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Course Objectives:
Soon after the murderous attacks of 11 September 2001 former President George W. Bush – and many others in the United States – posed the question, “Why do they hate us?” His response was that “They hate . . . a democratically elected government. . . . They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. . . . These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life.” Unfortunately, the answer to the question that Bush posed is not as simple as that and relates much more than he and other Americans are willing to admit to the nature of the foreign policy behavior of the United States, not to how Americans organize themselves at home. The terrorists associated with and influenced by al Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden have focused their hatred on U.S. involvement in the Middle East – on the U.S. military presence in the region, on the close relationship between the United States and Israel, and on U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

While Americans view themselves as generous and supportive of others, as “a beacon of democracy” that has helped pull millions around the world out of poverty and liberated them from tyranny, much of the rest of the world has a quite different view of the United States. They recall the ethnic cleansing and aggressive expansion associated with “manifest destiny,” along with the brutality of slavery and the “Jim Crow” system. They recall the overthrow of legitimate governments in Hawaii, Nicaragua, Honduras, Iran, Guatemala, and elsewhere for the benefit of American business interests and the ensuing long-term exploitation and tyranny that usually followed. They remember the domination and exploitation of their economies by American corporations and note the presence of the American military on all the continents of the earth. In other words, there exists a serious disconnect between the image that Americans have of themselves and that which many others across the world, beginning in the Western Hemisphere, have of them and their country.

The reason for this disconnect derives mainly from the fact that the story that we tell ourselves about our origins and history has been fabricated in such a way as to focus on the positives and to purge the elements that might be viewed as negative. “Our ancestors came to America seeking freedom,” goes the story, “and succeeded in building a society superior to anything that humans had managed to construct anywhere else.” The fact that the land that they took was already occupied by others and that a 300-year

campaign of conquest ensued is brushed aside. The fact that much of the wealth that was
created resulted from the resources expropriated from the indigenous population and from
the exploitation of slaves at home and, later, from resources from around the world that
were acquired in large part through a form of imperial expansion go unrecognized.

The purpose of this course will be to “fill in the blanks” in American history -- to
demonstrate that, much as other states, the United States has defined and pursued its
interests in ways that often ignored, or overwhelmed, the interests and rights of others.
Contrary to the story that we tell ourselves about an inward-looking and isolationist
United States in its first century of its existence, we will note that American leaders --
while staying out of international affairs in Europe, when at the beginning at least they
were a weak and marginal player -- were from the very outset willing to seize what they
wanted, whenever possible, first on the North American continent and then, by the end of
the 19th century, in the Caribbean and its environs and across the Pacific. By the
beginning of the 20th century the United States was a full-fledged imperial power, with
colonies from the western Atlantic to the western Pacific. Although those colonies
achieved independence in the post-World War II period, the United States has continued
to pursue and maintain a dominant global position – one that many would call imperial –
in the years of the Cold War and especially since the collapse of the former Soviet Union
at the end of 1991.

The course will end with the consideration of an alternate argument about the
nature of U.S. foreign policy in the past half century, or so, that focuses on the
importance of the liberal order, including the international institutions, that the U.S. was
instrumental in creating. In this telling U.S. dominance existed, but was based largely on
consensual, not coercive, considerations.

The purpose of the course will not be to pass moral judgments concerning U.S.
policy – although moral issues will be discussed regularly. Rather it will be to set the
record straight, to demonstrate that the United States has a history that parallels that of
other great imperial powers that have pursued their interests at the expense of others, and,
finally, to point out that, the American people’s views of themselves as “innocents”
notwithstanding, the United States has a long history of expansion, domination and
exploitation of other peoples and their resources. This history, no doubt, lies in part, at
least, at the root of the anti-American attitudes that exist today throughout much of the
world. Other sources of that hostility can be found in envy, misunderstanding, and other
factors; but past and current American behavior is a central component. Former
President Bush’s explanation is simply not complete or accurate.

SEMESTER ASSIGNMENTS

A. Reading assignments are listed in the course outline. Since the course will be conducted as a manner
to encourage student involvement, students will be expected to have read the reading assignments
prior to class sessions. This will enable them to follow and engage in the discussion. Class
participation [which presumes on-time attendance in class] will count as twenty-five percent of the
course grade.

