates multiple identities, subgroupism, and affiliation with transnational networks	increases capacity of opposition groups to form and press for altered policies; divides publics from their elites	renders the global stage ever more transnational and dense with non-governmental actors	contributes to the pluralism and dispersion of authority; heightens the probability of authority crises
Mobility upheaval	stimulates imaginations and provides more extensive contacts with foreign cultures; heightens salience of the outsider	enlarges the size and relevance of subcultures, diasporas, and ethnic conflicts as people seek new opportunities abroad	heightens need for international cooperation to control the flow of drugs, money, immigrants, and terrorists	increases movement across borders that lessens capacity of governments to control national boundaries

Microelectronic technologies	enable like-minded people to be in touch with each other anywhere in the world	empower governments to mobilize support; render their secrets vulnerable to spying	accelerate diplomatic processes; facilitate electronic surveillance and intelligence work	constrain governments by enabling opposition groups to mobilize more effectively
Weakening of territoriality, states, and sovereignty	undermines national loyalties and increases distrust of governments and other institutions	adds to the porosity of national boundaries and the difficulty of framing national policies	increases need for interstate cooperation on global issues; lessens control over cascading events	lessens confidence in governments; renders nationwide consensus difficult to achieve and maintain
Globalization of national economies	swells ranks of consumers; promotes uniform tastes; heightens concerns for jobs	complicates tasks of state governments vis-à-vis markets; promotes business alliances	intensifies trade and investment conflicts; generates incentives for building global financial institutions	increases efforts to protect local cultures and industries; facilitates vigour of protest movements

More important than its vast scope, however, this formulation is not easily subjected to analysis. One not only needs to be familiar with the dynamics whereby states interact with each other, but the internal processes whereby foreign policies are formed also need to be probed. To ignore these processes by classifying them as 'domestic', and thus as outside the analyst's concerns, would be to omit central features of the behaviour one wants to investigate. Students of domestic phenomena may be able to hold foreign inputs constant, but the same cannot be said about the phenomena that culminate in foreign policies. Inevitably the student of a country's foreign policy must also be concerned with its internal affairs. Put differently, he or she must be a student of sociology and psychology as well as political science, economics, and history. No less important, they should have some knowledge of the problems inherent in comparative enquiry. The methodologies of the field are as salient as are the substantive problems that countries face in linking themselves to the international system.

In short, foreign policy phenomena are inordinately complex. They encompass inputs that can give rise to a variety of outputs, with a slight variation in one of the inputs having sizeable consequences for the outputs they foster. Thus the causal processes are not easily traced. They can be highly elusive when their variation spans, as it usually does, a wide range of inputs that may vary from *time1* to *time2*. Nor can the complexities be assumed away. They are too central to the dynamics of foreign policy to ignore or bypass. One has no choice but to allow for them and trace their consequences across diverse situations. Such a procedure facilitates cogent analysis even as it risks drawing a less than complete picture.

The main characteristics of foreign policy—and the requirements they impose on analysts of the subject—are fully observable in the ensuing chapters. Their authors demonstrate a keen sensitivity to the problems of the field and the rewards for analysing them. They understand the need for theory as well as empirical analysis of how any country conducts itself in the

international community. More than that, this understanding includes a grasp of how the analysis must be varied to accommodate different approaches to the field.

In order to cope with the enormous variety of phenomena that may be relevant to the study of foreign policy one has to select some of them as important and dismiss others as trivial in so far as one's enquiry is concerned. This process of selection is what being theoretical means. More accurately, the selected phenomena have to be examined in relation to each other, as interactive, and the theoretician needs to grasp the dynamics of the interactive processes as well as the domestic variables of the country of concern. Constructing incisive theoretical perspectives is not easy, however. The process of explicating causal dynamics can be very frustrating as well as very complicated. It is fairly easy to have a general sense of the phenomena that underlie the foreign policy behaviour of interest, but it is quite another thing to transform one's general understanding into concrete, testable, and relevant hypotheses. Put differently, specifying the dependent variables—the outcomes of a foreign policy input—is readily conceived, but identifying and operationalizing the independent variables that foster alterations in the dependent variable serves to challenge one's grasp of the field. Everything can seem relevant as an independent variable, but the analyst has to be selective and focus on those dynamics that account for most of the variance conceived to be relevant to the analysis. There is no need to account for 100 per cent of the variance, as some of it may be due to chance factors that cannot readily be anticipated, but even accounting for, say, 90 per cent can be difficult. Not only do analysts need to calculate the relative importance of the different factors, but they also have to have some idea of how they interact with each other.

