

**COURSE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES:**

The purpose of this course is to gain a better understanding of the place of the United States in today's world by examining the factors that shaped the formulation of American foreign policy from the time of the American Revolution through the twentieth century. We will focus on how American foreign relations were influenced not only by the events and circumstances of world affairs, but also by political principles, which have guided American statesmen from the beginning of the nation by pointing out the ends at which our foreign policy and national security strategies should aim. The principled ends of American foreign policy are contained in the Declaration of Independence, which tells us that the United States government has the right and the duty to do all things necessary to secure the natural rights of its citizens and to maintain the independence and domestic sovereignty of the nation. These principles, rooted in Lockean social compact theory, provided the ends of American foreign policy until well into the late nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, Progressivism, influenced by German idealism and historicism, brought an additional end to American foreign policy by emphasizing the idea that the United States has a moral obligation to liberate oppressed peoples and civilize under-developed societies. The idea that international institutions are the means most likely to produce lasting peace also gained strength in America between the end of World War I and the beginning of the Cold War. Through the last half of the twentieth century, faced with the threat of Soviet expansion and the emergence of terrorism, American statesmen combined in their foreign policies various ends and means rooted in both Founding principles and in Progressivism. If we are to understand the role of the United States in the world today, we must understand how and why these two fundamentally different political philosophies continue to influence contemporary American foreign policy.

**CONTACTING THE PROFESSOR:**

Students are encouraged to meet with me outside of class to discuss any aspect of the materials or topics we cover in the course. If you cannot see me during regular office hours, you may want to call first to see if I am in my office.

Office: Andrews 213

Office Phone: (419) 289-5686

Email: [cburket1@ashland.edu](mailto:cburket1@ashland.edu)

Office Hours: Tu/Th 1:30-3:00 and by appointment

**STUDENT RESOURCES:**

Students are encouraged to visit my personal website at [www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/](http://www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/). Occasionally I will post course materials online, and there are also other valuable links and resources for students posted at this website.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

### 1. Reading quizzes (roughly 20% of the final grade)

Reading quizzes over assigned materials may be given on occasion without prior notice.

### 2. Final exam (roughly 25% of the final grade):

The exam will consist of a short answer section and an essay section. In writing your exam essays, you should demonstrate that you have a good grasp of the topics we have covered in class or that are contained in the assigned readings. The exam essay should cover general themes to demonstrate comprehensive knowledge, but you should also include many specific examples from the readings to back up your claims. You should demonstrate that you have been participating intellectually in and out of class and thinking seriously about the topics we have discussed. For a list of grading criteria for exam essays, click on the link to “Exam Essay Grading Standards” under Resources for Students at my personal website ([www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/](http://www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/)).

### 3. Class preparation (roughly 15% of the final grade):

This portion of the grade includes class preparation, quality participation, memory of assigned readings, and attendance. The preparation portion of the grade will also be influenced by the reading quiz grades. Discussion is highly encouraged in this course. I will call on students from time to time to explain the main points in the assigned readings. I will also address questions to the class generally, to which students should volunteer answers. This part of the grade will be affected by excessive absences as well as by failure to speak up from time to time with correct answers, whether called on or not. The best way to prepare for class is to read the assignments and make a brief outline of the main points. Then memorize your outline.

### 4. Papers (roughly 20% each of the final grade):

Students will write 2 short papers (approximately 8-10 pages each) on topics assigned by the professor. These papers must be typed and double spaced, stapled (no binders), Times New Roman 12-point font, with footnotes or endnotes for every citation. Footnotes should be in the Chicago format as indicated in Kate L. Turabian’s *Manual for Writers*. Be sure to include a cover page with the title of your paper, your name, and the course number and title.

The purpose of the papers is to demonstrate that you have grasped the basic importance and complexity of the question or topic. You should be as concise and specific as possible in your essays, presenting a reasoned argument in support of or against a particular aspect of political thought. Each paper should begin with a paragraph laying out your thesis, and in the body of the paper you should present evidence FROM THE READINGS ASSIGNED FOR THE COURSE that supports your thesis. This is not an opportunity for you to simply give your own opinions; rather, you should make observations and arguments and support them with evidence from readings assigned for the course.