B. A major paper, which is due in class on 4 December 2014, with a digital copy sent to the instructor
(late papers will be downgraded), should be fifteen to twenty typewritten pages in length (double-
spaced) [twenty-five-thirty pages for those receiving honors credit]. Each student should write a paper
that deals with some aspect of American foreign policy – with an emphasis on expansion, on formal
colonialism, on imperial control, nationalism, and related topics. Regardless of the topic selected, the
student should deal with it **analytically**, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should
address a specific **question and develop and support an argument**. It should draw upon and cite the
relevant literature.

Papers must be submitted in standard research paper format--i.e. title page, notes either at the bottom of
the page or at the end of the paper, and a bibliography. Use the format given below for both notes and
bibliography. It is assumed that due attention will be given to such concerns as spelling, grammar,
appropriate word selection and neatness! Although primary consideration in evaluating the paper will
be placed on content, logic of the argumentation, and evidence, stylistic concerns (i.e. spelling,
grammar, syntax, etc.) will also be taken into account.

As part of the paper project, students will be required to submit a one- or two-page **proposal** concerning
the paper in **class on 30 September 2014**. The proposal should identify the topic, outline the key issues
to be treated, indicate how those issues relate to central concerns of theoretical importance, and indicate
the most relevant source materials already consulted for the project.

**In class on 30 October 2014** students will submit a **five-page**, typewritten and double-spaced,
**précis/outline** of the general argument of their research papers. [These papers will be returned several
days later, so that students can take the instructor’s comments into account in writing the final version
of the paper.] This paper should summarize the basic argument of the paper, but need not provide the
detailed evidence that will be employed in the final paper to support the argument. These presentations
will be evaluated on the basis of the clarity of the argument, the presentation of supporting evidence, the
effectiveness of the presentation, etc. This paper will be graded as a part of the entire research paper
project.

**C. Examinations**

There will be one mid-term written examination on **16 October 2014**. The examination will cover all
material dealt with in the course to that point. This exam will comprise **fifteen percent** of the course
grade.

There will also be a final written examination scheduled during the regular final exam period, ????
**December 2014**. Additional information will be provided about the examination, which will comprise
**twenty percent** of the course grade.

**D. Grading: Twenty-five percent** of the grade for the course will be determined by a combination of
class attendance, class participation and the weekly papers. **Forty percent** of the grade for the course
will be based on the major research paper, including the one-page statement [5 percent], the five-page
précis [20 percent], and the final paper [75 percent]. All papers are due on the dates listed and will be
downgraded, if late. An **additional thirty-five** percent of the grade will be determined by a mid-term
examination [15 percent] and a final examination [20 percent].

**E. Course Rules and Honor Code:**

1. Academic honesty: All work for this course must be the student’s own. Please refer to the
   Student Handbook for the University of Miami Undergraduate Honor Code. That Code binds all
   students. By enrolling in this course you pledge to abide by the ethical academic standards listed
   in the above document. Anyone guilty of academic dishonesty will fail the course. One of the
   most common sources of problems arises in the failure to indicate sources used in completing
   requirements. Students are guilty of plagiarism, intentional or not, if they copy material from
   books, magazines, or other sources without identifying and acknowledging them. Students guilty
   of, or assisting others in, either cheating or plagiarism on an assignment, quiz, or examination may
   receive a grade of F for the course involved and may be referred to the University Honor Code. In
   short, all ideas that are not your own or are not part of “common wisdom” should be footnoted. A
general rule is that, if the information cannot be found in three or more commonly available sources, it should be referenced. All direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. These guidelines will be enforced. If you are unsure whether or not to footnote, err on the side of caution and footnote. For additional information on this and related matters see the guidelines on writing that follow the syllabus timetable.

