Course Description
This course is designed as an introduction to the study of American foreign policy. There are multiple goals for the course. First, to develop an understanding of the domestic context that helps produce foreign policy. For American policies and actions to make sense, they must be placed within the larger historical, cultural, strategic, and domestic contexts which formed them. A second, related goal is to begin developing a sense of the possible continuities and changes of America’s orientation toward the world throughout its history. The third goal is to see how changes abroad—the international context—may also shape American foreign policy. The fourth goal is to develop a sense of the ways in which media and formal education shape the public’s understanding of foreign policy. The fifth and final goal is to develop an informed and critical point of view that, when combined with the previous goals, helps students make sense of contemporary events as they occur.

Required Texts

Grades and Assignments
First Assignment: 10%
Second Assignment: 15%
Third Assignment: 20%
Fourth Assignment: 25%
Quizzes: 15%
Participation: 10%
Attendance: 5%

Plagiarism
Plagiarism is defined in the Undergraduate Bulletin as “presenting as one’s own work the work of another person (for example, the words, ideas, information, data, evidence, organizing principles, or style of presentation of someone else). Plagiarism includes paraphrasing or summarizing without acknowledgment, submission of another student’s work as one’s own, the purchase of prepared research or completed papers or projects, and the unacknowledged use of research sources gathered by someone else. Failure to indicate accurately the extent and precise nature of one’s reliance on other sources is also a form of plagiarism. The student is responsible for understanding the legitimate use of sources, the appropriate ways of acknowledging academic, scholarly, or creative indebtedness, and the consequences for violating University regulations.

Examples of plagiarism include: failure to acknowledge the source(s) of even a few phrases, sentences, or paragraphs; failure to acknowledge a quotation or paraphrase of paragraph-length sections of a paper; failure to acknowledge the source(s) of a major idea or the source(s) for an ordering principle central to the paper’s or project’s structure; failure to acknowledge the source (quoted, paraphrased, or summarized) of major sections or passages in the paper or project; the unacknowledged use of several major ideas or extensive reliance on another
person’s data, evidence, or critical method; submitting as one’s own work, work borrowed, stolen, or purchased from someone else.”¹

It goes without saying. **Do not plagiarize.** Students doing so will be referred to the Dean of Undergraduate Studies.

**Writing Assignments**
Throughout the semester we will be discussing a number of themes, problems, and issues about which you will be expected to develop an informed opinion. The goal is to **reflect** upon your stance and utilize course materials to make an argument about what issues are at stake in the question asked.

**Quizzes**
Throughout the semester quizzes will be given at the beginning of many classes to be sure that everyone has completed the reading. This is a necessity because without having read, there can be no effective discussion, much less learning.

**Late** (on the day of a quiz): if you arrive after the quiz has begun, you will still have to finish at the same time as everyone else. If you arrive after the quiz has already been collected, you receive a zero for that quiz.

**Absent** (on the day of a quiz):
- **Unexcused**: will receive a zero for that day’s quiz.
- **Excused**: will have the opportunity to make up the quiz within one week of that absence.

**Important Miscellany**
The syllabus reflects a certain pacing and flow of the material with which we will be engaged. If that pacing and flow changes, so will the syllabus. **Changes will be made to the syllabus if and when necessary.**

**Attendance**
You are allowed **TWO** unexcused absences. Every absence beyond these two will result in a lowering of your grade unless you are able to provide documentation legitimizing your absence (e.g. a doctor’s note, or documentation from the University).

In terms of being on time, that is simply expected of all of you to avoid disruption of the class. You are allowed to be late **ONCE** without it negatively impacting your grade. Every time that you are late beyond this will result in a lowering of your grade.

**ASSIGNMENTS**

**ASSIGNMENT #1**—Due at the beginning of class, TUESDAY FEBRUARY 2.
No less than **TWO**, and no more than **THREE FULL** pages, typed, double-spaced, 12 pt. font, 1” margins, and NUMBERED PAGES, STAPLED together.

