

# Ideas and American Foreign Policy

Spring 2005

Professor Andrew J. Bacevich

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday, 10:00-11:00, 12:30-2:00

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**Purpose.** The aim of this course is not to consider policy as such but to examine the ideas underpinning US foreign policy and informing the foreign policy debate. Some (affirming) ideas inspire or explain or justify actually existing policy. Other (dissenting) ideas call into question or challenge government actions and priorities and advance alternatives. The course takes a chronological approach. It begins with the Founders and concludes with the period since 9/11.

Throughout, we will examine the assigned readings to determine what they can tell us about the following:

- The image of America
- The definition of U. S. national interests
- The image of the world as viewed by Americans
- The existing or proposed terms of the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world

## Course Requirements.

- Attendance / oral participation 25%
- Essay 25%
- Final exam 50%

## Essay.

Undergraduates. Each undergraduate student will prepare a profile of one of the major authors whose works we consider in the course. The essay will include a biographical sketch, a summary of the author's views, and an assessment of his or her intellectual legacy as it pertains to U. S. foreign policy. Implicit in this requirement is the expectation that students will read major examples of the author's work not included in this course. The paper will be not longer than 3000 words and will be due on Lesson 21.

Graduate students. Graduate students will write a full-fledged research paper on a topic to be negotiated with the instructor. The essay will be approximately 20 pages long and will use primary sources. It will be due on Lesson 26.

## Course Administration.

- Students are expected to attend all meetings of the course. Inform me if circumstances will prevent you from coming to class.
- Students are expected to submit written assignments on time. Late submissions will be penalized.
- Students are expected to adhere to all provisions of the CAS Academic Code.
- The last date for dropping the course (no “W” grade) is after lesson 3 and for withdrawing (with “W” grade) is after lesson 5.

**Required Texts.** These are available for purchase in the bookstore.

George Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (1951)

C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (1956)

William Appleman Williams, *A William Appleman Williams Reader* (1992)

Lesson 1. Introduction

Lesson 2. The Founding Tradition

John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity” (1630),  
<http://www.kosmicki.com/234/cityhill.htm>

Alexander Hamilton, “The Federalist No. 11” (1787)

George Washington, “Farewell Address” (1797)

Lesson 3. The Young Republic

John Quincy Adams, “Speech of July 4, 1821,” excerpts

Alexis de Tocqueville, “Conduct of Foreign Affairs by the American Democracy,” *Democracy in America*, volume I, section XIII (1835)

John L. O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity” (1839), excerpts,  
[www.civics-online.org/library/formatted/texts/manifest\\_destiny.html](http://www.civics-online.org/library/formatted/texts/manifest_destiny.html)

Abraham Lincoln, “Gettysburg Address” and “Second Inaugural”

#### Lesson 4. Expansionists

Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (1885, 1891), selections.

Alfred Thayer Mahan, "The United States Looking Outward," *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1890)

Albert Beveridge, "The March of the Flag" (1898)

William Graham Sumner, "On Empire and the Philippines" (1898)

Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" (1899)

Albert Beveridge, "In Support of an American Empire (1900)

#### Lesson 5. Anti-Imperialists

Mark Twain, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" *North American Review* (February 1901), <http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/twain/persit.html>

Andrew Carnegie, "America versus Imperialism" (January 1899)

Jane Addams, "Democracy or Militarism" (April 30, 1899)

Finley Peter Dunne, "Expansion" (1899),  
<http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/dooley/dooley4.html>

#### Lesson 6. A Rising Power

John Hay, "First Open Door Note" (September 6, 1899),  
<http://www.ukans.edu/carrie/docs/texts/opendoor.html>

Theodore Roosevelt, "Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine" (December 6, 1904)

William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War" (1906),  
<http://www.emory.edu/EDUCATION/mfp/moral.html>

Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (1909), excerpts,  
<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~jboland/croly.html>

## Lesson 7. Wilson (War and Revolution)

Woodrow Wilson, "Speech in Philadelphia," (May 10, 1915)

Woodrow Wilson, "The First *Lusitania* Note" (May 13, 1915)

Woodrow Wilson, "Peace Without Victory" (January 22, 1917)

Woodrow Wilson, "War Message" (April 2, 1917)

## Lesson 8. Pacifism and Anti-Militarism

Randolph Bourne, "The War and the Intellectuals," *Seven Arts* (June 1917).

