

## **Kissinger Seminar: History, Strategy, and American Statecraft**

SA.200.738.01

Instructors: Hal Brands, Francis Gavin, James Steinberg

Thursday, 8:00-10:30AM

R206

### *Description*

What are the major patterns in the history of American strategy and statecraft? How has the United States handled key diplomatic and military crises in the past? What challenges have the most important American statespeople faced, and what strategies did they develop to advance U.S. interests? What lessons do their experiences hold for leaders today and in the future?

This course is structured around an effort to answer these questions. This course is part 1 of 2 of the new Henry A. Kissinger Center curriculum in history, strategy, and statecraft; it provides students with an introduction to issues of strategy, war, and diplomacy, framed against the history of U.S. foreign policy. The course will begin with a discussion of the nature of strategy and statecraft, and of how history can help us understand these issues. The bulk of the course will explore American statecraft and strategy by looking at the policies and personalities of important American leaders, from Washington through Obama. We will examine the range of factors that went into their strategy and statecraft, including personal and political history, ideas, beliefs, and traditions in American foreign relations, and the pressing challenges of the day. Our hope is that this course will help students generate basic principles and guidelines that can be used to improve American approaches to strategy, war, and diplomacy in the years to come. The second part of this course (offered in the spring semester) will encourage students to apply these principles to the particular foreign policy challenges the United States confronts today.

This course will be tied to the activities of the Kissinger Center, and will feature guest speakers, some of whom directly participated in or written about the issues and events we will study in the course. There will be opportunities for extracurricular sessions exploring issues of particular interest to the class. The course can also serve as preparation for the core exam in American Foreign Policy.

Fair warning: This course involves a substantial amount of reading and intensive intellectual engagement on a weekly basis. We ask you to put a lot into the class because we expect that you will get a lot out of it.

### *Course Requirements*

- Class participation: 35%
- Analytical paper based on Mead, *Special Providence*, in Week 3: 10%
- Analytical precis: 20%
- Long paper due at end of semester: 35%

*Class participation* involves actively and productively engaging in discussions and debates during our weekly sessions, and demonstrating deep engagement with the readings. It also involves more prosaic matters like being present and on time for class.

The *analytical paper based on Mead* is due before class in Week 3. In no more than 1200 words, you must briefly summarize Mead's analytical framework and then explain how it helps us understand U.S. foreign policy today (or in recent years).

Each student will also write one *analytical précis*. The "analytical précis" takes that week's readings and accomplishes two tasks. First, it summarizes them, identifying common themes and suggesting critiques or questions raised by the readings. Second, it interrogates them, either using one of the readings from an earlier week or developing an original critique. The overall paper must not be longer than 3000 words, of which no more than half should be pure summary. We will discuss this assignment in greater detail in Week 1; you will have the opportunity to pick a week in which to complete this assignment during Week 2.

The *long paper* will be due on December 7th. You are to select a memoir by a key American statesperson and write a critical analysis of 3000-4000 words. The person you choose can be any foreign policy leader (president, diplomat, and in certain circumstances, military figure) and must be approved by us. You must obtain approval for your choice no later than prior to class in Week 8.

In general, your paper should address two broad points:

- First, you should descriptively analyze the policymaker's perspective on international politics:
  - o What is the policymaker's underlying worldview about international relations?
  - o How does the policymaker understand the national interests of his or her country?
  - o What choices did the policymaker consider, and which option did the policymaker choose? Why?
  
- Second, you should prescriptively evaluate the policymaker's responses:
  - o Did the policymaker understand key international situations well?
  - o Did the policymaker make the right decisions? Why or why not?
  - o What were the key strengths and weaknesses of your policymaker's approach to identifying and engaging with international issues?

Importantly, make sure that you document your arguments with specific reference to the text of the memoir. Remember that you should rely primarily on your own analysis of your chosen memoir to complete the tasks laid out above. Do not rely on secondary sources on your policymaker (biographies, histories, etc.) to draw conclusions about the policymaker's worldview and decisionmaking.