Watch, analyze and respond to President Obama’s State of the Union Address (it was on Tuesday evening, January 12, 9 p.m. EST; you can find it online) where it concerns American foreign policy. **In separate, numbered sections, identify the following:**

1) **What (if anything)** does the President mention, e.g. countries, issues, problems, changes, challenges, etc.?
2) **How** does the President discuss these things, i.e. “rhetoric.” What language does the President utilize? What symbols does the President invoke?
3) **What** does the President **not** mention? (There can of course be many different possible answers to this question. Briefly mention the **two** most important.)
4) **Why** do you think certain things are discussed and not others? (Like the things you noticed were not mentioned…)

¹ [http://www.albany.edu/writing/writers_info/plagiarism.html](http://www.albany.edu/writing/writers_info/plagiarism.html)
5) **What** is your reaction to the speech? Does it feel “**right**” to you? Why and how? Why/how not? (Consider especially specific language and symbols invoked; how does their usage/invocation make you feel?)

**ASSIGNMENT #2**— Due at the beginning of class, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25.
No fewer than THREE and no more than FIVE FULL pages, typed, double-spaced, 12 pt. font, 1” margins, and NUMBERED PAGES, STAPLED together.

Watch, analyze, and respond to ONE of the following Sunday morning talk shows (NOTE: There must be at least ONE foreign policy issue discussed at a “ROUNDTABLE” or “PANEL”-type discussion because that is what you are going to write about).

*Meet The Press*—NBC
*Face the Nation*—CBS
*This Week*—ABC
*Fox News Sunday*—FOX
*State of the Union*—CNN

YOU CAN CHOOSE ANY DATE AND FOREIGN POLICY TOPIC (e.g. national security, trade, environment, etc.) FROM THE PAST YEAR THAT WE HAVE NOT DISCUSSED SPECIFICALLY IN CLASS.

In separate, numbered sections, identify the following:

1) Identify the show, the network, and the date. (Also provide the link to the show.)
2) Identify the topics of the show, including the order in which they are presented, and approximate time allocated to each.
3) For the foreign policy section:
   a) What is the topic?
   b) Who is at the roundtable/panel?
   c) What are their credentials (what institutions and types of institutions do they represent, i.e. journalists, academics/think tank intellectuals, military officers, business people, etc.)? **Name Names of both the individuals and their institutions.**
   d) Who is **missing** from the discussion, i.e. what kinds of voices/viewpoints?
   e) Who/what advertises on/sponsors the show?
   f) Does this discussion “feel right” to you? Why/how? Why not/how not?

Utilize for guidance:
Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR), “How To Detect Bias In News Media.”

**ASSIGNMENT #3**—Due TUESDAY, APRIL 12.
No fewer than FOUR FULL and no more than SIX FULL pages, typed, double spaced, 12 pt. font, 1” margins, and NUMBERED PAGES, STAPLED together.

Choose TWO of the historical time periods/events we have explored and compare and contrast them. Are American actions similar or different? To completely answer the question, also consider the DOMESTIC sphere (i.e. how things went “at home”) while the action(s) abroad were being taken. You have wide latitude with this assignment in the sense that you can find the salient features in events as you see them and bring in new resources (provided that they are ACADEMIC in nature, i.e. from a scholarly journal or text).

**ASSIGNMENT #4**—FINAL ASSIGNMENT, due date TBA.
No fewer than SIX and no more than EIGHT FULL pages, typed, double spaced, 12 pt. font, 1” margins, and NUMBERED PAGES, STAPLED TOGETHER
Put the post 9/11 world into the larger historical context of US history. In the wake of this event, did the U.S. change or did it become more itself? Are American actions post-9/11 qualitatively different than those that came before it, or are they a continuation of deeper patterns of how the U.S. behaves at home and abroad? Or can it be both (some are the same, some are different)? To successfully answer this question, you must juxtapose your discussion of the post-9/11 world with the pre-1800, 19th century, and 20th United States. You do not need to go into tremendous depth for each time period, but since you are making comparisons/contrasts, you do have to choose the salient features of each time period you select and juxtapose them with the actions/patterns/tendencies of the past fifteen years. What continuities or differences are there across time? Ultimately, what are the implications of your argument?

“If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear.”

-George Orwell

Meeting #1
Thursday, January 21
Introduction

Meeting #2
Tuesday, January 26
(Read this first.)

(Read this carefully; what do you think and how do you feel about the argument?)

Assignment #1—See Above.

Meeting #3
Thursday, January 28
Where Does the U.S. Stand Today?
Hook, Paradox of World Power, Ch. 1—“The United States in a Turbulent World.”


