

**American Foreign Policy**  
**Political Science 790:569-90 (Spring 2018)**  
**Online Course, M.A. in U.N. and Global Studies, Rutgers University**

Professor Brian Smith

Email: [brian.a.smith@rutgers.edu](mailto:brian.a.smith@rutgers.edu)

Phone: (973) 655-7708

Asynchronous, All-Online at [sakai.rutgers.edu](http://sakai.rutgers.edu)

Office Hours: I am available by phone by appointment or during my office hours at Montclair State University (TBD once my Spring schedule there is clear).

### **Course Learning Goals**

This course will serve students in the M.A. in U.N. and Global Studies by highlighting the major intellectual currents in American foreign policy and their consequences for international politics. Specifically, the class will look at several different traditions of theorizing about what motivates the U.S. in its conduct abroad, as well as the ways that these long-standing traditions intersect with contemporary partisan politics.

The course covers major debates in American foreign policy. This will involve the study of major concepts in international relations, recent American military and diplomatic history, and current practice in U.S. statecraft. They will also consider the moral implications of these concepts, with particular reference to the effects of American intervention in the world. Along the way, they will sharpen their critical reading and writing skills, preparing them for more advanced work in political science and other allied disciplines, or in the professional world.

### **Course Requirements**

This course consists of weekly reading assignments, a power-point based lectures, supplementary short videos that highlight key issues, forum participation, and three writing assignments. Two of these will be analytical essays due at the conclusion of course units; the last essay, an analytical book review, will be due at the end of finals week.

On average, in order that the forum discussion might serve as a conversation rather than an isolated set of monologues, I ask that students make a minimum of two or three comments per section of the course to the unfolding conversation. Each week will utilize the Forum to substitute for in-person conversation. I will provide more details on the requirements for each on Sakai, but in general, thoughtful observations or questions to others count as a form of participation. Class discussions should be respectful and considerate of others' views and opinions. Expect to be challenged, but look on it as an opportunity, not a threat. Please note that each week's forum will open at midnight on Monday and close on Friday at 8 pm.

The two analytical essays (eight to ten pages each) will assess the depth of your engagement with the readings at each section of the course and give you a chance to critically engage with an aspect of the readings you find particularly interesting. The final writing assignment will consist of an analytical book review. The book review (ten to twelve pages) will require students to

choose a book from a list I will provide and analyze it with reference to our course readings and other related secondary literature. It will provide students a final opportunity to synthesize and apply their knowledge to a specific problem or debate, past or present.

I will post detailed requirements and instructions for each of these requirements in the Assignments section of our Sakai site at the start of the semester so you will have access to them ahead of time.

This syllabus is subject to change, but I will always provide advance notice of any changes on Sakai and via email. If you find any (inevitable) errors in scheduling, please let me know. You can always find a copy of the most up-to-date syllabus and course content on Sakai. You should also be aware of various resources Rutgers offers for assisting you. I have listed some of these at the end of this syllabus.

### **Grading**

Course Participation	40%
Essay 1	15%
Essay 2	15%
Book Review	30%

While you may use secondary literature in all writing for this course, your work must be original and use appropriate citations. I am indifferent to citation style/method, but do ask that you be clear and consistent in your usage. I will run all course assignments through Sakai's plagiarism detection software and require you to submit an honor pledge with each assignment. Be careful about honestly referencing all the sources you use to formulate your arguments in papers and the online discussion board.

### **About Cheating and Plagiarism<sup>1</sup>**

Short version: Don't cheat. Don't plagiarize.

Longer version: Cheating on tests or plagiarizing materials in your papers deprives you of the educational benefits of preparing these materials appropriately. It is personally dishonest to cheat on a test or to hand in a paper based on unacknowledged words or ideas that someone else originated. It is also unfair, since it gives you an undeserved advantage over your fellow students who are graded on the basis of their own work. In this class (and the UNMA program more generally) we will take cheating very seriously. All suspected cases of cheating and plagiarism will be automatically referred to the Office of Judicial Affairs, and we will recommend penalties appropriate to the gravity of the infraction. The university's policy on Academic Integrity is available at <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy>.<sup>2</sup> I strongly advise you

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<sup>1</sup> This section was originally written by Andrew Egan for his course "Eating Right: The Ethics of Food Choices and Food Policies," Rutgers University, Spring 2010. I have adapted it at points with language more appropriate for my course.