**PAPERS MUST BE SUBMITTED IN HARD-COPY FORM – NO EMAILED PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED.**

**GENERAL POLICIES:**

**PLAGIARISM:** Any willful plagiarism on papers or cheating on exams will result in an “F” for the course. You should read the Academic Integrity Policy in the student handbook or catalog. Also see the link on plagiarism at my website, [www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/](http://www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/).

**ATTENDANCE:** You should make every effort to attend every class. If you have a good reason (illness or other serious situation) for missing a class, you may send me an email to let me know that you will not be there, but whether it will be counted as an excused absence remains at the discretion of the professor. More than one absence will result in an automatic 5% deduction per day from the participation portion of your final grade.

**EXAMS:** The final exam will be on the date assigned by the University. Because you know this date in advance, please let me know **BEFORE** the day of the exam (except in case of illness or other serious situation) if you cannot be there to take the exam. Failure to do so will result in an automatic deduction from the final grade.

Contents of this syllabus are subject to change.

**REQUIRED TEXTS AVAILABLE AT BOOKSTORE:**

- Thomas M. Magstadt, *An Empire If You Can Keep It* (CQ Press, 2004, ISBN 1568028792)
- David Ryan, *The United States and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Pearson Longman, 2003, ISBN 058230864X)
- Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace* (Basic Books, ISBN 046500721X)
- Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State* (Houghton Mifflin, ISBN 0395901324)
- COURSE READINGS PACKET
- Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations*, sixth ed. (University of Chicago, 1996, ISBN 0226816273)
- Strunk & White, *The Elements of Style*, fourth ed. (Longman, 2000, ISBN 020530902X)

**OTHER REQUIRED READINGS:**

- Other readings assigned on the course plan will either be handed out in class, or will be available online at my personal website ([www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/](http://www.ashland.edu/~cburket1/)). It is the student’s responsibility to check the website for available readings on a regular basis. Students should print readings that are available online and bring them to class on the appropriate days.

## COURSE PLAN:

**Week 1 (January 9-13):** Introduction: American foreign policy traditions and contemporary foreign policy

Ryan, see chronology and maps, pages x-xxvi

**Week 2 (January 16-20):** Founding Political Principles

McDougall, Introduction and chapter 1  
Magstadt, chapter 1

From online readings packet:

Declaration of Independence  
John Locke, excerpts from *Second Treatise*  
Emerich de Vattel, excerpts from *The Law of Nations*  
James Wilson, *Lectures on Law* (excerpts)  
Jefferson, A Summary View of the Rights of British America  
Continental Congress, Olive Branch Petition  
Continental Congress, The Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms  
Jefferson, A Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments  
Preamble to U.S. Constitution  
*The Federalist* Nos. 3, 6, 8, 23, 41  
*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 17 US 316 (U.S. Supreme Court, 1819)  
*Durand v. Hollins*, 4 Blatch 451 (U.S. Supreme Court, 1860)

Handout:

John Locke, excerpt from *Letter on Toleration*

**Week 3 (January 23-27):** Neutrality and Self-Defense

McDougall, chapter 2  
Boot, chapter 1  
Magstadt, chapter 2, pages 35-50 only

From online readings packet:

1778 Treaties with France  
Washington, Proclamation of Neutrality  
Hamilton to Washington, April 1793  
Jefferson, Opinion on the French Treaties  
Hamilton to Washington, May 2, 1793  
Hamilton, Pacificus No. II  
Washington, Farewell Address  
*The Federalist* Nos. 11, 43  
Madison, Universal Peace  
Madison, Foreign Influence  
Address of the Senate to John Adams, 23 May 1797  
Alexander Hamilton, "The Examination No. 1," 17 December 1801

**Week 4 (January 30-February 3):** Limited Intervention vs. Expansionism**FIRST PAPER ASSIGNED**

McDougall, chapters 3 and 4  
 Magstadt, chapter 2, pages 50-59 only  
 Ryan, chapter 1, pages 7-9 only

From online readings packet:

James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 1826  
 John Quincy Adams 1821 Address  
 James Monroe, Seventh Annual Message to Congress, 2 December 1823  
 John Quincy Adams, First Inaugural, 1825  
 Lincoln, Resolutions on Behalf of Hungarian Freedom

**Week 5 (February 6-10):** Progressive Imperialism

McDougall, chapter 5  
 Boot, chapter 5  
 Magstadt, chapter 3, pages 60-68 only  
 Ryan, chapter 1, pages 9-12, 15-16 only

