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# U.S. Foreign Policy in A Global Age (IGA-217/HIST-1217) – Spring 2016 Monday/Wednesday 8:45 – 10:00 a.m., Weil Town Hall (1st Floor Belfer)

## **Professor Fredrik Logevall**

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Office Hours: Littauer 376, Wednesday 3:00–5:00 (signup via http://is.gd/logevall\_officehours)

#### **Course Assistant**

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#### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The United States is and will likely remain the most important actor on the international stage for some time. How did America come to occupy this leading position and what does it mean for our understanding world affairs today? This course explores American foreign policy from the eve of World War I to the present. Issues to be examined include the tension between isolationism and interventionism and between unilateralism and multilateralism; the emergence of the United States as a superpower; the Soviet-American confrontation; the rise of presidential power in foreign affairs; and the nature of American power in today's world. In addition, we will endeavor to determine how historical knowledge and historical skills can be used to better understand the policymaking process and lead to more thoughtful discussion and debate about the pressing global challenges of our present moment.

#### READING

The readings for the course can be accessed through Canvas. The following books are useful as general overviews, and it is *recommended* that students read them in full:

- Ian Bremmer, *Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World* (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 2015).
- Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).
- David Milne, Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013)

#### **REQUIREMENTS**

This course will be taught through a combination of lectures, discussion, group work, and individual writing. There will be two film screenings outside class. Students are expected to complete all of the required reading prior to each session, to arrive in class on time, and to be fully prepared to discuss the day's assignment. Attendance and participation will be assessed and factored into final grades. Students are expected to conduct themselves professionally at all times. There are no prerequisites for the course.

\*Auditors are welcome but must appear in class regularly and are expected to do the assignments (readings and films). Auditors are not graded and are thus not expected to produce written work, but *are* asked to participate in group-work. Non-HKS students, at Harvard or elsewhere, may register at my discretion and will have the same requirements as HKS students.

- 1. Weekly Brief. Each week, students will submit a brief response to the assigned readings, either Monday's or Wednesday's. These responses should be no more than 500 words and analytical in nature. They are due, via Canvas, by 9:00 p.m. on the eve of the class in which these readings will be discussed. They will be graded "check minus," "check," or "check plus," and will used to assess overall effort and help drive the in-class discussion. Each student will be allowed to take two weeks off this assignment, and there will be no assignment during the weeks of January 25 and March 7.
- 2. Simulation Exercise and Memo: Recreating Lyndon Johnson's Decision to Escalate the War in Vietnam. Students will divide into small groups, and will discuss and debate in class how best to proceed in Vietnam, whereupon each group will produce a unified 1500-word position memo for President Johnson. The date for the simulation is March 9. More details on this exercise will be distributed at the start of the semester.
- 3. Class Presentation. A portion of several class meetings will be given over to student presentations. The purpose is not to rehash the outside readings, but to broaden and deepen the class discussion, to zero in on a particular issue in U.S. foreign policy, and to spark new insights into the subject at hand. Each group can be as small as two and as large as four, and must meet with me in advance of its presentation. More details on class presentations will be distributed at the start of the semester.
- **4. Final Paper.** All students will complete a 3000-4000 word policy paper, evaluating how history can be utilized to better understand a current policy issue in American diplomacy and statecraft. This will be due, via Canvas, by Friday, May 6, at 5:00 p.m.

All written work should be double-spaced in 12-pt Times New Roman font with one-inch margin on both sides of the page. Do not justify the text; ragged right margins preferred throughout.

Students are encouraged to use office hours to discuss all aspects of the course, as well as other matters, including their future professional development. Appointments will be scheduled on other days as needed. Please arrange all appointments outside of my regular hours with my Faculty Assistant: ashley\_davis@hks.harvard.edu.

The Course Assistant, Mitchell Alva, is also available, by appointment, to advise in respect of assignments and class presentations.

#### **GRADING**

Weekly Brief/Participation: 15% Simulation Exercise/Memo: 25% Class Presentation: 25% Final Paper: 35%

Pursuant to HKS recommended grading practices, 10-15% of the grades will be an A, 20-25% will be an A-, 30-40% will be a B+, 20-25% will be a B, and 5-10% will be a B- or lower.

#### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

All written work for this course must be appropriately referenced. Students seeking guidance regarding proper citation and academic honesty should refer to the <u>Harvard Kennedy School Academic Code</u>. If you still have questions as to whether or not you have used citation properly, please speak with me before turning in your written assignment.

*Important note*: In order to reduce distractions and encourage vigorous discussion, the use of laptops, tablets, and smartphones in class is strongly discouraged. Laptops may be used for group preparation and presentations. In special circumstances, I allow tablets for reading and note taking. If you feel that you absolutely cannot take notes by hand, please speak with me; if you've been authorized to use a tablet, make sure you are disconnected from the Internet.

#### **SCHEDULE**

## Week 1

## January 25: **Introduction**

- Gordon Goldstein and Fredrik Logevall, "We Need Richard Holbrooke More than Ever," *Politico*, December 6, 2015.
- Louis Menand, "Everybody's An Expert: Putting Predictions to the Test," The New Yorker, December 5, 2005.
- Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Folly's Antidote," New York Times, January 1, 2007.

## January 27: 19th Century/Free Security

- Susan A. Brewer, Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq (New York, 2009), 14-45.
- Robert Kagan, Our Messianic Impulse, Washington Post, December 10, 2006.
- David Milne, Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy (New York: 2015), 21-68.

## Week 2

## February 1: US Entry into World War I

- Michael H. Hunt, Crises in U.S. Foreign Policy (New Haven CT, 1996), 7-55.
- Margaret MacMillan, "World War I: The War That Changed Everything," Wall Street Journal, June 20, 2014.

## February 3: Wilsonianism

- Thomas J. Knock, "Woodrow Wilson's Internationalism and His Would-Be Heirs," in G.J. Ikenberry, T.J. Knock, A-M. Slaughter, and T. Smith, eds., *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-first Century* (Princeton, 2009), 25-52.
- Stephen Kinzer, "Wilson Perfectly Embodies U.S. Hypocrisy; That's Why We Should Remember Him," *Politico*, December 6, 2015.
- Tony Smith, "Wilsonianism," in *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., volume 3, ed. A. DeConde, R.D. Burns, and F. Logevall (New York, 2002), 617-26.

#### Week 3

## February 8: World War II

• H-Diplo/ISSF Exchange on "<u>Democracy, Deception, and Entry into War</u>" [an H-Diplo | ISSF Roundtable].

## February 10: The Use of the Bomb Against Japan

- Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, "<u>The Atomic Bombs and the Soviet Invasion: What Drove</u> Japan's Decision to Surrender," *The Asia Pacific Journal*, n.d.
- Sean Malloy, "<u>Four Days in May: Henry L. Stimson and the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb,</u>" *The Asia Pacific Journal*, Vol. 14-2-09, April 4, 2009.

## Week 4

## February 15: NO CLASS - PRESIDENTS' DAY HOLIDAY

## February 17: **Superpower Confrontation**

- Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945-1952," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, volume 1, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge, 2010), 67-89.
- Anders Stephanson, "Cold War Degree Zero," in *Uncertain Empire: American History and the Idea of the Cold War*, ed. Joel Isaac and Duncan Bell (New York, 2012), 19-50.

## Week 5

## February 22: Korea: The Forgotten War

- Walter LaFeber, America, Russia, and the Cold War, 10th ed. (Boston, 2007), 107-32.
- James Wright, "What We Learned From the Korean War," The Atlantic, July 23, 2013.
- Marilyn Young, "Bombing Civilians, an American Tradition," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 16, April 19, 2009.

## February 24: Eisenhower and Covert Action: Iran and Guatemala

- John Cassidy, "<u>The Lessons of Classified Information: From Mossadegh to Snowden</u>," *The New Yorker*, August 19, 2013.
- Saeed Kamali Dehghan and Richard Norton Taylor, "<u>CIA Admits Role in 1953</u> Iranian Coup," *The Guardian*, August 19, 2013.
- David Talbot, *The Devils Chessboard: Allen Dulles, the CIA, and the Rise of America's Secret Government* (New York, 2015), 227-66.