Consider, for example, the distinction between large and small countries. To differentiate between the two, one has to have some sense of how a country's size affects its conduct in the international arena. Are small countries more aggressive abroad because of their limitations? Do their foreign policies avoid confrontation because of an imbalance between the resources at their disposal and those of the adversaries they contemplate taking on abroad? Are their decision-making processes, in effect, paralysed by the relative size of their potential adversaries? Such questions are not easily answered at first glance. And they become even more difficult if one has to assess the amount of the variance involved.

However, many analysts have not been deterred by the problems encountered in estimating variances. They know that such estimates are essentially arbitrary, as few have a perspective founded on clear-cut notions of the range within which the causal potency of a variable is specified. Nor are matters helped by stressing the relevance of a finding—'other things being equal'. Usually other things are not equal, so that clustering them together as if they were equal can be misleading.

How, then, to proceed? If the available conceptual equipment cannot generate reliable hypotheses, and if a *ceteris paribus* (i.e. all things being equal) context has limited utility, how does the analyst confront the task of framing and probing meaningful insights? The answer lies in maintaining a focus on the potential rather than the pitfalls of comparative analysis. Even if the underpinnings of a country's foreign policy are ambiguous, one can nonetheless proceed to examine what appear to be the main sources of the ambiguity, noting throughout the factors that may undermine the analysis. To focus on the obstacles to an enquiry is to ensure that the enquiry will fall short of what can be gleaned from the empirical materials at hand.

The best technique for moving ahead is that of specifying what independent variables seem especially relevant to the phenomena to be explained even as one acknowledges that

the sum of the variance they account for may fall short of 100 per cent. Such an acknowledgment is not so much a statement of fact as it is a noting of the limits that confine the analysis. Furthermore, even if only 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the variance is accounted for, such findings are likely to be valuable despite the fact that they fall short of a full explanation. The goal is not to account for all the variability, but to explain enough of it to enlarge our understanding of the key dynamics at work in the examined situation. Foreign policy phenomena are too complex to aspire to a full accounting of all the dynamics at work in a situation. It is enough to compare them carefully and draw conclusions about the central tendencies they depict. A close reading of the ensuing chapters demonstrates that proceeding in this way can yield deep and important insights into the diverse ways societies interact with their external environments.

While most of the relevant independent variables are amply assessed throughout the foreign policy literature, two are less widely cited and thus can usefully be elaborated here. One involves what I call the skill revolution and the other is the organizational explosion. Each accounts for a sufficient proportion of the variance to warrant amplification and together they significantly shape the conduct of any country's foreign policy.

The skill revolution

Considerable evidence is available to demonstrate that people everywhere, in every country and community throughout the world, are increasingly able to trace distant events through a series of interactions back into their own homes or pocketbooks. The skill revolution is understood to consist of three main dimensions: the analytical, the emotional, and the imaginative. The first of these involves an intellectual talent, an expanding ability to link the course of events to the observer's personal situation. Facilitated by the Internet and many other technological innovations, people are ever more able to construct scenarios that depict how situations in the arenas of world politics impact on their lives and well-being (Rosenau 2003: Chapter 10). The expansion of skills is presumed to occur through adding new scenarios to those people employed in order to perceive and assess the situations of interest to them. The emotional dimension of the skill revolution focuses on the way people feel about situations—to judge them as good or bad, welcoming or threatening—capacities that have also expanded as a consequence of a world that is shrinking and impinging ever more closely on their daily lives. The imaginative dimension depicts the capacity of people to envision alternative futures, lifestyles, and circumstances for themselves, their families, and their cherished organizations.

The materials for wide-ranging imaginative musings are abundantly available in all parts of the world. They include global television, soap operas, letters from relatives working as maids in Hong Kong, cousins who find employment in Saudi Arabia, and children who marry foreign spouses. The learning embedded in messages sent home is less directly experiential for the recipients than are the encounters reported by their authors, but nevertheless it can be a major contributor to the more worldly skills of those who do not travel. It may even be that the letters and phone calls from relatives abroad can be as much a window on the norms and practices of distant places as those offered on the television screen. These stimuli are especially relevant for peoples in developing countries whose circumstances previously limited contacts with other cultures and alternative lifestyles. Indeed, from the perspective

of those who have long been hemmed in by the realities of life on or below the poverty line, the freeing up of their imaginative capacities is among the most powerful forces at work in the world today.