From online readings packet:

Immanuel Kant, *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals*, 1785  
 G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History* (excerpts)  
 Senator Albert Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," 16 September 1898  
 Theodore Roosevelt, "Expansion and Peace," 1899  
 Senate Debate on Governing the Philippines, January 9, 1899  
 Senate Debate on Governing the Philippines, January 9, 1900  
 Henry Cabot Lodge, A Speech before the US Senate, 7 March 1900  
 Charles Merriam, "Recent Tendencies," 1903  
 Theodore Roosevelt, "Expansion of White Races," 1909  
 John W. Burgess, *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*, 1923

**Week 6 (February 13-17):** Hegemony and Police Power in the Western Hemisphere

Boot, chapter 6

From online readings packet:

Platt Amendment to Cuban Constitution, 1901  
 Senate Debates on Platt Amendment, 27 February 1901  
 Theodore Roosevelt, State of the Union Address, December 6 1904  
 Theodore Roosevelt, State of the Union Address, December 5 1905  
 Theodore Roosevelt, State of the Union Address, December 3 1906  
 Wilson, "A New Latin-American Policy," 27 October 1913  
 Wilson, "The Tampico Incident," 20 April 1914

Handouts:

Theodore Roosevelt, Address in Chicago, 2 April 1903  
 Wilson, "The Mexican Problem Again," October 1916

**Week 7 (February 20-24):** Progressive Idealism

McDougall, chapter 6, pages 122-137 only

From online readings packet:

- Richard T. Ely, *The Social Law of Service*, 1896
- Wilson, War Message to Congress, 2 April 1917
- Wilson, "America Was Born to Serve Mankind," Memorial Day Address, 1917
- Wilson, "What We Are Fighting For," 26 May 1917
- Wilson, "No Peace with Autocracy," 4 December 1917

Handouts:

- Wilson, "The Ideals of America," December 1902
- Wilson, "The New Democracy," 2 February 1916
- Wilson, "American Principles," 27 May 1916

**Week 8 (February 27-March 3):** Internationalism and Isolationism**FIRST PAPER DUE**

McDougall, chapter 6, pages 137-146 only  
 McDougall, chapter 7, pages 147-154 only  
 Magstadt, chapter 3, pages 72-80 only  
 Magstadt, chapter 4, pages 85-93, 96-98 only  
 Ryan, chapter 2, pages 19-27 only

From online readings packet:

- Wilson, "A League for Peace," 22 January 1917
- Wilson, Fourteen Points Speech, 8 January 1918
- John W. Burgess, *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory* (**optional**)

Handouts:

- Henry Cabot Lodge, Joint Debate on the Covenant of Paris, 19 March 1919
- John Dewey, Excerpts, 1916-1923

**Week 9 (March 6-10)****NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK****Week 10 (March 13-17):** Cold War strategies: Containment**SECOND PAPER ASSIGNED**

McDougall, chapter 7, pages 154-171 only  
 Magstadt, chapter 5  
 Ryan, chapter 4

From online readings packet:

- Henry Wallace, "The Way to Peace," 12 September 1946
- Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" (by X), July 1947
- Truman, Address to Congress, March 12 1947
- Gaddis, "Reconsiderations: Containment," 1977 (**optional**)

**Week 11 (March 20-24):** Cold War strategies: Containment, Retaliation, and Disarmament

Magstadt, chapter 6, pages 140-147 only  
 Ryan, chapter 5

From online readings packet:

NSC-68, 1950

Dulles, "Strategy of Massive Retaliation," 12 January 1954

Eisenhower Doctrine, January 5 1957

John F. Kennedy, "Truce to Terror" Address, 25 September 1961

John F. Kennedy, "The Strategy of Peace," 10 June 1963

Handouts:

Dulles, "Principles in Foreign Policy," 11 April 1955

**Week 12 (March 27-31):** Cold War strategies: Global Meliorism and Vietnam

Boot, chapter 13  
 McDougall, chapter 8

From online readings packet:

