INR 6108
Seminar in American Foreign Policy
Spring 2018

Instructor:	Michael Mousseau
Office:	Howard Phillips Hall 302M
Phone:	407 823-6671
On Line:	Webcourses is UCF's online course management system which is accessed through my.ucf.edu and then the "Online Course Tools" tab.
Class meets:	Thursdays 6:00 – 8:50 PM BA1 O207.
Office Hours:	Tuesdays 1:00-3:00 & Thursdays 2:00-4:00. If you can see me during my office hours you do not need to make an appointment.

UCF Catalogue Description: Domestic and international factors influencing the development of selected foreign policy issues.

Course Goals/Objectives: To understand American foreign policy, its behaviors in world politics and the motivations of these behaviors.

Books Recommended to Purchase (most chapters are assigned):

Colin D. Moore. *American Imperialism and the State, 1893–1921*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Ed Conway. *The Summit Bretton Woods 1944: J. M. Keynes and the Reshaping of the Global Economy*. Pegasus Books. 2015.

Rachel Bronson. *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

William Appleman Williams. *Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (50th Anniversary Edition). W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2009[1959].

Supplemental Texts (only a chapter or three are assigned):

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Times Books, 2006.

George F. Kennan. *American Diplomacy*. Sixtieth-Anniversary Expanded Edition. University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: A Life in the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

John J. Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. W. W. Norton, 2001.

Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Free Press, 2008.

James M. McCormick, *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* 6th Edition. Rowan and Littlefield, 2012.

It is best to read the material for each week in the order listed.

Course Outline

1. **Introduction: An Imperial Hegemon?**
   Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Introduction and chapters 1, 5, & 6 on Hawaii, Iran, and Guatemala, respectively.

Part I: What Does America Want?

2. **A Quest for Empire?**
   Colin D. Moore, *American Imperialism and the State, 1893–1921*. Chapters 2-7.
   George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*. Chapter 1 on the war with Spain.
   Jeffry A Frieden. 1989. "The Economics of Intervention: American Overseas Investments and Relations with Underdeveloped Areas, 1890-1950." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1): 55-80.
   Stanley Lebergott. 1980. "The Returns to U.S. Imperialism, 1890-1929." *Journal of Economic History* 40 (2): 229-52.

3. **A Quest for Markets?**
   William Appleman Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, entire.
   Fordham, Benjamin O. 2008. "Power or Plenty? Economic Interests, Security Concerns, and American Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 737-58.

4. **A Quest for Global Market Order?**
   Ed Conway, *The Summit Bretton Woods* 1944. Chapters 2-16.

5. **A Quest for Dominance?**
   John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. W. W. Norton, 2001. Chapters 1 & 2.
   George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy*. Chapter on 'The Sources of Soviet Conduct' pp. 113-134.
   Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation*. Chapters 22-26 on the start of the Cold War, 31 on the formation of NATO, 39-41 on Cold War institutions, & 42 on the origins of the European Union.

6. **A Quest for Democracy?**
   G. John Ikenberry. 1998/99. "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order". *International Security* 23(3): 43-78.
   Michael W. Fowler. 2015. "A Brief Survey of Democracy Promotion in US Foreign Policy," *Democracy and Security* 11 (2015): 227–247.

7. **A Quest for Oil?**
   Rachel Bronson, *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*. Chapters 1-7.
   Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. Chapters 15 & 20-25 on Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Part II: Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy

8. **Congressional & Sectoral Economic Interests**
   Marie T. Henehan. 2017. "Congress and Critical Foreign Policy Issues: Past, Present, and Future". A short summary of Marie T. Henehan, *Foreign Policy and Congress: An International Relations Perspective*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000.
   Benjamin O. Fordham. 2007. "Revisionism Reconsidered: Exports and American Intervention in World War I." *International Organization* 61(2): 277-310.
   Jeffry Frieden. 1988. "Sectoral Conflict and United States Foreign Economic Policy." *International Organization* 42 (1): 59-90.

