POL370 G:

Politics of Economic Statecraft

Instructor: Keith A. Preble, Ph.D.

Office: Harrison 120 (First Floor)

Office Hours: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, & Friday, 10am-11am or

by appointment via Calendly: https://calendly.com/dr keithpreble/15-minute-meeting

Email: prebleka@miamioh.edu

Phone: (513) 529-0521

Course Description:

This course focuses on the politics and use of economic statecraft with a focus on economic sanctions, foreign aid, strategic trade policy, and institutionalized economic cooperation. The use of economic sanctions has grown significantly since the end of World War II and has come to be one of the most potent (if somewhat overused) tools of US (and to some extent EU) foreign policy. In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, economic (and financial) sanctions have played an important role not only in US policy but also within the United Nations and European Union, serving as a policy area of transatlantic and international cooperation. Despite international solidarity, economic sanctions often fail to achieve their goals, and the United States has been accused of misusing and misdirecting economic sanctions. This seminar explores the theoretical and policy implications of the different tools of statecraft by studying how they have developed over time, their function, and the positive and negative aspects of these tools. This course also explores the ways that economic sanctions and other forms of statecraft have had positive impacts by helping to reduce the proliferation of conventional and weapons of mass destruction, undercutting efforts at financing terrorism, signaling norm violations (especially human rights) and helping to bring disputes to the negotiating table. Because of the ongoing implementation and enforcement of economic sanctions on Russia and use of such tools of economic statecraft on China as China rises, these cases will feature prominently throughout the semester.

The course will feature a combination of lectures and class-wide discussions.

Learning Outcomes:

1. Our students will be able to define and explain political science concepts, theories and approaches.

- 2. Our students will demonstrate skill in evidence-based reasoning from identifying the appropriate data or evidence necessary to construct a convincing argument to constructing and communicating that argument.
- 3. Our students will be able to identify the appropriate methodology, design and analysis for a given problem and understand the ethical components of research choices.
- 4. Our students will be able to apply political science knowledge to contemporary political issues and problems and be able to identify and evaluate alternative political science-based solutions.
- 5. Our students will be able to formulate, propose and advocate possibilities for positive change in democratic society as engaged and informed citizens.

Course Outcomes:

- Students should be able to define and explain the tools of economic statecraft that countries (both US and beyond) utilize in their foreign policy 'toolkit.'
- Because a significant portion of the literature on economic statecraft and economic sanctions involves quantitative methods (regression models, in particular), students should develop a familiarity with reading regression tables and graph literacy to interpret and explain arguments encountered throughout the course.
- Students should understand the causes and consequences of major sanctions cases that have been conducted since the end of World War II and discussed.
- Students should understand the differences between sanctions design, sanctions implementation, sanctions enforcement, and sanctions evaluation.
- Students should have a sense of the debate on the pros and cons of the use of economic sanctions and other tools of economic statecraft and situate themselves within the debate based on their engagement with the literature, being able to answer the question – are economic sanctions effective or successful? – using evidence from course readings, debates, and discussions.
- Students should understand the role of foreign aid and the debates and controversies around foreign aid as both a negative and positive tool of foreign policy.
- Student should understand the role of institutionalized economic cooperation as a tool of economic statecraft.
- Students should understand export and strategic trade controls, especially in how they are different from sanctions.

Textbooks and Required Materials:

Students should rent, purchase, or utilize library copies of the following books:

 Bryan R. Early (2015). Busted Sanctions. Explaining Why US Sanctions Fail. Stanford University Press. Bruce Jentleson (2022). Sanctions: What Everyone Needs To Know. Oxford University Press.

Both books are available from the library either as electronic books or on reserve. Please be mindful that in a class of nearly 2 dozen students, you may have trouble accessing the readings at the last minute. Not having access to the book is not sufficient grounds for not completing assignments. I recommend renting these from the bookstore.