2. Arrive in class and be seated BEFORE 12:30 o’clock!
3. In the classroom please turn off cell-phones and beepers and remove your hats.
4. Only in the most serious of circumstances [serious personal illness, family emergency, travel for unavoidable university business] will the primary instructor grant permission – which must be obtained in advance – to delay the due date for an assignment. This is especially true of examinations.
5. Students may request the instructor to reassess exam questions that they believe have been inaccurately evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in writing [including via e-mail] within a week after the examinations are returned to students. The written statement must suggest and defend the grade that the student believes he/she deserves. The instructor reserves the right to reassess the entire examination, not merely a single question, in such a situation.
6. The professor is interested in helping you master the course materials. Your comments and questions in class are strongly encouraged. Also, you are encouraged to take advantage of office hours to raise questions about materials covered in the course or about other matters. Also, e-mail is a wonderful way to pose questions and share materials; please be sure that you provide your current e-mail address.
7. Copies of the syllabus and on occasion other materials related to the course will be available on Blackboard.

F. Required Reading Assignments

Reserve copies of the books listed below will be available at the undergraduate reserve desk in Richter Library. They will also be available for purchase at the University of Miami Bookstore. Students may also wish to purchase copies of the books on line. For example, Barnes and Noble [www.bn.com] and Amazon [www.amazon.com], usually deliver materials within a week of ordering. Usually one or other of these on-line stores has used copies of books at substantially reduced cost. Note that for orders of new books valued at more than $25.00 neither Barnes and Noble nor Amazon charges a delivery fee on these books. Another location that usually provides information about lower prices for books is Textbookland [http://www.textbookland.com/]. It will probably be easiest to find books on the Textbookland website using the ISBN number, which I have included below for each book. Both Barnes and Nobles and Amazon also have used books available – usually at greatly reduced prices even with the delivery charge of ca. $3.00 per book charged on used books. Delivery of these books usually takes about 10-12 days. Note that several of the titles are out of print and available only as used books.

In addition to these books, a number of additional readings will be available on electronic reserve through Blackboard.

Books on Reserve and Available for Purchase at the UM Bookstore


**Materials on Electronic Reserve**


http://www.alternet.org/story/149080/4_scenarios_for_the_coming_collapse_of_the_american_empire?page=entire


G. Course Outline and Required Readings:

   Kagan, Dangerous Nation, pp. 3-38
   Kinzer, Overthrow, pp. 1-8
   Layne, The Peace of Illusions, pp. 1-38, 193-217 [electronic reserve]

2, 4 Sep. 2. The Rape of the Americas before the Revolution [168 pp.]
   Jennings, The Invasion of America, pp. 3-31, 146-170, 298-326 [electronic reserve]
   Mann, 1491, pp. 97-133 [electronic reserve]
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, I, pp. xi-xv, 1-38
   Scott and Perry, “Surprise”, pp. 1-10 [electronic reserve]

9, 11, 16 Sep. 3. American Expansion from the Revolution to Jackson [339]
   Friedman, “American Exceptionalism,” pp. 22-23 [electronic reserve]
   Kagan, Dangerous Nation, pp. 39-180
   Nugent, Habits of Empire, pp. iii-xvii, 1-129
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, I, pp. 39-82

18, 23 Sep. 4. Slavery and the Politics of Manifest Destiny [300]
   Kagan, Dangerous Nation, pp. 180-300
   Nugent, Habits of Empire, p. 130-236
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, I, pp. 83-157


25, 30, 26 The Creation of Overseas Empire [345 pp.]
Sept.; 2 Kagan, Dangerous Nation, pp. 301-416
Oct.   Kinzer, Overthrow, pp. 9-110
   Nugent, Habits of Empire, pp. 237-317
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, I, pp. 158-196

30 Sep. First written paper due in class

7, 9, 14 5. From Wilsonianism to World War II [170]
Oct.   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, I, pp. 197-302
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, II, pp. 106-171

10-12 Oct. Recess ???