9. **Public Opinion & Ethnic Groups**
   Rachel Bronson, *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*. Chapter 8.

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 107-23.

James M. McCormick, "Ethnic Interest Groups in American Foreign Policy," in *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* 6th Edition, edited by James M. McCormick.

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt. 2006. "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy." *Middle East Policy* 13(3): 29-87.

10. Decision Making & Groupthink

Jonathan Bendor and Thomas H. Hammond. 1992. "Rethinking Allison's Models," *American Political Science Review* 86(2): 301-322.

Charles Duelfer and Stephen Benedict Dyson. 2011. "Chronic Misperception and International Conflict: The U.S.-Iraq Experience," *International Security* 36(1): 73-100.

Robert Jervis, "Why Intelligence and Policymakers Clash," in *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* 6th Edition, edited by James M. McCormick.

11. Why They Hate Us

Rachel Bronson, *Thicker Than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia*. Chapters 11-13.

Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks. 2015. "The Rise of Capitalism and the Roots of Anti-American Terrorism,", *Journal of Peace Research* (52)1: 46–61.

Josh Gelernter. "Iran: The Truth About the CIA and the Shah." *National Review*, July 24, 2015.

Sabri Ciftci, Becky J. O'Donnell, and Allison Tanner. 2017. "Who Favors al-Qaeda? Anti-Americanism, Religious Outlooks, and Favorable Attitudes Toward Terrorist Organizations." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(3): 480-494.

12. No Seminar

ISA Meeting. Prepare your papers and presentations.

13. Presentations

14. Presentations

Evaluation

35% Attendance and Participation. Assessment includes quality as well as quantity of questions and participation. Quality is indicated by the student's apparent awareness of the required reading material, relevance of questions to the topic at hand, and thoughtfulness of contributions. Please do not quote material at length: use your own words.

90-100	Contributed very well to discussion, with a clear understanding of the required readings and having thought deeply about them.
80-90	Contributed moderately to the discussion, with indications of at least fair awareness of the material and perhaps having thought about it.
65-80	Present but did not substantively contribute much or at all.
0	Not present

Within one week after each seminar you will find your participation grade on Webcourses@UCF. TIP: Arrive at each seminar with notes that outline the main points of each section of each reading. You might also identify themes in the readings and organize your thoughts around them. Remember that it is best to read the material for each week in the order listed.

20% Thought Paper: What does America want? Why do you think so? Present a central argument drawing on the assigned readings through Part I that seeks to answer the following questions: 1) Why doesn't the U.S. occupy Canada and tax them, or occupy Mexico and take their oil? 2) Why is the US regularly involved in armed conflicts all over the world? 3) Why does the US maintain by far the largest military force in the world? 4) Why are most nations of the world seemingly not threatened by US's overwhelming military force?

Expected length 1,500-2,500 words. Due on Canvas the first Monday after Spring Break (March 19) at midnight. Please abide by Paper Guidelines below.

35% Research Paper. Select a case in the literature where the US has been accused of imperialism and investigate it. Start by identifying all the sources that claim evidence that the US is imperial in the case, with imperialism broadly defined. Categorize the accusations (if possible) by the intensity of the imperialism claimed. The most-egregious form of alleged US imperialism is the *seeking of an inequity in economic relations,* by any means; less egregious forms of US imperialism include accusations of it seeking economic gain that may not involve an inequity; US government actions claimed to be

intended to promote the interests of US citizens over locals in other countries or occupied territories; or just seeking to dominate a nation, with or without force. Construct a table if needed.

Next, draw on the literature to provide a detailed historical account of what is alleged to have happened. In constructing this account, focus on the more-credible sources making the most egregious claims (on assessing source credibility, see point #5 below). Ignore at this stage any concern for the veracity of the claimed acts. Also, since we are investigating empirical claims, unsupported assertions of US imperialism should be excluded from the review.