Course Assessments:

- Attendance (10%): Attendance is taken at each session. Students are permitted four
 unexcused absences over the semester. Absences will always be excused for
 religious holidays and military service requirements. Students with doctor's notes
 and documentation of other absences will also be excused (see attendance policy).
- Participation (20%): Students will deliver two presentations on two readings on different days during the semester. Presentations will also be accompanied by a 2page response paper that engages with the article/reading presented (see template and instructions). Audience members will be graded on their Q&A, which will be facilitated by the instructor.
- Sanctions Design Project (20%): Students will write a memo outlining a sanctions program against a scenario I will provide. Memo must be 1,250 words (minimum); instructions and template will be provided.
- Foreign Aid Paper (20%): As a class, we will develop a short set of survey and interview questions. We will study the ethics of conducting participant-based research. Students will survey 5 people (instructions will be provided on how to choose your sample). Students will analyze the results in a 2-3 page memo.
- **Self-Designed Final Exam** (30%): In the final six weeks of the semester, students should design a research question that they want to explore for their final exam. The question should relate to concepts, ideas, themes, and material we have read over the course of the semester. Students will submit their question for approval; once approved, students will develop a 4-5 page (1,250-1,500 word) response to their question.

Reading Schedule:

Please read strategically throughout the semester. Focus on: what is the author(s) research question, theory, hypotheses, methods, data, evidence and results/findings.

<u>Week</u>	Day	<u>Date</u>	Readings		
1a	Т	1/28	Course Introduction, Syllabus, Goals, etc. (no reading)		
			Introduction to Economic Statecraft		
1b	Th	1/30	 Bryan R. Early and Keith A. Preble. (2021). "Chapter 24: Grand Strategy and the Tools of Economic Statecraft." Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 		
			 Michael Mastanduno (1999). "Economic statecraft, interdependence, and national security: agendas for research." Security Studies 9(1-2): 288-316. 		
			ECONOMIC SANCTIONS		
			Emergence of Economic Sanctions as a Policy Tool		
2a	Т	2/4	 Nicholas Mulder (2022). The Rise of Sanctions as a Tool of Modern War. Introduction (pp. 1-17) and Conclusion (291-99). 		
			 James Barber (1979). "Economic sanctions as a policy instrument." <i>International Affairs</i> 55(3): 367-84. 		
			 Menevis Cilizoglu and Bryan R. Early (2021). "Researching Modern Economic Sanctions." Oxford Research Encyclopedia, pp. 1-20. 		
			Logic of Choice		
2b	Th	2/6	 Baldwin (1999). "The sanctions debate and the logic of choice." International Security 24(3): 80-107. 		
			Coding Sanctions		
3a	Tu	2/11	 Hufbauer, Gary et al. (2009). Economic Sanctions Reconsidered (3rd edition). Chapter 1 (pp. 1-19) & Chapter 2 (pp. 43-64). 		
			Bruce Jentleson (2022). Sanctions: What Everyone Needs to Know, Chapter 1.		
			Potential of Economic Sanctions		
3b	Th	2/13	 Albert Hirschman (1945). National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade. University of California Press. Read Chapter 1. 		
			 Morgan, T. Clifton and Navin Bapat (2003). "Imposing sanctions: states, firms, and economic coercion." International Studies Review 5(4): 65-79. 		
			Complex (and sometimes weaponized) Interdependence		
4 a	Tu	2/18	 Keith A. Preble and Charmaine N. Willis Ward (2024). "Trading with Pariahs: North Korean Sanctions and the Challenge of Weaponized Interdependence." Global Studies Quarterly 4(2): 1-16 (open access; download from GSQ). 		

