

# The Conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy

*Instructor:* Tobias Heinrich (heinricht@mailbox.sc.edu – www.theinrich.net)

*Time and place:* POLI 340, University of South Carolina

*Class:* 11.40-12.55 in Room 104 in CLS on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

*Office hours:* Thursdays, 2-3pm in Gambrell 333. I will usually be available for a bit right after class as well. You can also schedule alternative times with me through email.

*Teaching assistants:* Adam Cox (coxac@email.sc.edu, office hours on Mondays, 12-2pm in Gambrell 303) and Alex Hsueh (chienwu.hsueh@gmail.com, office hours right after class in Gambrell 353).

## OUTLINE

This course offers a *focussed* view on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The focus comes through conscientious omissions and choices with regard to the content of the course. Most crucially, this is neither a course on diplomatic history, nor about on whatever media outlets happen to be covering at this minute. Further, the course will not treat the United States' foreign policy as anything inherently exceptional.

What does the course cover? Foreign policy of any state is presumed to come out of the interplay between various actors who seek to influence the statal policy over some issue. Using this perspective, we will consider (1) who these actors are, (2) which issues they might seek to affect, and (3) what the resulting statal policies might be. The analytical approach will be a general one (ie. it might as well be used to understand Iceland's foreign policy) which we apply to the case of the United States' foreign policy.

If you actively participate in this course, you will learn

- how to coherently think in a structured way through political issues and how policy toward it gets made;
- about a broad range of activities of U.S. foreign policy;
- to think more like a social scientist and much less like a journalist or talking head.

## REQUIRED MATERIALS

The following books and movie will be required in class. How you obtain access to them is up to you. Further, the instructor will provide the rest of the material (journal articles, book chapters, and some news articles).

- Stephen Gaghan, *Syriana*, 2005.
- Stephen E. Ambrose & Douglas G. Brinkley, *Rise to Globalism*, 2011, 9<sup>th</sup> edition.

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Date of this syllabus: August 20, 2013.

- Steven W. Hook, *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Paradox of World Power*, 2007 or 2010, either 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.

An important note on the readings: The course will rely at times on some complicated material that may involve difficult statistics and game theoretic models. I do not expect you to read and understand these sections of papers; however, the expectation is that you are able to get what the addressed issue is, what the previous work thought on the topic, what the novel take of the paper is, and what the implications are. However the author reaches the conclusions is not that important in the context of this class. At times, lectures will walk you through details of the readings.

## GRADES AND GRADING

Your grade will be comprised of several contributions, namely three short papers, a group presentation, and a final exam. The following is an outline of each of these contributions. The details for each assignment will be provided in class when the assignment is given.

- *Paper I: 17.5%*. You are asked to pick one from a list of foreign policy issues in which the United States was/ has been involved. Paper I asks you to provide historical context as well to define the nature of the issue. About 1,000 words.
- *Paper II: 27.5%*. You are asked to define the important actors which sought/ have sought to influence the issue you covered in Paper I. You investigate their preferences, power, and saliency over an issue. About 1,500 words.
- *Paper III: 15%*. The content of this assignment will be revealed in due time. About 1,000 words.
- *Group presentation: 10%*. All students who picked the same issue for the papers will combine their knowledge and present their findings in a short (10-15 minute) presentation. The exact length will depend on how many students end up in the class.
- *Final: 30%*. A cumulative take-home final concludes the course.

On occasion, there will be opportunities for voluntary short presentations that take place during class time. One such assignment might be to summarize a significant scholar's research. I expect these voluntary extra credit opportunities to be worth five percentage points.<sup>1</sup> If multiple students volunteer, I will use statistical software to draw a person randomly.

I will use the following grading scale to map between percentages and letter grades. A 92-100, B+ 87-91, B 80-86, C+ 77-79, C 70-76, D+ 67-69, D 60-66, and F 0-59. If you choose to turn in your work late, then you will lose five percentage-points every 12 hours. Late work should be emailed if the original assignment was due in class.