The organizational explosion

Hardly less so than the population explosion, recent years have witnessed a veritable explosion in the number of voluntary associations that have crowded onto the global stage. In all parts of the world and at every level of community, people—ordinary folk as well as elites and activists—are coming together to concert their efforts on behalf of shared needs and goals. Exact statistics on the extent of this pattern do not exist (largely because so much of it occurs at local levels and goes unreported), but few would argue with the propositions that the pace at which new associations are formed and old ones enlarged is startling, so much so that to call it an explosion is almost to understate the scale of growth. It has been calculated, for example, that in 1979 Indonesia had only a single independent environmental organization, whereas in 1999 there were more than 2000 linked to an environmental network based in Jakarta (Bornstein 1999).

The social media explosion

Since the first edition of this book was published, we have, of course, witnessed the major changes represented by the Arab Spring of 2011, which have further blurred the distinctions between domestic and international politics, and further illustrate the interconnectedness of all politics on the planet. This sees its most extreme example in the role of social media in previously seemingly closed societies. The visions of Iranian protestors, or Syrian activists, organizing their protests by Twitter and Facebook show only too clearly that governments can no longer control information flows. Such control was only ever partial, but the new social media fundamentally breach the old walls of the state. In this sense, the rise of social media represents a third revolution.

* * * *

Integrating the skill revolution, the organizational explosion, and the political consequences of the social media revolution into the analysis of the dynamics that shape foreign policy is not an easy task. Not to do so, however, would be to greatly distort the analysis. Clearly, what countries do abroad is highly dependent on the skills and attitudes shared among their populations at home. Taken together, the three variables account for a great deal of the variance from one country to another and from one point in time to another.

How to use this book

This book is enriched with a range of features designed to help you support and reinforce your learning. This guided tour shows you how to use your textbook fully and get the most out of your foreign policy study.



Reader's guide

This chapter analyses Australia's approach to global climate change, its engagement with the climate change regime. This case study highlights key points. The first is that Australia's changing approach to international negotiations reflects a complex combination of domestic political constraints, the ideology and foreign policy orientation of governments, and the state of international negotiations. While at times Australia's position seems to reflect political constraints, at other times the Australian government's position is strongly influenced by the state of international cooperation. The second point is that Australia's changing approach to climate change cooperation is...

Reader's guides

Each chapter opens with a reader's guide to set the scene for upcoming themes and issues to be discussed and indicate the scope of coverage within each chapter topic.

BOX 13.5 Obama on the Syrian civil war

Over the past two years, what began as a series of peaceful protests against the Bashar al-Assad has turned into a brutal civil war. Over 100,000 people have fled the country. In that time, America has worked with allies to provide humanitarian help to the moderate opposition, and to shape a political settlement. But I have not taken military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force, as we did in Iraq and Afghanistan.

And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national interest of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through...

Boxes

Throughout the book, boxes provide you with practitioners' perspectives, additional information, and practical illustrations of the theory described in the main body of the text.

Energy security: the combination of demand and supply pressures linking exporters and importers, both of whom ultimately have the same goal, namely to ensure access to, transport of, and a market for energy resources required for the long-term and stable development of national power.

Engagement: the development of relationships

Glossary terms

Key terms appear in bold throughout the text to alert you to each new concept. These terms are defined in a glossary at the end of the book, which will prove very helpful when you come to exam revision.



Key points

- The international environment is fluid and difficult to manage. Foreign policy must be alert to the constant feedback it provides and adapt to its changing circumstances to meet their initial objectives.
- Foreign policy is not self-executing; the implementation phase is critical.
- The implementation phase may turn out to be much longer than anticipated, leading to new rounds of policy making.
- The means of foreign policy can distort and even transform its original objectives.
- The implementation of foreign policy needs to be highly flexible—it is...

Key points

At the end of each chapter, the most important concepts and arguments discussed are summarized in a set of key points.