Next, identify the strongest evidence claimed for the most egregious accusation of US imperialism in the case (e.g., the US told country X that it would bomb unless tariffs were lowered; or the US overthrew a President). Include all claims of imperial acts of US private citizens if it is claimed these citizens acted on behalf of the US government. After identifying the most-criminating evidence for US imperialism, investigate the citation trail to determine its veracity. You might find, for instance, several dozen studies claiming an incriminating fact as true, but all citing only each other for its veracity (I actually found this once). Keep following the trail until you think you have identified all primary sources.

If you find no primary sources, then this part of your investigation is complete: there is no credible source for the specific act or acts claimed. If you find primary sources, investigate them to the extent that you can. Seek to draw the best-informed conclusion as to whether the claimed facts are credibly true.

Next, draw on the most-credible sources and tell the story of what happened *in your own words* as provided *only by the facts as revealed* in these sources. It is very important that you do *not* tell the story as how the facts have been interpreted by others.

Conclude the paper by offering what you think is the most-credible account for the events and the extent of US imperialism in the case. If the strongest evidence claimed for the most-egregious accusation is clearly supported, we have a clear-cut case of US imperialism. Perhaps the strongest credible evidence is for a less-egregious form of imperialism? Perhaps the evidence for the highest form of imperialism is credible but circumstantial and largely theoretical? Perhaps there is no credible evidence for US imperialism of any kind? If the latter, and the US did act in some way, it would be good to offer an informed speculation as to what motivated the US to act as it did. This does not mean you should engage in extra research: all your research should be contained in the literature making factual claims of US imperialism in your case.

I recommend that you consult with me closely as you work on your paper, as few papers are going to fit neatly in the task as outlined here. Final points:

1. I want each student to investigate a different case. I'll use the first-come-first-serve rule. This means you must see me to get approval for your case.
2. Use the following headings (not necessarily these heading names):

    a. Introduction (introduce case; identify claim of imperialism; outline paper and conclusion).
    b. Review of the literature that argues that the US is imperial in the case.
    c. General account as told in the literature.
    d. Investigation of the veracity of the evidence offered.
    e. Factual account according to the best-credible evidence in the literature.
    f. Conclusion.
3. I recently found two interesting possible cases I'll mention here:
    a. A book by Nelson A. Denis, *War Against All Puerto Ricans: Revolution and Terror in America's Colony* (Nation Books, 2015) was reviewed on NPR, making some strong claims: http://wnpr.org/post/untold-history-between-us-and-puerto-rico.
    b. A book by Stephen G. Rabe, *U.S. Intervention in British Guiana: A Cold War Story* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) appears at outside glance to yield some strong evidence for imperialism broadly defined.
4. Regarding credibility of sources, primary is always better than secondary. Among primary sources, government archives are best, followed by direct accounts in memoirs (more detailed ones better than less detailed ones), followed by news reports of actual events (not opinions, interpretations of events, or unsupported assertions of facts made by experts). Of news reports, mainstream outlets are more reliable than obscure ones. Regarding secondary sources, academic presses are better than nonacademic ones. If you find multiple studies making a claim of imperialism, start your investigation with the most-cited ones.
5. As noted in the Academic Conduct Statement below: "Use of protected ideas, processes, or language without attribution or proper citation is plagiarism."

10% Presentation of Paper. Objective is teach the rest of the class about the case, and the results of your investigation of imperialism. 20-30 minutes, including Q&A.

Paper Guidelines

Rules

1. **Your title page** should contain the following at the top followed by the abstract of no more than 150 words, as follows:

    The Title In 16-Point Font
    Your name

The date
Prepared for submission to INR 6108 American Foreign Policy
Word count XXXX

2. **Use the Harvard citation system**, the author's surname and year of publication are cited in the text of your work. The full details of the book or article are included in a reference list at the end of the assignment.