George Norris and Robert LaFollette, Speeches in opposition to US entry into the European war (1917),

<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/doc19.htm>

Eugene Debs, "Canton, Ohio Anti-War Speech" (June 16, 1918)

## Lesson 9. Wilson (Revolution and Peace)

Woodrow Wilson, "The Fourteen Points" (January 8, 1918)

Woodrow Wilson, "League of Nations Speech" (1919)

Woodrow Wilson, "Pueblo, Colorado Speech" (September 26, 1919)

## Lesson 10. Interwar Critics

Lincoln Steffans, "Report on Russia" (April 2, 1919)

Harry Elmer Barnes, "The World War of 1914-1918"

Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930), Introduction,  
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA01/White/anthology/agrarian.html>

## Lesson 11. Nationalism / Isolationism

### **Any one of the following:**

Charles Beard, *The Devil Theory of War* (1936)

Charles Beard, *A Foreign Policy for America* (1940)

Charles Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*

Charles Beard, *The Open Door at Home*

Charles Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*

Charles Beard, *The Idea of the National Interest*

## Lesson 12. The Summons

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat" (December 29, 1940)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Four Freedoms" (January 6, 1941)

Henry Luce, "The American Century" *Life* (February 17, 1941)

Wendell Wilkie, *One World* (1943), extracts.

## Lesson 13. Realism (I)

Walter Lippmann, *U. S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* (1943)

## Lesson 14. Containment

George Kennan, "The Long Telegram" (February 22, 1946)

X [George F. Kennan], "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947)

George Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (1951)

## Lesson 15. Disarmament and World Government

Dexter Masters and Katharine Way, eds., *One World or None* (1946), extracts, <http://users.cyberone.com.au/myers/one-world-or-none.html>

Lesson 16. Crusade

NSC 68: "United States Objectives and Programs for National Security"  
(April 14, 1950)

Lesson 17. Realism (II)

Reinhold Neibuhr, *The Irony of American History*

Lesson 18. Corruption From Within

C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (1956)

Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Farewell Address to the Nation" (January 1961)

Lesson 19. New Left

William Appleman Williams, *A William Appleman Williams Reader* (1992)

Lesson 20. Christian Non-Violence

Dorothy Day, "Articles on War and Pacifism,"  
<http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/daytext.cfm?TextID=563&SearchTerm=pacifism>

Martin Luther King, "Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam," (April 1967)

Lesson 21. Noam Chomsky

Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), excerpts,  
[http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Herman%20/Manufacturing\\_Consent.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Herman%20/Manufacturing_Consent.html)

Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (1992), excerpts,  
[http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Herman%20/Manufacturing\\_Consent.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Herman%20/Manufacturing_Consent.html)

Lesson 22. Neoconservatism

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition," *Commentary*  
(March 1975)

Norman Podhoretz, *The Present Danger* (1980).

## Lesson 23. Nuclear Strategy

Ronald Reagan, "Star Wars Speech" (March 23, 1983),  
<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/22/documents/starwars.speech/>

U. S. Catholic Bishops, "The Challenge of Peace," (1983),  
<http://www.americancatholic.org/Newsletters/CU/ac0883.asp>

## Lesson 24. Post-Cold War Debate (I)

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989)

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993)

Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994)

## Lesson 25. Post-Cold War Debate (II)

Thomas L. Friedman, "A Manifesto for the Fast World," *New York Times Magazine* (March 28, 1999)

William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (July / August 1996)

## Lesson 26. Impact of 9/11

George W. Bush, "West Point Commencement Speech" (May 2002)

George W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (September 2002).

Lesson 27. Dissent after 9/11

Andrew J. Bacevich, "New Rome, New Jerusalem," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2002)

Wendell Berry, "A Citizen's Response," *Orion* (March / April 2003),  
<http://www.oriononline.org/pages/om/03-2om/Berry.html>

Patrick Buchanan, "No End To War," *The American Conservative* (March 1, 2004), [http://www.amconmag.com/3\\_1\\_04/cover.html](http://www.amconmag.com/3_1_04/cover.html)

Norman Podhoretz, "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, Why We Have To Win," *Commentary* (September 2004),  
<http://www.commentarymagazine.com/podhoretz.htm>

Lesson 28. Conclusion

Version of December 23, 2004