

**Political Science 3390 001**  
**Negotiating International Trade Spring 2007**  
**Southern Methodist University**

**Time:** TTh 12:30-2:00

**Professor:** Michael Lusztig

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**Office Hours:** TTh 11:00-12:00; W 10-11, or by appointment

**Course Description:**

In this class you will have two roles, one fairly traditional, one that will be new to you. The traditional role will be as a student, learning about the substantive issues explored in this course: the evolution of the proposed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, including the trade politics of the key countries involved, and the theories that inform the relevant issues. In other words, part of this course will be a standard course on the politics of trade in the Americas.

The less traditional role will be to serve as a foreign policy maker and negotiator for the US government. This portion of the course will be structured according to the guidelines laid out by the University of Maryland's International Communication and Negotiation Simulations (ICONS). From ICONS' webpage: "ICONS simulations cast students as high-level negotiators on issues of international importance. Working together on "country-teams," students model real-world interactions between states. The simulations are conducted on two levels: deliberations within country-teams and negotiations between country-teams. Within a team, students perform research on their assigned country and on the specific negotiation issues highlighted in this scenario. Working as a group, the country-team formulates positions on these issues in preparation for multilateral negotiations. It then communicates its policies to the other country-teams over an Internet-based communications system. In addition, country-teams "meet" during real-time, on-line conferences to discuss proposals."

Your simulated roles, then, will serve to illustrate the politics of policy construction (you will bargain among yourselves with respect to issues covered in our comprehensive policy objectives) as well as the politics of international negotiation. In other words, this portion of the course is designed to provide insights into how foreign policies are made and negotiated.

Students are encouraged to visit <http://www.icons.umd.edu> for more details.

**Course Requirements:**

1 <sup>st</sup> Writing Assignment	Feb 20	20%
2 <sup>nd</sup> Writing Assignment (Policy-Makers/Lobbyists) (Coordinators)	Mar 22 Apr 02	20%
Midterm Examination	Mar 08	20%
Simulation	Apr 02-23	15%
Professionalism		5%
Final Examination	May 07	20%

**Late Assignment Policy:**

Late assignments can throw off the schedule for the class. For this reason, I have a very strict deadline policy. Assignments lose 2/3 of a letter grade for each day (including weekends) that they are late. Assignments that are more than **one week late will not be accepted**. In the interest of fairness, no excuses (barring documented illness, injury, or family emergency) will be accepted.

**Attendance Policy:**

You are expected to attend each class. Failure to do so will almost certainly affect exam performance. In addition you will be penalized 1.5 percent of your overall class grade for every class for which you do not have an excused absence. Please note that except for documented illness, injury or emergency, you must request an excused absence **prior to** the class that you miss. If you come late to class, it is your responsibility to ensure that I have noted your attendance.

**Professionalism and Expectations for this Course:**

You will have noticed that there is a professionalism grade associated with this course. Because that is a bit ambiguous, let me explain both that and my expectations. At the very least, this can help you decide if this is the course for you. One of the things that grades do is to provide cues to others – employers, graduate schools, etc – as to your preparedness and competence for future endeavors. In my courses, part of that grade is predicated upon your professionalism. In that sense I will assess you along the same criteria as would your future employer.

In most cases, your professionalism grade will be simply an average of the grades from your other assignments, and hence will not affect you. In some cases, your professionalism grade will be higher than the average of your other assignments. For example, if you participated in making the classroom a positive learning environment for others, I will reward that. I will also use the professionalism grade to compensate for a poor assignment, or to reward manifest improvement as the course progresses. In other cases, your professionalism grade can hurt you. Specifically, if you act like a chucklehead, I will penalize you. Here are the areas in which you can lose professionalism grades:

1) **Punctuality.** Class starts when it is scheduled. I would like you to be in your seat by the time class is scheduled to start. If there are exceptional circumstances, such as a class across campus immediately prior to this one, please let me know. If you *are* late, I expect you to come in unobtrusively and not fight your way to your preferred seat.

2) **Appointments.** When you make an appointment with me, it is a binding commitment. You need to come; on time. If you have to cancel, I expect a good and articulated reason for doing so. If you cannot honor appointments, in addition to losing professionalism grades, you will have access to me only in office hours. I will gladly make appointments outside of office hours, but only with people who do not abuse the privilege.