   In-text citation: "An effective structure is important" (Redman, 2006: 22)

   Reference list: Redman, P., 2006. *Good essay writing: a social sciences guide*. 3rd ed. London: Open University in assoc. with Sage.

3. Only enter as references works actually cited.
4. To facilitate reading on screens for this seminar:
   a. Submit in Word.
   b. Use 1.15-spacing with 1-inch margins, **14-point** *Segoe UI* font or something similar.
   c. Align left.
   d. Use footnotes, not endnotes.
5. Use 0.3 inch tabs, no space between paragraphs, and do not indent first paragraph in a section.
6. Use Microsoft Word's "paragraph keep with next" function to keep headings from appearing at the bottom of pages with no following text.
7. Always number your pages.
8. Make sure your paper looks nice and clean!

Writing Tips

1. Write in an active first-person prose. For instance, "I argue . . " is far better than "It is shown" or "In this paper, I will argue. . ." However, passive prose can still have a place in the abstract and possibly introduction, depending on the journal.
2. Don't use jargon or catch phrases, like "play the democracy card." All words and sentences must be universally understandable; if they are not then you must explain them.
3. Most good paragraphs start with a sentence that captures the main point of the paragraph. The rest of the paragraph explicates the main point; try to end with a sentence that summarizes it.
4. Paragraphs over two-hundred and fifty words (excluding footnotes) are often too

long.

5. Make generous use of examples to illustrate your points. Analogies too may be helpful.
6. Once you think you have a draft right, do something else for few days. At your next reading you may be amazed at how incomprehensible parts of your paper are. A good paper is re-drafted dozens of times, with some gaps in time between some drafts.
7. You may save time and produce a better paper by first outlining it, and then outlining each section. Then, stick to this outline.
8. When stumped about how to explain something, think about how you would explaining it in words. The result often makes the best way to structure a paragraph or section.
9. Good writing is that which is most easily understood, not the use of fancy terms and phrases. Avoid complex prose when simpler prose will do. Write the way you talk, assuming you use good grammar.
10. Never use the words "proven" or "disproven" unless you are referring to purely theoretical deductions, such as math proofs. Nothing is ever proven or disproven in empirical research.
11. Never cite Wikipedia. This is a fine source for preliminary research in some cases, but must not be cited as a definitive source.

Course Policies

Late Paper Policy: No papers are accepted after 24 hours.

Letter/Grade Equivalencies

90% - 100%	A
80% - 89.99%	B
70% - 79.99%	C
60% - 69.99%	D
Below 60%	F

Curve Policy: No curve.

Method of Grade Reporting: Webcourses@UCF.

Campus Resources: You should be aware that help is available if you are struggling with this course! First see me, your instructor: I want you to understand the material and would be most pleased to help if you are having trouble. Other resources include the

Student Academic Resource Center (SARC), for supplemental instruction and academic tutoring, and the University Writing Center.

Final exam date: There is no final exam.

Disability Access Statement: The University of Central Florida is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. This syllabus is available in alternate formats upon request. Students who need accommodations must be registered with Student Disability Services, Student Resource Center Room 132, phone 407-823-2371, TTY/TDD only phone 407-823-2116, before requesting accommodations from the professor.

Academic Conduct Statement: UCF is committed to promoting a culture of academic integrity where faculty and students work together to meet our personal, professional, and social responsibilities. A degree from UCF is only valuable to the extent it reflects valid assessments of student learning. Misrepresenting your learning on tests, projects, reports, or papers invalidates your grades and tarnishes the credibility of UCF. While collaboration is encouraged in the learning and studying process, you should assume that all tests, quizzes, etc. require your individual effort unless explicitly directed otherwise. Unauthorized collaboration, whether voluntary or not, is cheating. Unauthorized use of materials during a test, quiz, or other assessment is cheating. Regarding papers and projects, one of the core fluencies that students need to demonstrate is the ability to discern information that is common to the public from the intellectual property of individuals. Use of protected ideas, processes, or language without attribution or proper citation is plagiarism.