Marshall Plan, 5 June 1947

Truman, Inaugural Address, 20 January 1949

Eisenhower, First Inaugural Address, 20 January 1953

Eisenhower, "The Chance for Peace," 16 April 1953

Eisenhower, Address Before United Nations, 8 December 1953

John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 20 January 1961

John F. Kennedy, Alliance for Progress with Latin America, 13 March 1961

John F. Kennedy, Address to the Nation, 6 June 1961

John F. Kennedy, "Declaration of Interdependence" speech, 4 July 1962

Lyndon B. Johnson, "Viet-Nam: The Third Face of the War," 13 May 1965

Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Address, 12 January 1966

Handouts:

Lyndon B. Johnson, "Our World Policy," 20 April 1964

Robert Kennedy, Vietnam Peace Plan, 19 February 1966

Frank Church, "Disengagement Now," 8 October 1969

**Week 13 (April 3-7):** Cold War strategies: The Carter and Reagan Presidencies

Magstadt, chapter 6, pages 147-162 only  
 Ryan, chapter 6, pages 89-91, 98-101 only  
 Ryan, chapter 7, pages 105-110 only

From online readings packet:

Carter, Inaugural Address, 20 January 1977

Carter, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy," June 1977

Carter, "Malaise Speech," 15 July 1979

Carter, State of the Union Address, 23 January 1980

Reagan, Speech to British Parliament, 8 June 1982

Reagan, Remarks at Annual Convention of National Association of Evangelicals,  
 8 March 1983

Reagan, "Star Wars" Speech, 23 March 1983

Handouts:

Jean Kirkpatrick, Address Before the American Enterprise Institute, 1981

**Week 14 (April 10-14):** Post-Cold War threats and Human Rights**SECOND PAPER DUE**

McDougall, Conclusion

Boot, chapter 14

Magstadt, chapter 7, pages 163-178, 184-187 only

Magstadt, chapter 8, pages 192-202 only

Ryan, chapter 7, pages 116-119 only

From online readings packet:

George H.W. Bush, Address to Nation on the Invasion of Iraq, January 16, 1991

George H.W. Bush, Address on the End of the Gulf War, March 6, 1991

George H.W. Bush, Remarks at Texas A&M University, December 15, 1992

George H.W. Bush, Address at West Point, 5 January 1993

Clinton, "Freedom House Speech," 6 October 1995

Albright, "Remarks at World AIDS Day," 1 December 1998

Albright, "Declaration of Human Rights," 10 December 1998

Clinton, Address to Nation on Air Strikes in Kosovo, March 24, 1999

Clinton, Address to Nation on Kosovo Action, 10 June 1999

Clinton, "Foreign Policy for the Global Age," 8 December 2000

Krauthammer, "A World Imagined," 1999

**Week 15 (April 17-21):** Contemporary Foreign Policy: Neoconservatism

Boot, chapter 15

Magstadt, chapter 7, pages 187-189 only

Magstadt, chapter 8, pages 211-219 only

From online readings packet:

George F. Kennan, "On American Principles," 1995 (**optional**)

Kagan and Kristol, "Toward a Neo-Reganite Foreign Policy," 1996

Kagan and Kristol, "National Interest and Global Responsibility," 2002

Kagan, "Power and Weakness," 2002

Max Boot, "Think Again: Neocons," 2004

West, "Leo Strauss and American Foreign Policy," 2005 (**optional**)

**Week 16 (April 24-28):** Contemporary Foreign Policy: Iraq and War against Terrorism

Magstadt, chapter 8, pages 202-211 only

From online readings packet:

George W. Bush, War on Terrorism Speech, September 20 2001

Codevilla, "Victory: What It Will Take to Win," 2001

NSC National Security Strategy, September 2002

Condoleezza Rice, "A Balance of Power that Favors Freedom," 1 October 2002

Michael Scott Doran, "Somebody Else's Civil War," 2002 (**optional**)

George W. Bush, Televised Address to the Nation on Iraq, 19 March 2003

George W. Bush, Remarks at the Port of Philadelphia, 31 March 2003

Codevilla, "When the Cheering Stops," 2003 (**optional**)

George W. Bush, Remarks at Whitehall Palace in London, 19 November 2003

George Will, "Can We Make Iraq Democratic?" 2004 (**optional**)

George W. Bush, Second Inaugural, 20 January 2005

Robert Kagan, "A Higher Realism," 2005

John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," 2005

Charles Kesler, "Democracy and the Bush Doctrine," 2005