Greenwald, “The premises and purposes of American exceptionalism.” (Guardian, 2/18/13)
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/18/american-exceptionalism-north-korea-nukes

In Class:
Brenner, “Ur Imperialism.” (Huffington Post, 12/16/13)
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-brenner/ur-imperialism_b_4453714.html
Meeting #4  
Tuesday, February 2  
Assignment #1 IS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS
Theorizing: How do people understand and interpret reality?  
Theory  
As you read ask yourself, “what’s missing?”

(But only read pp. 5-15.)


Meeting #5  
Thursday, February 4  
Governmental Sources of Foreign Policy  
The Executive Branch versus (?) the Legislative Branch  

Madison, *Federalist #51*.

In Class:  
Who Gets What? (and how they voted…)

Meeting #6  
Tuesday, February 9  
Governmental Sources of Foreign Policy  
The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy and How it Works  
(Just understand the different “complexes” and consider what makes something a “complex”? Focus on the defense, intelligence, and economic complexes.)


Meeting #7  
Thursday, February 11  
Public Opinion and the Media I  
Hook, *Paradox of World Power*, Ch. 7—“Public Opinion at Home and Abroad,” pp. 211-224, 234-240. (Especially understand the ways in which the “public” is viewed.)
Hook, *Paradox of World Power*, Ch. 8—“The Impact of Mass Communications.”
Just consider the major themes (especially government attempts at control) and think about *if and how* technological changes (particularly the internet and its tools) affect the media.


Mills, “Mass Society and Liberal Education,” in *The Politics Of Truth*, pp. 107-117. (Understand the difference between “public” and “mass.”)


**In Class:**
http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2008/04/20/washington/20080419_RUMSFELD.html?_r=0
(Video)

Greenwald, “Major opinion shifts, in the US and Congress, on NSA surveillance and privacy,” (Guardian, 7/29/13)
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/29/poll-nsa-surveillance-privacy-pew

**Meeting #8**
Tuesday, February 16
Making Sense of Foreign Policy
Public Opinion and the Media II

Hodge, “How the Afghan Surge Was Sold.” (Wired’s *Danger Room*, 12/3/09)
http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2009/12/how-the-afghan-surge-was-sold/

Greenwald, “Michael Hayden, Bob Schieffer and the media's reverence of national security officials.” (Guardian, 8/12/13)
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/12/michael-hayden-nsa-media-reverence

**In Class:**
Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR), “How To Detect Bias In News Media.”

Meeting #9
Thursday, February 18
Elites, Public, and Mass in Foreign Policy: “Two Diverse Humors”
Foreign Policy and Social Movements: “Two Diverse Humors…”
Hook, Paradox of World Power, Ch. 9—“Social Movements and Interest Groups.”
Consider the title of the chapter and the processes described generally in Figure 9.1; is the
process illustrated there an appropriate characterization of all of the groups mentioned in the
chapter?
The focus here is on how civil society—citizens’ groups, NGO’s, corporations, private non-state
actors generally—try to influence foreign policy. Pay special attention to the types of groups,
(especially “Think Tanks and Private Foundations,”) the strategies and tactics of groups,
(especially “Political Pressure and Lobbying,” “Policy and Program Implementation,” and “Civil
Disobedience,”) and finally, “Buying Power: The Corporate Connection” (especially “The
Military-Industrial Complex” and “Trade Associations and Labor Unions”). In short, think about
whether or not all groups are equal players in terms of their influence over policy; whose
interests do policies tend to reflect, in your opinion?

Elites
De Tocqueville, “Conduct Of Foreign Affairs By The American Democracy,” in Readings in
American Foreign Policy, pp. 3-7.
Hamilton, “The Republican Principle,” pp. 18

Publics
As you read, ask yourself, “Who Should Rule?”

“The most effective way to destroy people is to deny and obliterate their own understanding of their history.”
-George Orwell

“History” and History
To understand the present, we first must understand the past, and whoever understands the past, will be better able think about the future. As we proceed over the next several classes, refer back to Hook, *The Paradox of World Power*, Ch. 2—“The Expansion of U.S. Power,” where appropriate.

Meeting #10
Tuesday, February 23
**Founding**


**In Class:**
Jay, *Federalist #4*.
Madison, *Federalist #10*.
Hamilton, *Federalist #11*.

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/alien.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/alien.asp)

[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/sedact.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/sedact.asp)

Meeting #11
Thursday, February 25
**ASSIGNMENT #2 IS DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS**
Continental Expansion or Continental Empire?