## Required Books

- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (2014)
- Charles Edel, *Nation Builder: John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic* (2014)
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (1994)
- Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (1998)
- James McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (1991)
- Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (2002)

## Schedule

### September 7: Introduction

- Colin Kahl and Hal Brands, "Trump's Grand Strategic Train Wreck," *Foreign Policy*, January 2017
- Hal Brands and Charles Edel, "The End of History is the Birth of Tragedy," *Foreign Policy*, May 2017
- Francis Gavin, "Wonder and Worry in an Age of Distraction: Notes on American Exceptionalism for My Young Friends," *War on the Rocks*, July 4, 2017
- Micah Zenko and Rebecca Lissner, "Trump is Going to Regret Not Having a Grand Strategy," *Foreign Policy*, January 2017
- "Open Letter on Donald Trump from GOP National Security Leaders", *War on the Rocks*, March 2, 2016
- Donald Trump, "Trump on Foreign Policy," *The National Interest*, April 27, 2016

### September 14: Approaches to the Study of Strategy and Statecraft

- Gavin, "Thinking Historically: A Guide to Strategy and Statecraft", *War on the Rocks*, November 17, 2016
- Robert Jervis, "International History and Diplomatic History: Fruitful Differences" March 2010, <https://issforum.org/essays/essay-1-jervis-inagural>
- Paul Kennedy, ed., "Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition," in Kennedy, *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-6.
- William Inboden, "Statecraft, Decision-Making, and the Varieties of Historical Experience: A Taxonomy," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, November 2013, pp. 291-318
- Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?*, Introduction.
- Walter A. McDougall, "Can the United States do Grand Strategy?" April 2010, <http://www.fpri.org/article/2010/04/can-the-united-states-do-grand-strategy/>
- Richard Betts, "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security* 25, 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 5-50.

- John Gaddis, "History, Grand Strategy, and NATO Expansion," *Survival* 40, 1 (1998), pp. 145-151
- Stephen Walt, "International Relations: One World Many Theories," *Foreign Policy*, No. 110, Special Edition: Frontiers of Knowledge. (Spring, 1998), <http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/hpschmitz/PSC124/PSC124Readings/WaltOneWorldManyTheories.pdf>
- Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories, Foreign Policy," Nov/Dec 2004, <http://slantchev.ucsd.edu/courses/pdf/Snyder%20-%20One%20World,%20Rival%20Theories.pdf>

#### September 21: Foundations of American Strategy and the Rise of American Power

- Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World* (Routledge, 2002), Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-55, and Chapters 4-7, pp. 99-263
- Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 1-14, 199-224
- U.S. National Security Strategy 2002. The following excerpts: "Introduction"; Chapters I, II, III, V, VII (about 20 pages total) <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>

#### September 28: George Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson

- "Farewell Address," 1796, *The Avalon Project*. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th\\_century/washing.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp)
- Alexander Hamilton, The "Camillus" Essays 22 July 1795–9 January 1796
- Letter from James Madison, Opposing Jay Treaty, August 23, 1795, [https://cdn.loc.gov/service/mss/mjm/05/05\\_1026\\_1030.pdf](https://cdn.loc.gov/service/mss/mjm/05/05_1026_1030.pdf)
- Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy*, pp. 115-136
- Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776*, pp. 15-56
- Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation* (2006), pp. 104-130

#### October 5: John Quincy Adams

- "Monroe Doctrine," 1823, *The Avalon Project*.
- Independence Day Speech, July 4, 1821, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-independence-day/>
- Charles Edel, *Nation Builder: John Quincy Adams and the Grand Strategy of the Republic*, introduction, chapter 3, and conclusion
- Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776*, pp. 57-75

#### October 12: Abraham Lincoln and William Seward

- Walter Stahr, *Seward: Lincoln's Indispensable Man*, pp. 289-305, 307-310, 312-323, 326-327, 336-338, 348-352, 371-378, 388-389, 440-446, 453-457, 464-468, 482-491, 494-505
- James McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution*, pp. 23-42, 65-92, 113-130
- Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, <http://www.gettysburg.com/bog/address.htm>
- Lincoln, Second Inaugural, <https://www.nps.gov/linc/learn/historyculture/lincoln-second-inaugural.htm>

#### October 19: Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 29-55, 218-245
- Transcript of Theodore Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904)(Excerpted from Theodore Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904), <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=56&page=transcript>