<sup>2</sup> This web link was corrected on Sept. 13, 2015 by S. Lawrence

to familiarize yourself with this document, both for this class and for your other classes and future work. As I noted above, I run all your written work through the plagiarism detection software provided by turnitin.com.

Since what counts as plagiarism is not always clear, I quote the definition given in Rutgers' policy:

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the use of another person's words, ideas, or results without giving that person appropriate credit. To avoid plagiarism, every direct quotation must be identified by quotation marks or appropriate indentation and both direct quotation and paraphrasing must be cited properly according to the accepted format for the particular discipline or as required by the instructor in a course. Some common examples of plagiarism are:

- Copying word for word (i.e. quoting directly) from an oral, printed, or electronic source without proper attribution.
- Paraphrasing without proper attribution, i.e., presenting in one's own words another person's written words or ideas as if they were one's own.
- Submitting a purchased or downloaded term paper or other materials to satisfy a course requirement.
- Incorporating into one's work graphs, drawings, photographs, diagrams, tables, spreadsheets, computer programs, or other nontextual material from other sources without proper attribution.<sup>3</sup>

A SPECIAL NOTE: Students often assume that because information is available on the Web it is public information, does not need to be formally referenced, and can be used without attribution. This is a mistake. *All* information and ideas that you derive from other sources, whether written, spoken, or electronic, must be attributed to their original source. Such sources include not just written or electronic materials, but people with whom you may discuss your ideas, such as your roommate, friends, or family members. They deserve credit for their contributions too!

Judgments about plagiarism can be subtle. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me for guidance, or refer questions to one of the campus writing centers.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity-policy/> Updated with the University's current language on July 13, 2012 and web link was corrected on Sept. 13, 2015 by S. Lawrence.

## Required Texts

Perry Anderson, *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers*. Verso Press. 2015. ISBN: 978-1781686676

Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced By War*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Oxford University Press. 2013. ISBN: 978-0199931767

Angelo M. Codevilla, *Advice to War Presidents: A Remedial Course in Statecraft*. Basic Books. 2008. ISBN: 978-0465004836

Glenn P. Hastedt (ed.), *Readings in American Foreign Policy: Problems and Responses*. (Please order the 1<sup>st</sup> edition – I realized there was a 2<sup>nd</sup> edition too late to update the syllabus). Rowman and Littlefield. 2016. ISBN: 978-1442249653

Robert J. Lieber, *Retreat and Its Consequences: American Foreign Policy and the Problem of World Order*. Cambridge University Press. 2016. ISBN: 978-1316506714

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*. Routledge. 2002. ISBN: 0415935369

I have posted links to all other course materials mentioned below on Sakai under Course Content.

## Reading and Assignment Schedule

In most weeks, these readings will be time consuming. I strongly urge you to complete them before the start of each week of the course. I have posted some questions and prompts to help guide your reading here and on Sakai – one or more of these will be the topic of our weekly discussions via the discussion forums, so please read with them in mind. Once you have completed the readings for each week, please go to our course's Sakai "Learning Modules" page and follow the instructions listed there.

Part I: The Philosophical Contours of American Foreign Policy (1/16-3/2)

Week 1 (1/16-1/19): Course Introduction and Preliminary Food for Thought

Read:

This syllabus and the short essay I posted about outlining (it might be helpful, particularly if you're not used to theoretical texts).

Selections 1-4 from *Readings in American Foreign Policy* (hereafter *RAFP*), pp. 5-54

Mead, *Special Providence*, Foreword, Introduction, and Ch. 1, pp. xi-xviii and 4-29

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 145 (Nov.-Dec. 2004), pp. 52-62 (pdf on Sakai)

Prompts:

- 1) How would you characterize the primary differences between each of this week's authors?
- 2) What assumptions about American foreign policy – if any – do all of these authors share? Do they have share blind spots or failings that seem particularly "American"?