**In Class:**
Monroe Doctrine, December 2, 1823.
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp)
Lincoln, *From Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives on the War With Mexico*, January 12, 1848; *Letters To William Herndon*, February 1, 1848 and February 15, 1848.

**Meeting #12**  
**Tuesday, March 1**  
**Overseas Expansion or Overseas Empire?**  

Beveridge, “Policy Regarding the Philippines,” from *Readings in American Foreign Policy*, 75-93.


**Meeting #13**  
**Thursday, March 3**  
**The First World War**  
*Zinn, A People’s History of the United States*, pp 359-376.


Hedges, “Dismantling the Liberal Class,” in *Death of the Liberal Class*, 59-84.

**Meeting #14**  
**Tuesday, March 8 (MIDTERM POINT)**  
**The Interwar Years**  


**In Class:**  
The Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941.  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp)

**Meeting #15**  
**Thursday, March 10**  
**The Second World War**  


In Class:
The Yalta Conference, February 1945.
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/valta.asp

Potsdam Conference, July 17-August 2, 1945.
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade17.asp
Annex II-Use of Allied Property For Satellite Reparations or War Trophies

Tuesday, March 15
SPRING BREAK NO CLASS

Thursday, March 17
SPRING BREAK NO CLASS

Meeting #16
Tuesday, March 22
Beginning of the Cold War: Making Sense of “Containment”

Kennan or “X,” “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” in Readings In American Foreign Policy, 325-343. (Although published in Foreign Affairs in 1947, it was originally the “Long Telegram” Kennan sent in 1946.)
(Read this with the Kolko and Kolko chapter in mind.)

In Class:
The Truman Doctrine, March 12, 1947.
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

(Just skim to get the “flavor” of Appendix A.)

See the PDF-numbered pages, 58-63.
Meeting #17
Thursday, March 24
The 1950’s and the National Security State


In Class:
http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/indust.html

McCarthyism and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Meeting #18
Tuesday, March 29
Vietnam
http://fair.org/media-beat-column/30-year-anniversary-tonkin-gulf-lie-launched-vietnam-war/


Martin Luther King, Jr., “A Time to Break Silence,” in *A Testament Of Hope: The Essential Writings And Speeches Of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 231-244.

Additional (but not required):

Meeting #19
Thursday, March 31
The 1970’s and 1980’s


Meeting #20
Tuesday, April 5
The End of the Cold War and Neo-Liberal Political Economy


**In Class:**

**Meeting #21**
Thursday, April 7
9/11 and The Global War on Terror (GWOT)
Former President Bush’s speech from 9/11/01

Barbara Lee. (San Francisco Chronicle, 9/23/01 via Common Dreams)
http://www.commondreams.org/views01/0923-04.htm


Greenwald, “A Rumsfeld-era reminder about what causes Terrorism.” (Salon, 10/20/09)

**Meeting #22**
Tuesday, April 12
ASSIGNMENT #3 DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS
The Invasion and Occupation of Iraq

Greenwald, “David Frum, the Iraq war and oil.” (Guardian, 3/18/13)
http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/mar/18/david-frum-iraq-war-oil

Mona Mahmood, Maggie O’Kane, Chavala Madlena, Teresa Smith, Ben Ferguson, Patrick Farrellly, Guy Grandjean, Josh Strauss, Roisin Glynn, Irene Baqué, Marcus Morgan, Jake Zervudachi and Joshua Boswell, “From El Salvador to Iraq: Washington's man behind brutal police squads.” (Guardian, 3/6/13)
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/06/el-salvador-iraq-police-squads-washington

Additional:
Landay, “Senate Committee: Bush knew Iraq claims weren’t true.”
Mitchell, “Reviewing This Week’s Mea Culpas on Iraq: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.”

In Class:
Tom Friedman talks Iraq.