#### October 26: Franklin D. Roosevelt

- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 369-422
- Warren Kimball, *Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, pp. 3-20
- Mark Stoler, 'The Roosevelt foreign policy: flawed, but superior to the competition,' in Justus D. Doenecke, Mark A. Stoler *Debating Franklin D. Roosevelt's Foreign Policies, 1933-1945*
- Waldo Heinrichs, "President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Intervention in the Battle of the Atlantic, 1941," *Diplomatic History* 10, 4 (October 1986), pp. 311-332
- October 5, 1937: Quarantine Speech, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/october-5-1937-quarantine-speech>
- Address to Congress on the Yalta Conference, *March 1, 1945*  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16591>

#### November 2: Dean Acheson and George Kennan

- X (George Kennan), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* 25, No. 4 (1947), pp. 566-582.
- Truman Doctrine Speech, March 12, 1947,  
[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/trudoc.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, pp. 24-87
- Wilson Miscamble, "Rejected Architect and Master Builder: George Kennan, Dean Acheson, and Postwar Europe," *The Review of Politics* 58, 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 437-468.
- Skim chapters 11-14 of Gaddis, *George F. Kennan: An American Life* (2011), pp. 225-336. The idea is to get a sense of Kennan the person and to understand how some of his ideas were formulated "in real time."
- Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years at the State Department*, chapters 2-4, 8, 12, 15, 18, 22, 24-26, 39, 41, 44-46
- Dean Acheson, "Speech on the Far East," January 12, 1950  
<http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/speech-on-the-far-east/>

#### November 9: Henry Kissinger

- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy*, pp. 59-101
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 674-732
- Jussi Hanhimaki, "Conservative Goals, Revolutionary Outcomes: The Paradox of Détente," *Cold War History* 8, 4 (November 2008), 503-513.
- John Lewis Gaddis, "Rescuing Choice from Circumstance: The Statecraft of Henry Kissinger," in *The Diplomats: 1939-1979*, 564-588.
- Gary Bass, "Nixon and Kissinger's Forgotten Shame," *New York Times*, September 29, 2013
- Robert Kaplan, "In Defense of Henry Kissinger," *The Atlantic*, May 2013
- Kissinger, "Moral Purpose and Practical Needs," Speech in New York, 1976, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/dosb/1951.pdf#page=3>

#### November 16: Reagan

- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy*, pp. 102-144
- Westminster speech, 8 June 1982, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7tpKDQH9nE>
- Address to the Nation and Other Countries on United States-Soviet Relations, January 16, 1984, <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/11684a.htm>
- James Graham Wilson, "How Grand Was Reagan's Strategy, 1976-1984?" *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 18 (December 2007), pp. 773-803.
- Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, chapter 30
- "US Relations with the USSR," National Security Decision Memo -75, 17 January 1983, <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd/nsdd-075.htm>

#### November 30: Bush and Obama

- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy*, pp. 144-189
- Melvyn Leffler, "The Foreign Policies of the George W. Bush Administration: Memoirs, History, Legacy," *Diplomatic History* 37, 2 (2013), 190-216.
- "Text of Bush's Speech at West Point," *New York Times*, June 1, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/01/international/text-of-bushs-speech-at-west-point.html>
- Jeffrey Goldberg, *The Obama Doctrine*, The Atlantic <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>
- Jeffrey Goldberg, *The Lessons of Henry Kissinger*, The Atlantic <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/12/the-lessons-of-henry-kissinger/505868/>
- Hal Brands, "Barack Obama and the Dilemmas of American Grand Strategy," *The Washington Quarterly* 39, 4 (Winter 2016), 101-125
- Derek Chollet, *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*, introduction

## December 7: The Policymaker's Perspective

- Philip Zelikow, "Foreign Policy Engineering: From Theory to Practice and Back Again," *International Security* Volume 18, Number 4, Spring 1994, pp. 143-171
- Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisers and the Presidents They Served--From JFK to George W. Bush*, Simon and Schuster, 2009, chapter 6-7
- Michael Mandelbaum, "The Failure of Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1999 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/1999-09-01/failure-intervention>
- James B. Steinberg, "A Perfect Polemic: Blind to Reality on Kosovo," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1999, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/kosovo/1999-11-01/perfect-polemic-blind-reality-kosovo>