Week 2 (1/22-1/26): "...Fools, Drunks, and the United States of America"

Read:

Selections 7 and 8 from *RAFP*, pp. 77-98

Mead, *Special Providence*, Chs. 2-3, pp. 30-98

Prompts:

- 1) In what ways does Mead suggest that the conventional categories scholars use to assess American foreign policy fall short?
- 2) Do Mead's criticisms or suggestions address any of the concerns that Charap, Shapiro, and Dickinson raise in their essays?

Week 3 (1/29-2/2): The Elite Traditions of American Foreign Policy

Read:

Mead, *Special Providence*, Chs. 4-5, pp. 99-173

Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist* 1 and 11 and Excerpts from the Report on Manufactures

Woodrow Wilson, Excerpts from *The New Freedom*, War Message to Congress, and Fourteen Points Message

Prompts:

- 1) What are the fundamental differences between the Hamiltonian and Wilsonian foreign policy traditions?
- 2) According to Hamiltonians, what central notions define the national interest?
- 3) Describe the "mission" of the Wilsonian school of thinking.

Week 4 (2/5-2/9): The Folk Traditions of American Foreign Policy

Read:

Mead, *Special Providence*, Chs. 6-7, pp. 174-263

Thomas Jefferson, Excerpts from “A Summary View of the Rights of British America”  
and 1806 State of the Union Address

Christopher Hitchens, “Jefferson Versus the Muslim Pirates,” *City Journal*, Spring 2007

Andrew Jackson, “First Inaugural Address”

Prompts:

- 1) Discuss the different means of statecraft Jeffersonians and Jacksonians favor. Why does each prefer them?
- 2) What motivates Jeffersonians to avoid undertaking great projects on the world stage?
- 3) Comment on the role honor plays in Jacksonian thinking (think particularly of how the reading explains the songs I posted this week).

Week 5 (2/12-2/16): Traditions that Check and Balance One Another?

Read:

Mead, *Special Providence*, Chs. 8-9 and Afterword, pp. 264-338

NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs from National Security

Jimmy Carter, “Human Rights and Foreign Policy”

George W. Bush, “Speech on National Day of Prayer and Remembrance”

Prompts:

- 1) Mead’s account is largely historical, but in your opinion, does he embrace or identify with one of his four traditions more strongly than the others? Why?
- 2) To what degree does Mead’s thesis explain the trajectory of American foreign policy since 2001?

Week 6 (2/19-2/23): Viewing Contemporary Dilemmas with a Historical Lens

Read:

Selections 10, 12-20, and 25 in *RAFP*, pp. 110-119, 129-214, and 269-278

Prompts:

- 1) Which of these essays pose the greatest challenges for Mead’s thesis about why American foreign policy has been historically successful? Why?
- 2) Discuss the ways that these articles might be used to defend Mead’s central thesis.

Week 7 (2/26-3/2): Essay 1 due this week, no new readings or lecture.

***Submit essay via Sakai by 11:59 pm on Friday, March 2<sup>nd</sup>.***

Part II: Neoconservatism and Two Reactions (3/5-5/9)

Week 8 (3/5-3/9): Asserting the Necessity of American Supremacy

Read:

Lieber, *Retreat and Its Consequences*, all

Prompts:

- 1) What is Lieber's criticism of U.S. foreign policy realists, left and right?
- 2) In what ways does Lieber support the Obama Administration's foreign policies? Why does he largely depart from them?
- 3) To what degree does Lieber defend the George W. Bush Administration's foreign policy? Why?

***Week of 3/12-3/16: Spring Break, no assignments due***

Week 9 (3/19-3/23): An Assault from the Left

Read:

Anderson, *American Foreign Policy and Its Thinkers*, Part I (Imperium), pp. 3-153

Prompts:

- 1) In many ways, Anderson inverts the assumptions of most or all of the thinkers we have read this semester. What are the most salient differences between his ideas and the major currents we have discussed thus far?
- 2) How might Anderson challenge Lieber's arguments? (Yes, I know this is an invitation to a list: pick one focused line of reasoning).

Week 10 (3/26-3/30): Revisiting History and the Present

Read:

Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, Preface, Introduction, and Chs. 1-4, pp. xi-xiv and 1-121

Prompts:

- 1) How does Bacevich define militarism? Does his view of this subject differ from Anderson's?
- 2) Why does Bacevich critique American popular culture? What role does he believe it plays in the cultivation of militarism?