			Costs of Economic Sanctions		
4b	Th	2/20	 Susan Allen (2008). "The Domestic Political Costs of Economic Sanctions." Journal of Conflict Resolution 52(6): 916-44. 		
			 Bruce Jentleson (2022). Sanctions: What Everyone Needs to Know, Chapter 2. 		
			 Congressional Budget Office (1999). "Domestic Costs of Sanctions on Foreign Commerce." Washington, DC. 		
			Making Sanctions Policy in the US and EU		
5a	Tu	2/25	 Bruce Jentleson (2022). Sanctions: What Everyone Needs to Know, Chapters 5 & 8. 		
			 Francesco Giumelli (2013). The Success of Sanctions: Lessons Learned from the EU Experience. Routledge. Chapter 1. 		
			Sanctions Failure? Half Empty or Half Full?		
5b	Th	2/27	 Susan Allen. 2005. "The Determinants of Economic Sanctions Success and Failure." International Interactions 31 (2): 117–38. 		
			 Dursun Peksen (2019). "When do imposed economic sanctions work? A critical review of the sanctions effectiveness literature." Defense and Peace Economics 6: 635-47. 		
			Sanctions Busting (1)		
6a	Tu	3/4	 Bryan R. Early (2015). Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail. Stanford University Press, Chapters 1- 2 (pp. 1-30). 		
			 Dubowitz, Mark (2012). "So you want to be a sanctions buster?" Foreign Policy. Colin M. Barry and Katja B. Kleinberg (2015). "Profiting from sanctions: economic coercion and US foreign direct investment in third-party states." <i>International Organization</i> 69(4): 881-912. 		
			Sanctions Busting (2)		
6b	Th	3/6	 Bryan R. Early (2015). Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail. Stanford University Press, Chapters 3- 4. 		
			Sanctions Busting (3)		
7a	Tu	3/11	 Bryan R. Early (2015). Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail. Stanford University Press, Chapter 5. 		
			Sanctions Busting (4)		
7b	Th	3/13	 Bryan R. Early (2015). Busted Sanctions: Explaining Why Economic Sanctions Fail. Stanford University Press, Chapter 7. 		
			Targeted (or 'Smart') Sanctions		
8a	Tu	3/18	 Daniel Drezner (2011). "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice." International Studies Review 13(1): 96-108. 		

			 Susan E. Eckert, Thomas J. Biersteker, and Marcos Tourinho (2016). Targeted Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of United Nations Action. Cambridge University Press. Read: Introduction, p. 1-11 Clara Portela (2014). "The EU's Use of 'Targeted' Sanctions: Evaluating Effectiveness." Working Paper, CEPS Document No. 301 		
			391. Negative Effects of Economic Sanctions		
8b	Th	3/20	 Kolja Brockmann and Keith A. Preble (2021). "Mitigating Humanitarian Impact in a Complex Sanctions Environment: The European Union and the Sanctions Regimes against Iran." Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), pp. 1- 16. 		
			 Pelter, Camila Teixeira, and Erica Moret (2022). "Sanctions and their Impact on Children." UNICEF Report, pp. 4-14 and country snapshots on pp. 12, 13, 18, & 27. 		
			 Richard Connolly (2018). Russia's Response to Sanctions: How Western Economic Statecraft is Reshaping Political Economy in Russia. Cambridge University Press. Read selections: Introduction (pp. 1-8) & Chapter 3 (Western Sanctions and the Russian Response, pp. 56-77). 		

SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS ON 3/25 AND 3/27

			Financial Sanctions, Currencies, and Dollar Hegemony		
			o Daniel McDowell (2023). Bucking the Buck: US Financial		
9a			Sanctions and the International Backlash against the Dollar.		
			Oxford University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 1-18.		
			o Jonathan Kirshner (1997). Currency and Coercion: The Political		
			Economy of International Monetary Power. Princeton		
			University Press. Read pp. 3-19.		
			o Zongyuan Zoe Liu and Mihaela Papa (2022). "Can BRICS de-		
			dollarize the global financial system?" Cambridge Elements,		
			Elements in the Economics of Emerging Markets, pp. 1-17.		
			Patterns of (US) Sanctions Enforcement		
9b	Th	4/3	Bryan R. Early and Keith Preble (2020). "Going fishing versus hunting whales: explaining changes in how the US enforce economic sanctions." Security Studies 29(2): 231-67.		
			 Keith A. Preble and Bryan R. Early (2023). "Enforcing Economic Sanctions by Tarnishing Corporate Reputations." Business and Politics. 		