16 Oct. Mid-term examination

Oct.   Kinzer, Overthrow, pp. 111-216
   Layne, The Peace of Illusions, pp. 1-38, 193-217 [electronic reserve]
   Patterson et al., American Foreign Relations, II, pp. 172-316
   Parry, “Reagan’s Hand,” 9 pp. [electronic reserve]
   Layne, The Peace of Illusions, pp. 1-38, 193-217 [electronic reserve]
30 October The second written paper is due in class
30, Oct. 7. From Détente to the End of the Cold War [183 pp.]
& 1, 7 Nov. Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 219-258
Patterson et al., *American Foreign Relations*, II, pp. 316-460
7, 12, 14 8. Imperial America: Unilateralism and Hegemony [259 pp.]
Kanet, Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 260-322
Patterson et al. *American Foreign Relations*, II, 460-516
7, 12, 14 8. Imperial America: Unilateralism and Hegemony [259 pp.]
Kanet, Kinzer, *Overthrow*, pp. 260-322
Patterson et al. *American Foreign Relations*, II, 460-516

19, 21, 25 9. The United States in a Post-American World [265 pp]
Bacevich, “The American Century is Over,” 4 pp. [electronic reserve]
Kołodziej, “American Power” and “From Superpower to Besieged Global Power,” pp. 3-30, 299-337 [electronic reserve]
McCoy, “Scenarios,” 9 pp. [electronic reserve]
Pfaff, “Manufacturing Insecurity,” 9 pp. [electronic reserve]
Mead, “The Tea Party and American Foreign Policy,” pp. 28-44 [electronic reserve]

27-30 November Thanksgiving Break

2, 4 Dec. 10. The World After U.S. Hegemony [376 pp.]
Ikenberry, “The Illusion of Geopolitics,” [electronic reserve]
Mead, “The Return of Geopolitics” [electronic reserve]

4 December Final Research paper due in class [digital copy to instructor, as well]

6-9 December Reading Days

Final Examination ??? December 2014

II. Guidelines for Research Paper

The paper should deal with some aspect of American foreign policy – with an emphasis on expansion, imperial control, nationalism, and related topics. Regardless of the topic selected, the student should deal with it *analytically*, not merely descriptively. This means that the paper should address a specific *question and develop and support an argument*. It should draw upon and cite the relevant literature.

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2 Note that the “Guidelines for Written Papers” are based on a document [available at http://arapaho.nsuok.edu/~alexa001/STYLE02.pdf ] prepared by two of Kanet’s former graduate students, James T. Alexander, then of Northeastern State University (Oklahoma) and Brian V. Souders, of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; it is used here with their permission.
1. Format of the Paper

The paper should stay within the page limits listed above [12-point type with standard margins]; it should be formatted in standard research paper form -- i.e. including reference notes (either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper -- not "scientific notation") and a bibliography. The format listed below should be used for both notes and bibliography.

2. Essay/Paper Style Sheet

Writing clear and concise English is a skill that will benefit you throughout life. I do take good writing seriously and enjoy reading papers written in clear, correct English. It is a joy to read clear sentences that have both subjects and verbs, that do not sprinkle commas around at random, and that realize that English language plural nouns do not use apostrophes. The short amount of time that you take editing your paper will catch most of the mistakes that drive teachers crazy.

Students who have difficulties with rhetoric are encouraged to purchase William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*. New York: Macmillan, 1999. 4th edn. To ensure that you understand when and how to provide references for materials used you should consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2002, or a similar source. These two guides should prove to be useful throughout your entire career as a student, as well as later in life.

Please note that this style document is briefly and generically written. It neither covers all situations, nor is it intended for just one type of writing assignment. Specifically pay attention to the citation guidelines, for all parts may not apply to a particular assignment.

If you want to avoid some common problems, read the following rules carefully:

1) **Never use contractions.** If you are going to use ‘don’t’ and ‘can’t,’ you may as well write ‘gonna’ and ‘coulda.’ Contractions are markers of casual speech in written form. Use the forms ‘do not’ and ‘cannot.’

2) **Make certain that all sentences have both a subject and a verb.** Sentence fragments are sentences that are missing either a subject or a verb. “A man who had traveled all over the country and lived in many states” is not a sentence, since it has no verb. The man is not doing anything, since there is no verb in this sentence. Careful editing will pick up mistakes like this one.