3) **Etiquette.** A small minority of SMU students are inclined to treat their professors as “the help.” You pay a lot to come here. That does not entitle you to be disrespectful in deed or attitude. Email etiquette is a sore point with faculty campus- and even nation-wide. Moreover, it won’t do you any good in future to be sloppy in your emailing habits. So, when you email me, I expect a salutation (as in any other letter), not a simple demand for information. Since it is unlikely you are emailing just to chat, you probably want something from me. When you get it, I expect an acknowledgment in the form of a thank you. Unless you are unwilling to follow these basic rules of etiquette, I will always email you back within one weekday (and usually more quickly). If you are unwilling, in addition to losing professionalism grades, subsequent emails will go unanswered. I have posted office hours and you will have to see me then.

4) **Comportment.** In class I expect you to pay attention, not to talk to other students, not to sleep, not to read any material that does not pertain to the course, and not to start packing your books until I announce that class is over.

#### **Grading:**

I do not grade perfectly, so I expect you to feel free to challenge any grade that you receive and to do so without fear of ridicule or consequence. You must, however, a) have specific grounds, and b) challenge only my interpretation of the established grading criteria, not the criteria themselves. Please note that “working hard” or “feeling like [you] deserve” a particular grade are not relevant grounds for challenging a grade. If you feel that any grading criteria are unfair, you may challenge those too, but *only prior to* turning in the relevant assignment. I will make my criteria known in advance and will not penalize you for politely challenging, or requesting pedagogical justification of, them.

#### **Plagiarism Policy:**

Plagiarism is a serious problem in academics and will not be tolerated in this course. Please note, **students accused of plagiarism in this class will be reported to the SMU Honor Council.** If convicted, students almost invariably receive an **HV (honors violation)** on their transcripts for a lengthy period. It is tough to apply successfully to post-graduate programs or for employment with an HV, so don't plagiarize.

Plagiarism is defined by Southern Methodist University according to Alexander Lindley's definition:

Plagiarism is the false assumption of authorship: the wrongful act of taking the product of another person's mind, and presenting it as one's own (Plagiarism and Originality [New York: Harper, 1957], p.2). Plagiarism may take the form of repeating another's sentences as your own, adopting a particularly apt phrase as your own, or even presenting someone else's line of thinking in the development of a thesis as though it were your own. In short, to plagiarize is to give the impression that you have written or thought something that you have in fact borrowed from another.

If you have any questions regarding citation, please see me. While I am not looking for excuses to accuse you of plagiarism, and therefore you need not be worried about honest mistakes, you should be aware that the following excuses will not work:

- **“I didn't know that I had to use quotation marks when I borrowed someone else's prose.”** This is the time-honored excuse for plagiarism. It stretches credibility that you can get to college and still think it is okay to score a good grade by passing someone else's work off as your own. So that there is no ambiguity on the matter, it is a serious offence to use someone else's words without attribution. Doing so is grounds for severe penalty.
- **“I used footnotes, I just didn't use quotation marks.”** The logic here is that instead of stringing together a series of quotations, which looks bad, you take out the quotation marks, but keep the footnotes. This is intended to immunize you against charges of cheating if caught. If you are not caught, you sound profound. Again, this is cheating; again, the consequences are serious.

**Plagiarism Policy cont'd:**

- **“I didn’t realize that I couldn’t turn in the same paper for more than one class.”** You can’t, unless you have explicit permission from the professors in **both** classes.
- **“I didn’t know how to reference internet sources, so I didn’t cite it.”** The moral equivalent of “I didn’t know the price so I didn’t pay for it,” this one is a non-starter. Using a poor referencing technique is certainly not plagiarism. Failing to cite certainly is.

**Disability Accommodations:**

If you need academic accommodations for a disability, you must first contact Ms. Rebecca Marin, Coordinator, Services for Students with Disabilities (214-768-4563) to verify the disability and to establish eligibility for accommodations. Then you should schedule an appointment with me to make appropriate Arrangements.