FOREIGN AID				
Foreign Aid: Concepts and Issues				

			3pmg 202	
10a	Tu	4/8	 George Ingram (2019). "What every American should know about US foreign aid," Brookings Institution, Commentary: https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-every-american-should-know-about-us-foreign-aid/ 	
			Emily Morgenstern and Nick M. Brown (2022). "Foreign	
			Assistance: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy."	
			Congressional Research Service. Read Summary and pp. 1-10,	
			15-20, 21-26.	
			Foreign Aid, Conditionality, and Power	
10b	Th	4/10	 T. Y. Wang (1999). "US Foreign Aid and UN Voting: An Analysis of Important Issues." International Studies Quarterly 43: 199- 210. 	
			 Andrew Natsios (2020). "Foreign aid in an era of Great Power Competition," Prism 8(4): pp. 101-117. 	
			US' Use of Foreign Aid	
11a	Tu	4/15	 Marijke Breuning and Christopher Linebarger (2011). "Foreign Aid," in Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy. Routledge, pp. 346-360. 	
			 Helen Milner and Dustin H Tingley (2010). "The Political 	
			Economy of U.S. Foreign Aid: American Legislators and the	
			Domestic Politics of Aid." <i>Economics and Politics</i> 22(2): 200-32.	
			US Foreign Aid: Cases and Commentary	
11b	Th	4/17	o Jeremy M. Sharp (2022). "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel."	
		,, =:	Congressional Research Service.	
			o (2020). "US Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical	
			Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2021 Request."	
			Congressional Research Service. Read: Summary and pp. 1-17.	
			Ngaire Woods (2005). "The shifting politics of foreign aid." Ngaire Woods (2005). "The shifting politics of foreign aid."	
			International Affairs 81(2): 393-409.	

	STRATEGIC COMMERCIAL POLICY				
			Understanding export controls and strategic trade a primer (1)		
12a	Tu	4/22	 Daniel Joyner (2020). "Strategic trade controls." Research Handbook on Arms Control Law. Edward Elgar: pp. 1-10 		
			 Togzhan Kassenova (2010). "Strategic trade controls in Taiwan." Nonproliferation Review, pp. 379-401. 		
			 Daniel Salisbury (2013). "Trade controls and non-proliferation: compliance costs, drivers and challenges." Business and Politics 15(4): 529-51. 		
			Dual-use goods, supply chains, and export controls		
12b	Th	4/24	 Ana Sanchez-Cobaleda (2023). "Defining 'dual-use items': legal approximations to an ever-relevant notion." The Nonproliferation Review. 		

			 Chad P. Brown (2023). "The challenge of export controls." F&D, pp. 18-21. 		
			 Adam Segal (2021). "Huawei, 5G, and Weaponized Interdependence." The uses and abuses of weaponized interdependence. Brookings, pp. 149-62. 		
			 US Department of Commerce (2022). "Don't let this happen to you." Read the Mission and Organization Statement, pp. 10-27. Download the PDF here: https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/documents/enforcement/1005-don-t-let-this-happen-to-you-1/file 		
			Managing Risk: UNSCR 1540 and Multilateral Controls		
13a	Tu	4/29	 Peter van Ham and Olivia Bosch (2006), "Global Non-Proliferation and Counter-Terrorism: The Role of Resolution 1540 and Its Implications," in Global Non-Proliferation and Counter-Terrorism: The Impact of the United Nations Security council Resolution 1540, Brookings Institution Press, pp. 3-23. 		
			Terrorism and Proliferation Financing – Abuses of the Financial System		
13b	Th	5/1	 IMF. "Anti-Money Laundering/Combating Financing of Terrorism" – Topics: https://www.imf.org/external/np/leg/amlcft/eng/aml1.htm Bryan R. Early and Togzhan Kassenova (2023). "Countering the Challenges of Proliferation Financing." The Center for Policy Research, University at Albany, SUNY. Read pp. 6-40. 		
	•	INST	ITUTIONALIZED ECONOMIC COOPERATION		
	IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO)				
14a 	Tu	5/6	 Richard Peet (2009). Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank, and WTO. Zed Books. Read Introduction, pp. 1-35. G. John Ikenberry. After Victory; read preface to the new edition (on Canvas). 		
			European Union's Single European Market		
14b	Th	5/9	 Chad Damro (2012). "Market power Europe." Journal of European Public Policy 19(5): 682-99. Alasdair R. Young (2020). "The Single European Market." Policy-making in the European Union. Oxford UP: pp. 110-128. Dermot Hodson (2020). "Economic and Monetary Union: An Enduring Experiment?" Policy-making in the European Union. Oxford UP: pp. 152-81. 		
			AIIB and OBOR - China's Growing Economic Power		
15a	Tu	12/7/23	 Zhao Hong (2016). "China's One Belt One Road: An Overview of the Debate." Singapore: ISEAS, Yusof Ishak Institute, pp. 1-31. Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones (2018). "China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB." International Affairs 94(3): 573-93. 		