3) **Pronouns need antecedents.** Never start a paragraph with a sentence such as, ”They created a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons.” The reader has no idea who ‘they’ are. If you use a definite pronoun (he, she, it or they) or indefinite pronouns (this, that, these or those), be certain that these pronouns refer back to some concrete noun.

4) **Introductory participial phrases modify the subject of the main clause of the sentence.** “Waiting for the train to arrive, it became clear that I was going to be late” is incorrect. In this case the participle “waiting” modifies the subject “it” grammatically. In fact, it is meant to modify an implied “I.” The sentence must be restructured.

5) **Word processors have spell check for a reason.** Every word processing program has some sort of spell checking system. USE IT; but use it carefully. You might also consider using the grammar check function that many word processing programs now contain. Remember to proofread your final copy, because spell check cannot pick up mistakes like ‘tot he’ instead of ‘to the,’ or “two” rather than “to” or “too.” Grammar check may have even a greater risk of error, although it can still be useful. Therefore, be careful, as you use these tools.
6) **Use the right form of the word.** The English language is filled with dozens of spelling land mines, words that sound the same but are spelled in three or four different ways. These homonyms still cause people problems. The worst offenders that teachers find are:

- *there* - an adverb denoting place
- *their* - a possessive adjective for the pronoun ‘they’
- *they’re* - a contraction for ‘they are,’ which you should not use anyway
- *its* - a possessive adjective for the pronoun ‘it’
- *it’s* - a contraction for ‘it is,’ which you should not use anyway

Note: *its’* is not a word in the English language.

7) **Punctuation is not for decoration.** Commas are not thrown into sentences at random. The English language has rules for the use of commas. Learn these rules and follow them. The same holds true for semi-colons, colons and other forms of punctuation. Any large dictionary and most pocket dictionaries have brief reference sections on the proper use of punctuation.

8) **Have someone else read your paper.** When you have spent thirty hours working on a paper, the last thing you want to do is look at it one last time to see if everything is spelled correctly. Also, it is hard to identify errors if you have become too involved in the paper. Have someone else look at your paper to pick out any mistakes you may have missed. Failing this, try reading the paper aloud. You can often hear and spot grammar and spelling errors in this fashion.

8) **Consistently cite your sources.** You must properly cite your source if you use an idea or quote from another's work. For citing sources (footnotes or endnotes) in research papers, I prefer that you use the following style:

9) **Wikipedia is NOT an acceptable source.** Although convenient and often useful as a guide to primary sources, this is not an acceptable peer-reviewed source.

a. **Bibliography:**

All entries should be listed in alphabetical order, last name first, using the following format:

1) **Periodical article:**

Some journals do not employ volume numbers, others do not employ consecutive pagination within an entire volume. This format can be adjusted to the former by excluding the volume number, and presents no problem for the latter situation.

2) **Article in an edited book:**

3) **Author book:**

4) **Edited book:**

5) **Newspaper article:**

6) Miscellaneous publication:
Some items do not fit easily into any of the categories listed above. You should adapt the format to fit the item. For example, pamphlets can usually be treated as books.

7) Translated material:
For translated materials, full publication information should be provided for both the original and the translation source: e.g., Pravda, date, p. ?; translated in Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press, vol. ?, no. ?, date, p. ?.

8) Internet material:
These materials should be treated as publications. Full information concerning the source should be given, so that the reader will be in a position to find it. In the case of “reprinted” materials, both the original and the internet source should be given: e.g., “Yeltsin Administration Upbeat On Outgoing Year,” Moscow, 30 December 1997, Interfax; available on Johnson’s Russia List #1453, 30 December 1997 davidjohnson@erols.com. “Russia, China Sign Nuclear Deal,” RFE/RL Newsline, Vol. 1, No. 187, Part I, 30 December 1997 http://www.rferl.org/newsline. Since you cannot cite pages for internet sources, you should be especially careful to provide proper link information and dates when accessed.

9) Unpublished material:
Specific information should be provided about the source of unpublished material, such as interviews, letters, and other documents. The name of the interviewee, the date and place of the interview should be provided. Letters and other documents should be treated in similar fashion. In all cases information concerning the current location of the material should be provided.