Meeting #23
Thursday, April 14
“Policing” The Empire I: Bases

http://www.tomdispatch.com/blog/176070/tomgram%3A_nick_turse,_america's_empire_of_afri
can_bases/

Meeting #24
Tuesday, April 19
“Policing” The Empire II: Drones

Scahill, “The Assassination Complex,” part of The Drone Papers. (The Intercept, 10/15/15)
https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/the-assassination-complex/

Look over the rest here:
The Intercept, The Drone Papers.
https://theintercept.com/drone-papers/

In Class:
Clark, “Malala Yousafzai tells Obama drones are ‘fueling terrorism.’” (McClatchy, 10/11/13)

Meeting #25
Thursday, April 21
“Policing” The Empire III: Torture
http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/09/world/cia-torture-report-key-points.html?_r=0

Greenwald, “Live Coverage of the Senate Torture Report.” (The Intercept, 12/9/14)
McCoy, “Outsourcing Torture: President Obama has shut down the CIA’s secret prisons, but that hasn’t stopped rendition abroad.” (Salon, 8/14/12, originally published on TomDispatch)
http://www.salon.com/2012/08/14/tomgram_alfred_mccoy_perfecting_illegality_salpart/

Thompson, “6 Claims On Detainee Torture, Skewered.” (ProPublica, 4/22/13)
http://www.propublica.org/article/six-claims-on-detainee-torture-skewered

Meeting #26
Tuesday, April 26
Privatization of Foreign Policy
Scahill, Interview with WHYY-NPR’s Terry Gross on Fresh Air. (Audio and Transcript, 12/16/09)

Shorrock, “The Corporate Takeover of U.S. Intelligence.” (Salon, 6/1/07)
http://www.salon.com/2007/06/01/intel_contractors/

Handout:
Murphy, “The Private Intelligence Boom, By the Numbers.” (MotherJones, 6/13/13)

In Class:
Shorrock, “The Corporate Intelligence Community: A Photo Exclusive.” (Shorrock Personal Blog, 7/17/10)
http://timshorrock.com/?p=710

Meeting #27
Thursday, April 28
Empire Turned Inward: Surveillance and Militarization at Home
http://projects.propublica.org/graphics/surveillance-timeline

Taylor and Landay, “Obama’s crackdown views leaks as aiding enemies of U.S.” (McClatchy, 6/20/13)
http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2013/06/20/194513/obamas-crackdown-views-leaks-as.html#.Ujpdfz9cWAF

Greenwald, “Chilling legal memo from Obama DOJ justifies assassination of US citizens.” (Guardian, 2/5/13)
http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/05/obama-kill-list-doj-memo
Wolf, “Revealed: how the FBI coordinated the crackdown on Occupy.” (Guardian, 12/29/12) [Link](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/dec/29/fbi-coordinated-crackdown-occupy)

**In Class:**


“Power worship blurs political judgment because it leads, almost unavoidably, to the belief that present trends will continue. Whoever is winning at the moment will always seem to be invincible.”  
-George Orwell

**Meeting #28**  
**Tuesday, May 3**  
**LAST CLASS**  
Lofgren, “Anatomy of the Deep State.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/anatomy-of-the-deep-state/)

Responses (only one is a bit longer; all are shorter than Lofgren’s essay):
Bacevich, “Andrew Bacevich on Washington’s Tacit Consensus.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/andrew-bacevich-on-washingtons-tacit-consensus/)

Boghosian, “Heidi Boghosian on Mass Surveillance.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/heidi-boghosian-on-mass-surveillance/)

Brian, “Danielle Brian on Legalized Corruption.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/danielle-brian-on-corruption/)

Cole, “Juan Cole on the Vulnerability of the Network.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/juan-cole-on-the-vulnerability-of-the-network/)

Fang, “Lee Fang on the Glimmer of Hope.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/reactions-to-mike-lofgrens-essay-on-the-deep-state/)

Giroux, “Henry Giroux on Resisting the Neoliberal Revolution “. (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/henry-giroux-on-resisting-the-neoliberal-revolution/)

Wu, “Tim Wu on the Partisan Sideshow and Silicon Valley.” (Bill Moyers, 2/21/14) [Link](http://billmoyers.com/2014/02/21/tim-wu-on-the-partisan-sideshow-and-silicon-valley/)
Ismay, “What Would a Fighter Jet Buy 60 Years After Eisenhower’s Speech?” (New York Times’ At War blog, 4/16/13)
http://atwar.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/04/16/what-would-a-fighter-jet-buy-60-years-after-eisenhowers-speech/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0

“George Orwell’s Birthday Party.”
http://front404.com/george-orwells-birthday-party