Assignments and examination work are expected to be the sole effort of the student submitting the work. Students are expected to follow the University of South Carolina Honor Code and should expect that every instance of a suspected violation will be reported. Students found responsible for violations of the Code will be subject to academic penalties under the Code in addition to whatever

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<sup>1</sup>If you get  $x$  on your voluntary short presentation and average  $y$  over the regular grades, your grade will percentage will be  $\frac{5}{105}x + \frac{100}{105}y$ .

disciplinary sanctions are applied. Cheating on a test or copying someone else's work, will result in a zero for the work, possibly a grade of F in the course, and, in accordance with University policy, be referred to the University Committee for Academic Responsibility and may result in expulsion from the University.

You are expected to be in class on time and be there every time as attending class is an integral part in learning the material. Further, missing class when your classmates carry out their presentations is simply rude. That said, no attendance will be taken so that there is no formal disadvantage from not showing up. I firmly believe that missing classes will adversely affect your learning and thereby your grade. Last, if you no-show for your own presentation (regardless of whether you are actually slated to present or not) or a voluntary short presentation, you will automatically receive a zero for it.<sup>2</sup>

Reading the assigned material and attending class are crucial and not substitutable for each other. Some material in the readings are starting points for the content of the lectures; others will be dissected meticulously in lectures. There will also be lectures without any previous grounding in readings. Your learning and thereby your grade will require close attention to lectures and readings.

Politics is inherently a social phenomenon, and thereby discussions about it are, too. I encourage every student to voice objections, questions, critique, and dissatisfaction with the presented material as well as to instructor's, TAs', and other students' views on the material. There are only three prerequisites: the comments have to be thought-out before voiced, be respectful, and must not aim to disrupt the course for disruption's sake.

This syllabus will be updated during the early part of the semester, in particular with the exact dates for presentations.

Reasonable accommodations are available for students with a documented disability. If you have a disability and may need accommodations to fully participate in this class, contact the Office of Student Disability Services: 777-6142, TDD 777-6744, email [sasds@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:sasds@mailbox.sc.edu), or stop by LeConte College Room 112A. All accommodations must be approved through the Office of Student Disability Services.

If in doubt about anything on this syllabus or in general, talk to the instructor and TAs (early).

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### PART I: PRELIMINARIES

The initial part of the course sets the stage for everything that follows. Students will learn the demarcation of topics as well as the approach that will be taken throughout.

*Thursday, August 22.* 'Howdy' and what are we doing?

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<sup>2</sup>The rest of the group will not be punished if (one of) the designated presenter(s) fails to show up. I expect that the members of the group are able to improvise in this case. In this circumstance, the grade will be adjusted.

*Tuesday, August 27.* What is foreign policy?

- Watch *Syriana*.

*Thursday, August 29.* A lecture on what lectures will not address.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 1.

*Tuesday, September 3.* A lecture (on the approach to) on what lectures will address. A primer on social scientific thinking.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 2.

## PART II: ACTORS OF FOREIGN POLICY

This part of the course introduces some of the major actors in U.S. foreign policy. Students will learn how to assess what drives the actors vis-à-vis foreign policy, and gain an understanding how the actors would approach new issues.

*Thursday, September 5.* The executive. Also: signing up for papers.

- Hook, “Presidential Power.”

*Tuesday, September 10.* The parliament.

- Hook, “Congress beyond the ‘Water’s Edge’.”

*Thursday, September 12.* Toward the papers: defining political issues. Assignments for Papers I and II are given.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 3.

*Tuesday, September 17.* The bureaucratic apparatus.

- Hook, “The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy.”

*Thursday, September 19.* The people and the media.

- Hook, “Public Opinion at Home and Abroad”.
- Hook, “The Impact of mass Communications.”

*Tuesday, September 24.* The interest groups and firms.

- Hook, “Social Movements and Interest Groups”.

*Thursday, September 26.* Toward the papers: actors, power, and saliency.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 4 & 5.

### PART III: TOOLS OF FOREIGN POLICY

States seek to achieve goals by using particular tools. In this part of the course, students will learn the nature of these tools, historical patterns, and the underlying rationale behind them.