**Questions**

1. Should ordinary people be involved in the conduct of foreign policy?
2. Why is the American experience so important to understanding public diplomacy?
3. Is public diplomacy simply a euphemism for propaganda?
4. Is international broadcasting a viable instrument of public diplomacy?
5. What is new about 'new' public diplomacy?
6. Do you think that public diplomacy can bring about change in North Korea?
7. How does public diplomacy contribute to power?

**Further reading**

- Brown, M., Cote, O., Lynn-Jones, S.E., and Miller, S. (eds). (2000), *American Grand Strategies*, revised edn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
An informative survey of the competing American grand strategies for the world.
- Gray, C. (1999), 'Clausewitz Rules, OK? The Future is the Past—with GPS', *Strategic Studies*, 25: 161–182.
One of the UK's leading strategists arguing for the continuing relevance of Clausewitz's theory of war.
- Posen, Barry R. (2014), *Restraint: A New Foundation for US Grand Strategy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

Questions

A set of carefully devised questions help you to assess your understanding and critically reflect on core themes and issues.

Further reading

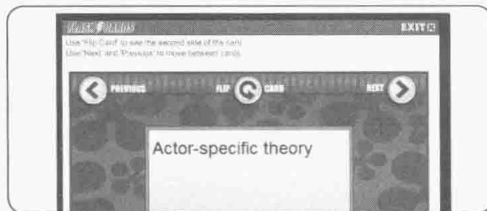
To take your learning further, each section ends with a reading list that will help you locate the key academic literature in the field.

Guided tour of the Online Resource Centre

The Online Resource Centre that accompanies this book provides both students and lecturers with ready-to-use teaching and learning materials, designed to maximize the learning experience.

www.oxfordtextbooks.co.uk/orc/smith_foreign3e/

The screenshot shows the Oxford University Press Online Resource Centre interface. The header includes the Oxford University Press logo, the text 'online resource centres', a search bar, and a login status 'You are not logged in Log in now'. The breadcrumb trail reads: Home > Politics & International Relations > Foreign Policy > Smith, Hadfield & Dunne: Foreign Policy 3e. The main title is 'Smith, Hadfield & Dunne: Foreign Policy 3e'. On the left, there are navigation menus for 'Student resources' (Flashcard glossary, Timeline: The Development of Foreign Policy Analysis, Web links), 'Lecturer resources' (PowerPoint presentations, Case studies, Teaching foreign policy cases), 'Browse:' (All subjects, Politics & International Relations, Foreign Policy), and 'Learn about:' (Online Resource Centres). The main content area is divided into three sections: 'Student resources' with links to 'Flashcard glossary' (described as a series of interactive flashcards) and 'Timeline: The Development of Foreign Policy Analysis' (containing details of key events); 'Web links' pointing to research sites; and 'Lecturer resources' (password-protected for lecturers). A registration notice asks users to complete a 'registration form' if they are not yet registered. A 'Keep me updated about this site' checkbox is also present. On the right, there are social media icons and a book cover image.



FOR STUDENTS

Flashcard glossary

A series of interactive flashcards containing key terms and concepts has been provided to allow you to check your understanding of terminology, and to aid exam revision.

1980s-present

Contemporary Foreign Policy Analysis

The end of the Cold War brought with it a renewed interest in actor-specific theory. An inductive understanding of this event involves delving into the individual actors themselves: the personalities of the leaders, the activities of various actors, the struggle between domestic players, and so on. From the late 1980s to the present, foreign policy researchers have focused on developing the following themes outlined below.

Theory Development in Decision Making

a. Construction of Meaning and Frames of Situations by

Timeline

The Online Resource Centre includes a timeline so that you can find out about the different periods in the evolution of foreign policy analysis.

Chapter 3

UNITED NATIONS DEMOCRACY FUND (UNDEF)
 This is the website of the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), a government funded, United Nations sponsored, effort to promote democracy around the world.

CLUB OF MADRID
 This is the website of the Club of Madrid, an organization dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world by drawing on the experiences of its members: democratic former heads of state and government.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
 The website of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an international organization

Web links

A selection of annotated web links makes it easy to research those topics that are of particular interest to you.

Teaching foreign policy cases

STEVEN L. LAMY

Chapter contents

Introduction	1
What are the differences between a research case and a teaching case?	3
Retrospective and decision-forcing cases	6
Learning about the foreign policy process with cases	8
Testing middle-range theories	10
Conclusion: why cases work so well	12

FOR LECTURERS

Teaching foreign policy cases

Steve Lamy introduces the case method of teaching, an active teaching and learning strategy which encourages critical analysis, evaluation, and problem-solving.