# The Course in Detail

## Read this Carefully

### Logging Into the System:

In order to participate you must log into the system. Please do so at

[http://www.icons.umd.edu/staff/register.create\\_ind\\_login\\_form?v\\_fid=78&v\\_sid=3057&v\\_cid=186](http://www.icons.umd.edu/staff/register.create_ind_login_form?v_fid=78&v_sid=3057&v_cid=186)

### The Scenario:

This course simulates bargaining over a real life event – the terms of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. As noted our class represents the United States. Similar classes in other universities represent other countries. All countries are bound by the terms of the **scenario**. The **scenario** constitutes the factual environment in which all negotiating countries operate. It is, in other words, the framework for negotiations, spelling out the issues to be negotiated and the current state of these negotiations. All students must read the **scenario**.

### Your Task:

There are three **issues** for negotiation: economic integration (trade liberalization), sustainable development (the environment), and narco-diplomacy. Each of these issues will have a dedicated **division** within the US negotiating team: specifically, the **division of trade**, the **division of narcotics**, and the **division of the environment**. I will serve as US Trade Representative.

Students will be assigned to one of these divisions, or to the **lobbyist** sector. More on this in a moment.

Each **division** is responsible for constructing a **policy**. The **policy** is the US' ideal outcome for bargaining on the relevant **issue**. Since there are three **issues**, there will be three **policies**.

Bargaining takes place during the **simulation**. This occurs from April 03-24 2006. The **simulation** entails international bargaining over the three **issues** outlined above. Most bargaining is not done in real time. That is, it is done by email, and does not require students to be available at specific times. However, each issue will feature two, 1-hour real time conferences. These will require real time presence of certain students, depending on their responsibilities.

### **Your Role:**

Students will be assigned to one of three roles. These are **policy-maker**, **coordinator**, and **lobbyist**. Each role is important, and each entails an equal amount of work.

### **Policy-Makers**

The first job of the **policy-makers** is to construct **policy recommendations** that ultimately will be used as the basis for their **division's comprehensive policy**. The **policy recommendation** will be the **policy-makers'** 1<sup>st</sup> writing assignment and should address one of the questions posed by ICONS in the Scenario. Worth 20% of the grade, it will be a 5-6 page paper that relies heavily on research. You will present your recommendations to the class. If the class approves them, you will be set to start on the second paper.

The second job of the **policy-makers** will be to write a more complete **policy paper**. The **policy paper** will be 10-12 pages in length, and will incorporate both criticisms received in class, and written recommendations of relevant lobbyists (see the first assignment for lobbyists below). Again, research will be fundamental to this task.

### **Coordinators**

Each **division** will have a **coordinator**. The first job of the **coordinators** is to construct **policy recommendations** like the one that **policy-makers** will write (except longer). The **policy recommendation** will be the **coordinators'** 1<sup>st</sup> writing assignment and should address one of the questions posed by ICONS in the Scenario. Worth 20% of the grade, it will be a 10-12 page paper that relies heavily on research. You will present your recommendations to the class.

The second job of the **coordinators** is to coordinate and construct the final version of the **division's comprehensive policy**. You will be responsible for taking my comments into consideration, and for coordinating the **policy papers** written by the **policy-makers** in your division, including reconciling any conflicts that emerge. You will be **responsible for posting a one-page summary of your division's draft policy onto the ICONS website in the morning of the first day of the simulation exercise. You will also be responsible for coordinating your division's strategy as the simulation progresses. Finally, you will write your division's proposal (sometime during the second week of the simulation) and post it on the simulation proposal center.** (Much of this will not be clear to you at the beginning of the course. Do not worry, it will become clear soon.)

### **Lobbyists**

In order to make the class as realistic (and political) as possible, lobbyists will represent interest groups likely to be affected by the negotiations. Interest groups include, industrial workers, farm workers, big business, farmers, the pharmaceutical industry, the citrus fruit growers lobby, environmentalists, land developers, the moral majority and the drug legalization lobby, to name a few.

The first job of the **lobbyists** is the construction of a 5-6 page recommendation as to what sort of issues policy-makers should consider in constructing policy. This report will be based on research concerning the relevant lobby's position on trade, drugs and/or the environment. This will constitute the first writing assignment of the **lobbyists**, and will be worth 20% of the **lobbyists'** grade.

The second job of the **lobbyists** is to construct a 10-12 page response to one or more of the specific policy recommendations advanced by a policy-maker and/or coordinator. Again, this report will be based upon research concerning the relevant lobby's real-world position.

## Readings:

The following book has been ordered and is available at the Bookstore:

- Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* Basic Books, Rev. ed. 2006.
- Other readings available online as indicated. Note that for most readings you will need to access the site through an SMU computer or through an SMU account from home.

