

RPOS 399: Foreign Policy and Coercive Statecraft

Professor: Bryan R. Early

Class #: 3599

Class Times: Tuesday-Thursday, 8:45-10:05AM

Room: Humanities Building 133

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Office Hours: Uptown, Humanities Building B16 – Tuesdays, 10:15-11:15 AM
Downtown, Milne Hall 300A – Thursdays, 10:30 AM-11:30 AM

Course Description

This course provides an overview of the study and practice of foreign policy with a particular emphasis on American foreign policy and the use of coercive statecraft. The course begins by exploring what motivates foreign policy choices and the processes by which foreign policy decisions are made. The next section examines how U.S. foreign policy is conducted and examines the key institutions involved in U.S. foreign policy-making. In the second half of the course, the main focus is placed upon how and why states engage in coercive statecraft and what are its consequences. Both the use of military coercion and economic sanctions are explored in depth. By the end of the course, students should understand how and why great powers like the United States employ coercive foreign policies and what the potential benefits and pitfalls of those policies can be. The course's capstone project will involve a group-based assignment to develop and analyze a policy recommendation for the adoption of a *new* coercive policy by the U.S. Government. This assignment will involve writing a professional policy brief, giving a public presentation to a panel of foreign policy experts, and defending their recommendations during a Q&A session.

Expectations

This is a reading intensive course. Students are expected to attend every class on time, having done the assigned readings, and prepared to contribute to course discussions. All quizzes and assignments must be turned in by the assigned due date.

Course Learning Objectives

- Students will know and understand what foreign policy is and how it is conducted by governments
- Students will know and understand the processes by which U.S. foreign policy is conducted and the major institutions that play a role in U.S. foreign policy
- Students will know and understand how and why states employ coercive diplomacy
- Students will know and know the different types and uses of military force
- Students will know and understand why leaders employ economic sanctions, the various types that are used, and the processes by which they are threatened and imposed
- Students will know and understand the factors that contribute to why economic sanctions succeed or fail
- Students will appreciate the broad consequences of economic sanctions

- Students will engage in critical thinking about how coercive diplomacy can be used by policymaking
- Students will practice group decision-making in approaching a real-world policy scenario
- Students will develop professional-level writing and presentation skills

Grading

Quizzes – 20%

A total of 6 pop quizzes will be given during the semester that will test students' knowledge of the readings and concepts covered in class. Missed quizzes *cannot* be made up, but students' lowest quiz grade will be dropped.

Midterm Exam – 25%

Students will be given an in-class midterm exam that covers all the course readings, lectures, and group activities up until the exam.

Final Exam – 25%

Students will be given a two-hour comprehensive exam that covers all the course readings, lectures, and group activities.

Coercive Statecraft Policy Proposal – 30%

Students will work in small groups to develop a collective 15-page proposal on how the U.S. Government can utilize the instruments of coercive statecraft to achieve a foreign policy objective. Students will conduct a 15-minute professional briefing using power-point in front of a panel of foreign policy experts, which will include an additional 10-15 minute Q&A session. The instructor will provide more details about the assignment. Due Dates: TBD, but after Thanksgiving Break.

Grading Policy

Tests and papers will be graded blind by the instructor and/or teaching assistant. If a student wishes to challenge how his or her exam or paper was graded, the student must submit a written statement describing what part of their assignment was improperly evaluated and why they think that was the case. This must be done within five days of having the assignment returned. Both the instructor and assistant will re-grade the entire project, compare their assessments, and mutually decide on a final grade. This grade may be higher or lower than the original grade given and will be final. Any clear mistakes or errors made by the instructor will be promptly corrected and need only be brought to the instructor's attention.

Policy on Academic Honesty

Please familiarize yourself with the undergraduate bulletin's descriptions of cheating and plagiarism. If you are involved in plagiarism or cheating on an exam or research paper, the instructor reserves the right to issue a 0 on the assignment, give a failing grade to the student for the course, and/or submit a “**Violation of Academic Integrity Report.**” If you are not sure if something violates standards – feel free to ask ahead of time. In general, it's always better to err on the side of citing too much than too little in your research papers. The university's official policy can be found at: <http://www.albany.edu/studentconduct/appendix-c.php>. Lastly, never cite Wikipedia as source.

Accommodations

“Reasonable accommodations will be provided for students with documented physical, sensory, systemic, cognitive, learning and psychiatric disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation in this class, please notify the Director of Disabled Student Services (Campus Center 137, 442-5490). The office will provide the course instructor with verification of your disability, and will recommend appropriate accommodations.” For the University's policy, see: <http://www.albany.edu/disability/docs/RAP.pdf>. If you wish to discuss academic accommodations for this class please inform the instructor as soon as possible.

Resources

Required Books

- Bryan Early. 2015. *Busted Sanctions: Explaining Economic Sanctions Fail*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Stephen Hook and Christopher Jones, eds. 2013. *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Thomas Schelling. 1966. *Arms and Influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Joyce Kaufman. 2013. *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- J. Boone Bartholomees, ed. 2010. *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume I: Theory of War and Strategy*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College. Available online and Blackboard.
- J. Boone Bartholomees, ed. 2010. *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College. Available online and Blackboard.