		o Bruce Jentleson (2022). Sanctions: What Everyone Needs to	
		Know. Read Chapter 6, pp. 123-48.	
		FINAL EXAM DAY	
to our class, but you do		A Take-Home Final Exam will be due on the final exam day assigned to our class, but you do not need to come to class to complete it. Complete at home and submit on Canvas by the due date/time indicated.	

Course Policies:

Academic Accommodation:

If you are a student with a disability and feel you may need a reasonable accommodation to fulfill the essential functions of this course, you are encouraged to connect with Student Disability Services (SDS). SDS provides accommodations and services for students with a variety of disabilities, including physical, medical and psychiatric disabilities. You are encouraged to contact SDS to learn more about the affiliation process and procedures for requesting accommodations.

Oxford Campus: SDS@MiamiOH.edu

Hamilton Campus: MUHODS@MiamiOH.edu

Middletown Campus: MUMDC@MiamiOH.edu

Current SDS affiliated students should request accommodations according to SDS procedure. You are strongly encouraged to request and discuss your accommodations needs during the first 1-2 weeks of the semester.

Academic Integrity:

All instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the university. Please make sure you have read and abide by Miami University's academic integrity policy, which can be found in Chapter 5 of the Student Handbook. All incidents of academic misconduct including but not limited to plagiarism and cheating will be reported. **Students will be required to use Turn It In** services to check their work for plagiarism and other irregularities. It is understood that students have read and are familiar with the policy: https://miamioh.edu/policy-library/students/undergraduate/academic-regulations/academic-integrity.html? ga=2.97855391.1028864100.1692631843-287438523.1671213312

If you are unsure of what you are doing with respect to citations or worry about engaging in plagiarism, you should reach out to me after class, via email, or come to office hours for guidance. My job is to help you become the best scholar you can be, and I can't do that if you don't ask for help when you do not understand something.

Al tools and algorithms like ChatGPT and other such programs/sites/etc. should not be used to complete work in our course.

Attendance:

We will use TopHat for attendance (and in-class participation). Students are permitted **four (4) unexcused absences.** These are "no questions asked" absences you may use at your discretion for those times when you're not quick ill enough to go to student health. Or maybe you just need a day to yourself. Perhaps you are having some mental health struggles and need to regroup? Use these absences for this purpose. Sometimes unexcused absences are not permitted on certain days; these will be communicated in the syllabus and/or in class.

Please note that I will not excuse absences for: missed classes due to oversleeping, partying, green beer day, family vacations, leaving early for break (unless I haven't canceled class), job interviews, review sessions/tutorials in other classes, meetings with other professors during our class time, needing class time to finish assignment/work in other courses, make-up exams in other courses, etc. However, as an adult, you're free to miss class; just be aware that such absences will not be excused.

Excused absences – discussed below – *do not use up your four unexcused absences*. In most cases, some kind of documentation is required. Conserve your unexcused absences by getting documentation as indicated.