Introduction: Setting the Stage

The Arctic and Antarctica are undoubtedly the most inhospitable, and for the most part unexplored, areas of the planet. Poles apart, their distinctiveness surfaces in ways opposed to other parts of the world, but also when the two are contrasted: (yet shrinking) layer of ice, the first reveals itself as an ocean (the Arctic is defined as the Arctic Ocean) hosting a number of islands, while the second is a continent. Furthermore, disparities range from biodiversity (the absence of it in Antarctica and the penguin in the Arctic) to models of governance (the Antarctic System – or ATS – governs international aspects pertaining to the Antarctic; a range of bodies and treaties – such as the Arctic Council or the UNCLOS – govern coherence in Arctic governance).

Case studies

Additional case studies, including *The Arctic Race* and *Britain and Iraq*, are provided to supplement the material in the book itself.

Why missiles in: four hypotheses

President Kennedy and his senior advisors considered the following hypotheses for the build-up in Cuba

- Hypothesis 1: Cuban defence

PowerPoint® slides

The fully customizable PowerPoint® slides are available to download, offering a useful resource to instructors preparing lectures and handouts.

Acknowledgements

All three editors are teachers of foreign policy. Steve Smith first taught foreign policy analysis in the mid-1980s while a young lecturer at the University of East Anglia. Tim Dunne, who was in Steve's class in 1987–1988, taught comparative foreign policy at the University of Exeter, and currently teaches and writes about decision making in relation to intervention at the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. Amelia Hadfield first taught foreign policy analysis at the University of Kent, Canterbury, and continues to research and teach FPA at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

The aim of the first edition was to gather into a single text the waterfront of themes that ought to feature on a foreign policy course. The second and third editions continue that same goal, with new and revised chapters written by first-rate scholars and instructors whose ability to communicate their ideas via the research-led teaching of foreign policy analysis is clearly revealed in the pages that follow. The book is nothing if not genuinely international; the editorial team and the talented line-up of contributors drawn from the corners of the globe.

During the long journey to publication, we could not have wished for better and more supportive commissioning editors than Kirsty Reade and subsequently Sarah Iles at OUP. Through various editions, we have been fortunate to draw on the support of several research assistants: Dusan Radivojevic and Nika Jurcova helped with the second edition, and Michal Gloznek and Constance Duncombe provided excellent support throughout the process of putting together a new third edition.

We set out to assemble a book that could serve as an ideal resource for bringing courses on foreign policy to life. If readers and instructors use it to debate and contest the great foreign policy issues of our day, then the book will have made its mark. If readers and instructors do this *and* draw on the major theories and concepts informing the study of foreign policy, then we will have achieved more than we could have reasonably expected.

We are all three indebted to the work of Jim Rosenau in different ways. He graciously wrote the Foreword to the first edition. When we first came up with the idea of asking Jim, we thought it was a long shot. Within minutes of sending the invitation, we had an enthusiastic reply that suggested all kinds of possible ways of opening *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Such energy and creativity has marked out Jim's contribution to a field which, more than any other writer and thinker, he has shaped and defined.

As we were finishing the editing of the second edition, word came through that Jim Rosenau had passed away (he died on 9 September 2011, aged 86, after suffering a stroke). Jim was one of the most significant scholars working in foreign policy, and was one of the subject's founding fathers. His influence on foreign policy analysis was not only through his published works, but also through the personal encouragement he gave to generations of students and scholars. Jim only gave up teaching at George Washington University in 2009, and still started each class by asking students to read out headlines from the *New York Times* and then asking them 'What is this an instance of?', and how it related to ideas they had covered in the course. His daughter, Margaret, said in one obituary that 'he was in love with teaching and in love

with the academic world'. The editors of this book—particularly Steve Smith who had a close academic and personal relationship with him going back to 1980—experienced his personal kindness and, like countless other academics in the field, we owe Jim a massive debt for his always stimulating and stretching thinking about foreign policy analysis and international relations. Jim was a true scholar, a wonderful intellect, and an exceptionally kind man.

We think it is fitting to dedicate this book to him.

Steve Smith, University of Exeter, UK

Amelia Hadfield, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

Tim Dunne, University of Queensland, Australia