Required Articles and Book Chapters

- All course readings that are not in the books or linked to a website will be posted on the class Blackboard Page in the “Course Readings” Folder.

Course Schedule

Part I: An Introduction to Foreign Policy Analysis and U.S. Foreign Policy

Week 1: Course Introduction

- (8/27)

Week 2: Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory

- (9/1)
 - Valerie Hudson. 2005. “Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Grounds of International Relations.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1(1): 1-30.
 - Henry Nau. 2013. “Realism.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*
 - Alynna Lyon. 2013. “Liberalism.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - Margaret Hermann. 2013. “The Study of American Foreign Policy.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*
- (9/3): National Interests, Interest Groups, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy
 - Alan Stolberg. 2010. “Chapter 2: Crafting American Interests,” pp. 13-25. In *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*.
 - Douglas Foyle. 2013. “Public Opinion.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - Patrick Haney. “Interest Groups.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.

Part II: Foreign Policy Institutions, Processes, and Decision Making

Week 3:

- (9/8): Foreign Policy Decision Making: Rationalist and Cognitive Approaches
 - Miles Kahler. 1998. “Rationality in International Relations.” *International Organization* 52(4): 919-941.
 - Jack Levy. 1997. “Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations.” *International Studies Quarterly* 41: 87-112.
 - Joyce Kaufman. 2013. “Chapters 1 and 2.” *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

- (9/10): Foreign Policy Decision Making: Groups and Bureaucratic Politics
 - o Greg Cashman. 2000. "Chapter 4: Governmental Decision Making." *What Causes War: An Introduction to Theories of International Conflict*. New York: Lexington Books.
 - o Christopher Jones. 2013. "Bureaucratic Politics." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Steve Yetiv. 2003. "Groupthink and the Gulf Crisis." *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 419-442.

Week 4:

- (9/15) – No Class
- (9/17): Foreign Policy Decision Making: Pathologies
 - o Jervis, Robert. 1968. "Hypotheses on Misperception." *World Politics* 20(3): 454-479.
 - o Kevin M. Woods and Mark E. Stout. 2010. "Saddam's Perceptions and Misperceptions: The Case of 'Desert Storm.'" *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 33(1): 5–41.
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. "Chapter 3." *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Week 5:

- (9/22): The President, Congress, and Foreign Policy
 - o Glenn Hastedt. 2013. "The Presidency." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Ralph Carter and James Scott. 2013. "Congress." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Marybeth Ulrich. 2010. "National Security Powers: Are the Checks in Balance?" 63-79. In *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*.
- (9/24) – No Class

Week 6:

- (9/29): U.S. Agencies Involved Foreign Policy
 - o Jerel Rosati and Scott DeWitt. 2013. "The Department of State." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Reed Fendrick. 2010. "Chapter 12: Diplomacy as Instrument of National Power." In *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume I: Theory of War and Strategy*.
 - o I.M. Destler. 2010. "The Foreign Economic Bureaucracy." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Peruse the U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Treasury Websites. Learn basic facts about the organizations' leadership.

- (10/1) : U.S. Agencies Involved Foreign Policy (Cont.)
 - o Peter Dombrowski. 2013. “The Department of Defense.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Loch Johnson. 2013. “National Security Intelligence.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Vincent Auger. 2013. “The National Security Council.” In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.

Week 7:

- (10/6): Crafting Policy
 - o Alan Stolberg. 2010. “Making National Security Policy in the 21st Century.” In *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*.
 - o Gabriel Marcella. 2010. “National Security and the Interagency Process.” In *The U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy*.
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. “Chapter 4.” *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Part III: Coercive Statecraft

- (10/8): What is Coercion?
 - o Lawrence Freedman and Srinath Raghavan. 2013. “Chapter 14: Coercion.” In Paul Williams’ *Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
 - o Alexander George. 1991. “Excerpt.” *Forceful Persuasion: An Alternative to War*. Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace.
 - o Robert Art. 2003. “Coercive Diplomacy: What Do We Know?” In Robert Art and Patrick Cronin’s *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
 - o Patrick Bratton. 2005. “When is Coercion Successful? And Why Can’t We Agree on It?” *Naval War College Review* 58(3): 99-120.

The Threat and Use of Military Force

Week 8:

- (10/13): Military Coercion
 - o Robert Art. 1980. “To What Ends Military Power?” *International Security* 4(4): 4-35.
 - o John F. Troxell. 2010. “Chapter 17: Military Power and the Use of Force.” In *Theory of War and Strategy*.
 - o Thucydides. 431 BC. “The Melian Dialogue.” *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. Available at: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/melian.htm>.

- (10/15): Coercive Threats and Deterrence
 - o Todd Sechser. 2010. "Goliath's Curse: Coercive Threats and Asymmetric Power." *International Organization* 64: 627-660.
 - o Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman. 1999. "Defeating U.S. Coercion." *Survival* 41:2: 107-120.
 - o Richard Betts. 2013. "The Lost Logic of Deterrence." *Foreign Affairs* 92(2): 87-99.