Week 11 (4/2-4/6): What is Enough?

Read:

Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, Chs. 5-8, pp. 122-226

Prompts:

- 1) How does Bacevich's account of American diplomatic and military history differ from Anderson's?
- 2) What concepts, institutions, and policies does Bacevich believe would properly limit American foreign policy?

Week 12 (4/9-4/13): No readings or lecture this week, complete Essay 2

***Submit Essay 2 on Sakai by 11:59 pm on Friday, April 13<sup>th</sup>***

Week 13 (4/16-4/20): Are We Just Incompetent?

Read:

Codevilla, *Advice to War Presidents*, Preface, Introduction, and Chs. 1-5, pp. xi-xviii and 1-144

Prompts:

- 1) What blind spots does Codevilla believe most members of the mainstream American foreign policy establishment share?
- 2) How does Codevilla critique the notion of “soft power”? How does he believe this notion has weakened American diplomacy?
- 3) Both Codevilla and Bacevich approach American foreign policy with a broadly conservative political philosophy: how do they differ in basic principles?

Week 14 (4/23-4/27): War, Security, and Intelligence

Read:

Codevilla, *Advice to War Presidents*, Chs. 6-9, pp. 145-280

Prompts:

- 1) Comment on the importance Codevilla places on the idea of victory in war.
- 2) What confusions does Codevilla believe exist about the role of the intelligence community in our foreign policy?
- 3) How does Codevilla believe the United States might secure itself more fully?

Week 15 (4/30-5/4): Empire’s End?

Read:

Anderson, Part II (Consilium) and Postscript, pp. 155-261

Prompts:

- 1) To what degree does Anderson’s critique of U.S. foreign policy overlap with Codevilla’s? Where do they differ?
- 2) The second part of Anderson’s book is structured as a critique of the American practice of grand strategy. What are his central contentions?

***Review Essay Due via Sakai by 11:59 pm on Wednesday, May 9<sup>th</sup>***

**Other Resources**

Just In Case Web App, available at: <http://codu.co/cee05e>

Access helpful mental health information and resources for yourself or a friend in a mental health crisis on your smartphone or tablet and easily contact CAPS or RUPD.

Counseling, ADAP & Psychiatric Services (CAPS)

(848) 932-7884 / 17 Senior Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901/ [www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/](http://www.rhscaps.rutgers.edu/)

CAPS is a University mental health support service that includes counseling, alcohol and other drug assistance, and psychiatric services staffed by a team of professional within Rutgers Health services to support students’ efforts to succeed at Rutgers University. CAPS offers a variety of services that include: individual therapy, group therapy and



workshops, crisis intervention, referral to specialists in the community and consultation and collaboration with campus partners.

#### Violence Prevention & Victim Assistance (VPVA)

(848) 932-1181 / 3 Bartlett Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901 / [www.vpva.rutgers.edu/](http://www.vpva.rutgers.edu/)

The Office for Violence Prevention and Victim Assistance provides confidential crisis intervention, counseling and advocacy for victims of sexual and relationship violence and stalking to students, staff and faculty. To reach staff during office hours when the university is open or to reach an advocate after hours, call 848-932- 1181.

#### Disability Services

(848) 445-6800 / Lucy Stone Hall, Suite A145, Livingston Campus, 54 Joyce Kilmer Avenue, Piscataway, NJ 08854 / <https://ods.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers University welcomes students with disabilities into all of the University's educational programs. In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, a student with a disability must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and provide documentation: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/documentation-guidelines>. If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus's disability services office will provide you with a Letter of Accommodations. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early in your courses as possible. To begin this process, please complete the Registration form on the ODS web site at: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/registration-form>.

#### Scarlet Listeners

(732) 247-5555 / <http://www.scarletlisteners.com/>

Free and confidential peer counseling and referral hotline, providing a comforting and supportive safe space.

#### Rutgers Writing Center

<http://wp.rutgers.edu/writingcenters/writingcenters>

For assistance with writing and style, Rutgers offers various services. Visit them if you need help with your written work.