*Tuesday, October 1.* Use of the armed forces. Paper I is due.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 6 & 7.

*Thursday, October 3.* Use of foreign aid.

- Bueno de Mesquita & Smith, *Dictator's Handbook*, Chapter 7.
- Hook, "National Interests and Foreign Aid."

*Tuesday, October 8.* Use of economic sanctions.

- Hook, "Economic Sanctions as a Policy Tool."

*Thursday, October 10.* Use of economic statecraft.

- Hook, "Trade Policy as a 'Two-Level Game'."

*Tuesday, October 15.* Buffer session.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 8 & 9.

*Thursday, October 17.* Toward the papers: Making predictions. Paper II is due.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 10 & 11.

*Tuesday, October 22.* Toward the papers: in-class discussions about Papers I and II. Paper III is given.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapters 12 & 13.

### PART IV: ISSUES IN FOREIGN POLICY

This part studies a small slice of issues facing the world as well as the United States today, and that are the object of foreign policy. Students will learn why certain issues are salient to actors, what can and has been done about them, and what are some of the consequences.

*Thursday, October 24.* “Terrorism”, part 1.

- The Guardian, 2013. “Four decades of US terror attacks listed and detailed,” Datablog. URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2013/apr/17/four-decades-us-terror-attacks-listed>  
Click through the interactive elements.

*Tuesday, October 29.* “Terrorism”, part 2.

- Dana Priest, 2010. “Top Secret America”, Washington Post. URL: <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/top-secret-america/articles/a-hidden-world-growing-beyond-control/print/>.
- John Mueller & Mark Steward, 2012. “The Terrorism Delusion: Americas Overwrought Response to September 11,” *International Security* 37(1). URL: [http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/ISEC\\_a\\_00089](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/ISEC_a_00089).

*Thursday, October 31.* Presentations I.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 14 & 15.

*Tuesday, November 5.* Drugs.

- Horace A. Bartilow & Kihong Eom, 2009. “Busting Drugs While Paying With Crime: The Collateral Damage of U.S. Drug Enforcement in Foreign Countries,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5(2). URL: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2009.00085.x/abstract>.

*Thursday, November 7.* Presentations II.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 16 & 17.

*Tuesday, November 12.* Trade, immigration, etc. Out of the two pieces by Clemens, just read one or listen to the other.

- Michael A. Clemens, 2011. “Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25(3). URL: <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/23049424>.
- Michael A. Clemens, 2013. “On Aid, Migration, and Poverty.” URL: [http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2013/07/clemens\\_on\\_aid.html](http://www.econtalk.org/archives/2013/07/clemens_on_aid.html).
- Jens Hainmueller & Daniel J. Hopkins, 2012. “The Hidden American Immigration Consensus: A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes Toward Immigrants,” working paper. URL: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2106116](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2106116).

*Thursday, November 14.* Presentations III.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 18 & 19.

*Tuesday, November 19.* Global warming and the environment.

- Matthew E. Kahn & Matthew J. Kotchen, 2010. “Environment Concern and the Business Cycle: The Chilling Effects of Recession,” working paper. URL: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w16241>.
- J. Lawrence Broz & Daniel Maliniak, 2010. “Malapportionment, Gasoline Taxes, and Climate Change,” working paper. URL: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1642499](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1642499).

*Thursday, November 21.* Presentations IV. Paper III is due.

- Ambrose & Brinkley, Chapter 20 & 21.

*Tuesday, November 26.* Development and democracy abroad.

- Tobias Heinrich, 2013. “When Is Foreign Aid Selfish, When Is It Selfless?,” *Journal of Politics* 75(2). URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S002238161300011X>.
- James M. Scott & Carie A. Steele, 2011. “Sponsoring Democracy: The United States and Democracy Aid to the Developing World, 19882001,” *International Studies Quarterly* 55(1). URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2010.00635.x>.

*Thursday, November 28.* No class as it’s Thanksgiving Recess.

*Tuesday, December 3.* Others’ weapons and nuclear proliferation.

- TBA.

*Thursday, December 5.* Wrapping up. Final given.