Absences are *always* excused for:

- Religious holidays (you must discuss with the instructor at the start of the semester)
- Military service/ROTC (you must provide a note/orders from your CO indicating your required absence)

Absences are typically excused with proper documentation:

- o Illness (including mental health) and hospitalization (with doctor's note)
- Bereavement/death in the family (just an email alerting me is all you need)
- Childcare responsibilities (talk with me at the start of the semester)
- o Elder care responsibilities (talk with me at the start of the semester)
- University sporting events, clubs, and other university sanctioned activities (you must provide a letter from the university)
- Other issues that may emerge on a case-by-case basis

I will assume your absence is unexcused and will process absences automatically as such in TopHat throughout the semester.

Canvas:

Canvas, the learning management system (LMS), will be used to store the syllabus, assignment prompts, readings and submit assignments. I will have a mirror site on my Dropbox account that will contain all the course readings beyond the textbook, assignment prompts, final exam questions as we develop them over the semester, and the syllabus. Please note that the "total grade" reported on Canvas may not be your actual grade but is just an approximation.

Cell Phones and Technology:

You may use a computer in class to take notes or use your notes. Phones should not be used during class.

Email:

I can be reached at prebleka@miamioh.edu. I will respond as quickly as possible. Please note that I am engaged with several conferences over the semester, may be traveling, or engaged in research projects. It is requested that students put the course number – POL370G – and a brief reason for the email in the subject line (example: POL370G – extension request).

Grading:

A+: 97-100	A: 93-96	A-: 90-92
B+: 87-89	B: 83-86	B -: 80-82
C+: 77-79	C: 73-76	C-: 70-72
D+: 67-69	D: 63-66	D-: 60-62
F: 59 and below		

Late Penalties:

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Make-Up Opportunities:

Make-up opportunities are <u>always</u> guaranteed for students celebrating religious holidays and those absent for military service. My only ask is that you alert me if and when you need to be absent so we can figure out a way to adjust due dates, etc.; please do so via email or come to office hours. The university has a policy and sample email that you can fill out to provide for faculty (this class and others): https://www.miamioh.edu/academic-affairs/faculty-affairs/religious-holidays/index.html

Make-up opportunities will be provided for students with illnesses and other extenuating circumstances (please note that documentation may be required).

In all instances, students are responsible for initiating the make-up process by reaching out to the instructor for guidance and assistance when they have returned to classes.

If you miss a discussion/reflection activity because of illness or other extenuating circumstance, you will need to make up your lost participation on another day.

<u>Title IX: Confidentiality and Responsible Employee Statement:</u>

Miami University faculty are committed to helping create a safe and open learning environment for all students. If you (or someone you know) have experienced any form of sexual misconduct, including sexual assault, dating or domestic violence, or stalking, know that help and support are available. Miami University strongly encourages all members of the community

to take action, seek support and report incidents of sexual misconduct. You may contact the Deputy Title IX Coordinator at titleix@miamoh.edu or learn more by visiting https://www.miamioh.edu/student-life/office-of-dean/support-services/title-ix/index.html.

Please be aware that under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, I am required to disclose information about such misconduct to the Deputy Title IX Coordinator (for sexual misconduct involving students) and to the Title IX Coordinator (for sexual misconduct involving faculty and staff). Title IX Coordinators will reach out to offer information on resources, rights, and procedural options after receiving a report.

If you wish to speak to a confidential employee who does not have this reporting responsibility, you can contact Student Counseling Service at 513-529-4634 to schedule an appointment. For more information about reporting options and resources at Miami University and in the community, please visit https://www.miamioh.edu/campus-safety/sexual-assault/resource-guide/index.html.

Writing Assignments and Research:

You may use any Word processing software you wish to compose your assignments. Please note that Canvas will require you to submit a Word document or PDF file for uploading. If you do not know how to make these, please ask!

Students should avoid using the following sources or sources that are similar for assignments in this course: Wikipedia, Investopedia, Ballotpedia, and other online encyclopedias should not be cited. You may use these sources to help you understand a topic, but they should not be used as sources in your written papers. You should refrain from copying wholesale from these sources or any sources, as these are violations of academic integrity.

Students who need help with writing and writing-related assignments should seek out the Writing Center on campus for assistance. There is also a writing center for multilingual students (this is a great service). Please do not hesitate to reach out to these offices if you need writing assistance.