Week 9:

- (10/20): Policy Analysis, Research, and Writing
 - o TBD
- (10/22): Deterrence, Compellence, and Crisis Escalation in the Nuclear Age
 - o Thomas Schelling. 1966. "Chapters 1-3." *Arms and Influence*.
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. "Chapter 5." *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Week 10:

- (10/27): Deterrence, Compellence, and Crisis Escalation in the Nuclear Age
 - o Thomas Schelling. 1966. "Chapters 4-7." *Arms and Influence*.

Economic Sanctions

- (10/29): What are Economic Sanctions and Why Are They Used?
 - o David Lektzian and Mark Souva. 2013. "Economic Sanctions." In *Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*.
 - o Kirschner, Jonaathon. 1997. "The Microfoundations of Economic Sanctions." *Security Studies* 6(3): 32-64.
 - o Baldwin, David. 1999. "The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice." *International Security* 24(3): 80-107.
 - o Feaver, Peter and Eric B. Lorber. 2015. "The Sanctions Myth." *National Interest* (July/August). Available online at: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-sanctions-myth-13110>.

Week 11:

- (11/3): The Goals of Economic Sanctions
 - o Barber, James. 1979. "Economic Sanctions as a Policy Instrument." *International Affairs* 55(3): 367-384.
 - o Fernandez, Jose. 2012. "Smart Sanctions: Confronting Security Threats with Economic Statecraft." Remarks by the Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, U.S. Department of State. Available at <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/rm/2012/196875.htm>.
 - o U.S. Department of State. 2015. "Economic Sanctions Policy and Implementation." Available at: <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/>. Look at this site and the link the Department of Treasury's OFAC site.

- (11/5): Threatening and Imposing Economic Sanctions
 - o Drezner, Daniel. 2003. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57 (Summer): 643-659.
 - o Whang, Taehee. 2011. "Playing to the Home Crow? Symbolic Use of Economic Sanctions in the United States." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(3): 787-801.
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. "Chapter 6." *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Week 12:

- (11/10): Factors Affecting the Success of Economic Sanctions
 - o Hufbauer Gary, Jeffrey Schott, Kimberly Elliot, and Barbar Oegg. 2007. "Chapter 6: Conclusions and Policy Recommendations." *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered, 3rd Edition*. Washington, DC: Peterson Institute.
 - o Bapat, Navin, Tobias Heinrich, Yoshiharu Kobayashi, and T. Clifton Morgan. 2013. "Determinants of Sanctions Effectiveness: Sensitivity Analysis Using New Data." *International Interactions* 39(1): 79-98.
 - o Feaver, Peter and Eric Lorber. 2010. "Coercive Diplomacy: Evaluating the Consequences of Financial Sanctions" (November). London: Legatum Institute.

- (11/12): The Humanitarian Consequences of Economic Sanctions
 - o Mueller, John and Karl Mueller. 1999. "Sanctions of Mass Destruction." *Foreign Affairs* 78(3): 43-53.
 - o Peksen, Dursun. (2009) Better or Worse? The Effect of Economic Sanctions on Human Rights. *Journal of Peace Research* 46(1):59-77.
 - o Peksen, Dursun and A. Cooper Drury. (2010) Coercive or Corrosive: The Negative Impact of Economic Sanctions on Democracy. *International Interactions* 36(3): 240-264.

Week 13:

- (11/17): Ethics, Economic Sanctions, and Reforming Sanctions Practices
 - o Winkler, Adam. 1999. "Just Sanctions." *Human Rights Quarterly* 21(1): 133-155.
 - o Brozoska, Michael. 2003. "Review Essay: From Dumb to Smart? Recent Reforms in UN Sanctions." *Global Governance* 9: 519-535.
 - o Drezner, Daniel. 2011. "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice." *International Studies Review* 13(1): 96-108.

- (10/19): The Political Side-Effects of Economic Sanctions
 - o Andreas, Peter. 2005. "Criminalizing Consequences of Sanctions: Embargo Busting and Its Legacy." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2): 335-360.
 - o Galtung, Johan. 1967. "On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions: With Examples from the Case of Rhodesia." *World Politics* 19(3): 378-416.
 - o Marinov, Nikolay. 2005. "Do Economic Sanctions Destabilize Country Leaders?" *American Political Science Journal* 49(3): 564-576.
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. "Chapter 7." *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Week 14: Thanksgiving Break (No Class This Week)

- (11/24) – No Class
- (10/26) – No Class

Week 15:

- (12/1): In-Class Workshop for Policy Presentations
- (12/3): Economic Sanctions and Sanctions-Busting: Causes and Consequences
 - o Early, Bryan. 2015. *Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 - o Dubowitz, Mark. 2012. “So You Want to be a Sanctions-Buster?” *Foreign Policy* (August 10). Available Online at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/08/10/so-you-want-to-be-a-sanctions-buster/>

Part IV: Conclusion

Week 16:

- (12/8): Wrap-Up
 - o Joyce Kaufman. 2013. “Chapter 8.” *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy*.