## Course Outline:

### Week One

January 16	Introductory Session
January 18	The State of US Foreign Economic Policy

#### Readings:

- The Scenario
- Rawi Abdelal and Adam Segal” Has Globalization Reached its Peak?  
*Foreign Affairs* 2006/07 [www.foreignaffairs.org](http://www.foreignaffairs.org)
- William R. Cline, “Doha and Development,” *Foreign Affairs* (Special Web Only Edition, December 2005).

### Week Two

January 23	Trade – Basic Terms and Concepts
January 25	Liberalism, Realism and Marxism

#### Readings:

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, “Development and Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs* 2005.
- Bernard K. Gordon, “A High Risk Trade Policy” *Foreign Affairs* 2003.

### Week Three

January 30

**Non-Systemic Actors**

February 01

**Rational Choice Theory**

**Readings:**

- Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 1986. Download from J-Stor.
- Gregory Mankiw and Phillip Swagel, "Anti-Dumping: The Third Rail of US Trade Policy" *Foreign Affairs* 2005.

### Week Four

February 06

**The Environment**

February 08

**Narcotics**

**Readings:**

- Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games," *International Organization* 42 (1988): 427-460. Download from J-Stor.
- Axelrod: Preface; chs. 1-3.

### Week Five

February 13

**Background – US Economic History**

February 15

**Background – US Economic History**

**Readings:**

- Stephan Haggard, "The Institutional Foundations of Hegemony: Explaining the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934" *International Organization* 1988. Download from J-Stor.
- Axelrod: ch. 4.

### Week Six

February 20

**Lobbyists Reports**

February 22

**Lobbyists Reports**

**Readings:**

- S. Julio Friedman and Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Out of the Energy Box," *Foreign Affairs* 2004.

**Week Seven**

**February 27**                    **Negotiators Reports**

**March 01**                    **Negotiators Reports**

**Readings:**                    • Axelrod: chs.6-7.

**Week Eight**

**March 06**                    **Review Session**

**March 08**                    **Midterm**

**Week Nine**                    **Spring Break**

**Week Ten**

**March 20**                    **Politics of North and South**

**March 22**                    **The Road to Liberalism in Latin America**

**Readings:**                    • Joseph T. Siegle, Michael M. Weinstein, and Morton H. Halperin, “Why Democracies Excel,” *Foreign Affairs* 2004

• Peter Hakim, “Is Washington Losing Latin America?” *Foreign Affairs* 2006.

**Week Eleven**

**March 27**                    **Strategy Meeting**

**March 29**                    **Strategy Meeting**

**Readings:**                    • Peter Hakim, “The Reluctant Partner,” *Foreign Affairs* 2004.

• Jorge Castaneda, “Latin America’s Left Turn.” *Foreign Affairs* 2006.

**Week Twelve**

**April 03**                    **Who We are Negotiating With (and Against)**

**April 05**                    **Who We are Negotiating With (and Against)**

**Readings:**                    • M. Delal Baer, “Mexico at an Impasse,” *Foreign Affairs* 2004.

- John Williamson, “Lula’s Brazil,” *Foreign Affairs* 2003.

### **Week Thirteen**

**April 10**                      **Strategy Meeting**

**April 12**                      **Why Free Trade? Hegemonic Stability Theory**

- Readings:**
- Joanne Gowa, “Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods, and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory?” *World Politics* (1989): Download from J-Stor.

### **Week Fourteen**

**April 17**                      **Why Free Trade? The Role of Interest Groups**

**April 19**                      **Why Free Trade? The Limits of Rent-Seeking**

- Readings:**
- Peter Gourevitch, “Breaking With Orthodoxy: The Politics of Economic Policy Responses to the Depression of the 1930s,” *International Organization* 1984. Download from J-Stor.
  - Michael Lutz, *The Limits of Protectionism: Building Coalitions for Free Trade*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press) 2004, ch.1.

### **Week Fifteen**

**April 24**                      **Why Free Trade? The Role of State Actors**

**April 26**                      **Why Free Trade? The High Risk Model**

- Readings:**
- Michael Lutz, *Risking Free Trade: The Politics of Trade in Britain, Canada, Mexico and the United States* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press) 1996, ch.1.