#### Week 6

## February 29: The Kennedy Crises: Bay of Pigs

- "Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs," Kennedy School of Government Case Program (C14-80-279)
- Peter Kornbluh, ed., Bay of Pigs Declassified: The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba (New York, 1998), 1-20.

#### March 2: The Kennedy Crises: Missiles in Cuba

- James G. Hershberg, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in *CHCW*, volume 2, 65-87.
- Don Munton and David A. Welch, The Cuban Missile Crisis (New York, 2007), 84-103.
- Graham Allison, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, eds., *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2012).

#### Week 7

#### March 7: Vietnam: The Roots of a War

- Francis Bator, "No Good Choices: LBJ and the Vietnam/Great Society Connection," with responses by several scholars, *Diplomatic History* (2008) 32 (3): 309-70.
- Fredrik Logevall, "Presidential Address: Structure, Contingency, and the War in Vietnam," *Diplomatic History* (2015) 39 (1): 1-15.

• FILM: "The Fog of War" (details to come)

## March 9: Historical Simulation: Recreating LBJ's Decision to Escalate the War

## Week 8

#### March 14/16: NO CLASS - SPRING BREAK

## Week 9

#### March 21: Nixon and Détente

- John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War*, rev. ed. (New York, 2005), 272-306.
- Jussi M. Hanhimaki, "An Elusive Grand Design," in Fredrik Logevall and Andrew Preston, eds., *Nixon in the World: American Foreign Relations*, 1969-1977 (New York, 2008), 25-44.

#### March 23: Vietnam: The End of a War

- Ken Hughes, "<u>How Richard Nixon Stabbed America in the Back</u>," *Salon*, April 26, 2015.
- Gideon Rose, *How Wars End: Why We Always Fight the Last Battle* (New York, 2010), 159-95.

#### Week 10

#### March 28: Carter and the Middle East

- Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 289-308.
- Milne, Worldmaking, 387-404.

#### March 30: Gorbachev, Reagan, and the End of the Cold War

- Craig and Logevall, *America's Cold War*, 322-70.
- George F. Kennan, "After the Cold War," New York Times, February 5, 1989.

## <u>Week</u> 11

#### April 4: **The Gulf War**

• Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror (New York, 2008), 1-28.

• Jeffrey Frank, "Twenty-five Years After Another Gulf War," The New Yorker, July 16, 2015.

## April 6: Clinton in the World: Rwanda and Bosnia

- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," The Atlantic, September 2001.
- Richard Holbrooke, *To End A War* (New York, 1998), 288-312.
- Richard Holbrooke, "Was Bosnia Worth It?", Washington Post, July 19, 2005.

## Week 12

## April 11: **September 11**

- "Executive Summary" and "Ch 11: Foresight—and Hindsight", *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York, 2004).
- Ernest R. May, "When Government Writes History: The 9-11 Commission Report," *History News Network*, June 24, 2005.
- Richard Posner, "<u>The 9/11 Report: A Dissent</u>," *New York Times Book Review*, August 29, 2004.

## April 13: Afghanistan and the War on Terror

- Carlotta Gall, *The Wrong Enemy: America in Afghanistan, 2001-2014* (Boston, 2014), 1-21, 93-118.
- FILM: "Restrepo" (details to come)

#### Week 13

#### April 18: **Iraq 2.0**

- "Going to the United Nations: George W. Bush and Iraq," Georgetown Case Program.
- Fredrik Logevall, "Anatomy of an Unnecessary War: Iraq 2003," in Julian Zelizer, ed., *The Bush Presidency in Historical Perspective* (Princeton, 2010).

## April 20: Obama's World I

- Milne, Worldmaking, pp. 457-513.
- Steve Coll, "The Unblinking Stare," The New Yorker, November 24, 2014.

#### Week 14

#### April 25: **Obama's World II**

• Stephen M. Walt, "ISIS as a Revolutionary State, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2015.

• Jessica Stern, "How Terror Hardens Us," New York Times, December 6, 2015.

# April 27: The Future of U.S. Power

- Ian Bremmer, Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World (New York, 2015), 163-204.
- Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Presidential Leadership and the Creation of the American Era* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), 136-59.