

American Foreign Policy Since World War II
Fall 2016

Professor Piero Gleijeses
Nitze #515

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The grade for this course will be based on an optional midterm and a required final exam.

The 90 minute optional midterm will be given on October 21 from 12 to 1:30pm. It will consist of two essay questions based on the readings and the class discussion. You must answer one of these questions. For those who take it, the midterm will count 1/3 of the grade.

The three hour final exam will consist of three essay questions based on the readings and the class discussion. You must answer two of these questions.

There is also the option of writing a research paper, which will count 2/3 of the final grade. Interested students must discuss this option with the professor.

All assignments should be read before class so that you can follow the lecture and participate in the discussion. I suggest you read the assignments for each week in the order listed.

All assignments are on reserve.

Constructive participation in class discussion will be taken into account for the final grade. Those students with excellent class participation will receive an "A" for the course without having to take the final exam.

September 6 The World in 1945

Melvyn Leffler, *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1953*, Hill and Wang, 1994, pp. 3-32.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*, The Penguin Press, 2005, pp. 1-27.

Ian Kershaw, *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949*, Viking, 2015, pp. 470-522.

Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945*, The Penguin Press, 2013, pp. 111-27.

September 13 The Origins of the Cold War

Leffler, *The Specter of Communism*, pp. 33-96.

Gaddis, *The Cold War*, pp. 27-40, 83-118.

Tim Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*, Doubleday, 2007, pp. 32-48.

September 20 The Cold War in Asia

Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 5th rev. ed., Columbia University Press, 2010, pp. 148-94.

Gaddis, *The Cold War*, pp. 40-65.

U.S. Department of State, *The China White Paper. August 1949*, 2 vols., Stanford University Press, 1969, I: iii-xiii.

Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*, Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 54-72.

Peng Dehuai, "Speech to Cadres of the Chinese People's Volunteers, October 14, 1950," in Sergei Goncharov et al., *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War*, Stanford University Press, 1995, pp. 284-89.

Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men. Four Who Dared: The Early Years of the CIA*, Simon and Schuster, 1995, pp. 53-56. [Covert operation in Burma]

Rosemary Foot, *The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953*, Cornell University Press, 1985, pp. 204-31.

September 27 The United States and Europe: from Eisenhower through Johnson

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-2006*, 9th rev. ed., McGraw-Hill, 2006, pp. 143-219, 267-72.

"An Unhappy Day," *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1952 (ed.).

Robert Bowie, "Eisenhower, Dulles, and the Suez Crisis," in Wm. Roger Louis and Roger Owen, eds., *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences*, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 189-214.

Peter Boyle, ed., *The Eden - Eisenhower Correspondence, 1955-1957*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2005, pp. 160-69. [Suez]

Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, pp. 122-35. [US and Hungarian Revolution]

Archie Brown, *The Rise and the Fall of Communism*, HarperCollins, 2009, pp. 276-92. [USSR and Hungarian Revolution]

Joe Alsop, "Matter of Fact ... The 'Gap,'" *Washington Post*, July 30, 1958, p. 13.

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 260-80. [Missile Crisis]

October 4 The United States and the Middle East: from Truman through Johnson

Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Indiana University Press, 1994, pp. 145-50. [Balfour Declaration]

Peter Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, Potomac, 2005, pp. 19-55.

Memcon (Truman, Marshall, et al), May 12, 1948, in Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 140-42.

Mark Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup d'Etat Against Mosaddeq," in Mark Gasiorowski and Malcom Byrne, eds., *Mohammad Mosaddeq and the 1953 Coup in Iran*, Syracuse University Press, 2004, pp. 227-60.

Ray Takeyh, "What Really Happened in Iran: The CIA, the Ouster of Mosaddeq, and the Restoration of the Shah," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2014, pp. 2-12.

James Risen, "How a Plot Convulsed Iran in '53 (and in '79)," *New York Times*, April 16, 2000, p. 1.

Ray Takeyh and Steven Simon, *The Pragmatic Superpower: Winning the Cold War in the Middle East*, Norton, 2016, pp. 161-91. [Six Day War]

Readings on the *USS Liberty*:

- Clark Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, Random House, 1991, pp. 445-47.

- Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History*, William Morrow, 1998, pp. 388-90.

- Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, The War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*, Henry Holt, 2007, pp. 386, 568-70.

- Robert Dallek, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961-1973*, Oxford University

Press, 1998, pp. 425-32.
- Richard Helms, *A Look over My Shoulder: A Life in the Central Intelligence Agency*, Random House, 2003, pp. 298-305.

UNSC Resolution 242, Nov. 22, 1967, in Hahn, *Crisis and Crossfire*, pp. 151-52.

Optional: If you are interested in the sinking of the *USS Liberty*, I suggest you watch: BBC, "*USS Liberty: Dead in the Water*," 2002 (68 min.), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjOH1XMAwZA> There is a great deal about the sinking of the *USS Liberty* on the web, much of it unreliable. This BBC documentary includes much of the most recent research as well as interviews with many of the key participants. I find it balanced and reliable, with the provisos that (1) many mysteries remain and (2) the discussion of Operation Cyanide is contested because it is so speculative.

October 11 The United States and Latin America: From Eisenhower through Johnson

Stephen Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 36-113.

Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States*, Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 361-87.

Michael Warner, "The CIA's Internal Probe of the Bay of Pigs Affair," *Studies in Intelligence*, Winter 1998-99, pp. 93-101.

Richard Goodwin, memorandum for the President ("Conversation with Commandante Ernesto Guevara of Cuba"), Aug. 22, 1961, <http://americancentury.omeka.wlu.edu/files/original/3e027f808b843322ec9f28e8e78e93b7.pdf>

Dallek, *Flawed Giant*, pp. 262-68.

Piero Gleijeses, "Hope Denied: The US Defeat of the 1965 Revolt in the Dominican Republic," Wilson Center, 2014. pp. 23-45. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIHP_Working_Paper_72_Hope_Denied_US_Defeat_1965_Revolt_Dominican_Republic.pdf

CIA Special Memorandum, "Bolsheviks and Heroes: The USSR and Cuba," Nov. 21, 1967, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB67/gleijeses8.pdf>

October 18 The United States and Africa: From Eisenhower through Johnson

James Baldwin, "A Negro Assays the Negro Mood," *New York Times Magazine*, March 12, 1961, pp. 25 ff.

Thomas Borstelmann, "'Hedging Our Bets and Buying Time': John Kennedy and Racial Revolutions in the American South and Southern Africa," *Diplomatic History*, Summer 2000, pp. 435-63.

Fannie Lou Hamer, Testimony before the Credentials Committee, Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City, N.J., Aug. 22, 1964,
<http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/sayitplain/flhamer.html>

Zaki Laidi, *The Superpowers and Africa: The Constraints of a Rivalry, 1960-1990*, The University of Chicago Press, 1990, pp. 32-57.

Richard Mahoney, *JFK: Ordeal in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 13-58.

Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 57-74. [Congo-L]

Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2002, pp. 60-76, 124-36, 157-59.

October 21, 12:00-1:30 Midterm

October 25 South East Asia: From Eisenhower through Johnson

Fredrik Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, Longman/Pearson Educational, 2001, pp. 5-82.

Michael Hunt, *Lyndon Johnson's War: America's Cold War Crusade in Vietnam, 1945-1968*, Hill and Wang, 1996, pp. 108-17.

"Man from Vietnam," *New York Times*, May 5, 1957, IV: 25.

Willard Matthias, "How Three Estimates Went Wrong," *Studies in Intelligence*, Winter 1968, pp. 31-35.

Martin Luther King, "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence," Apr. 4, 1967. A recording of the speech is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OC1Ru2p8OfU> or you can read it here:

http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_beyond_vietnam

Seymour Hersh, "The Scene of the Crime: A Reporter's Journey to My Lai and the Secrets of the Past," *The New Yorker*, March 30, 2015, pp. 52-61.

Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, pp. 142-54. [Covert operation in Indonesia]

Bernd Schaefer and Baskara Wardaya, *1965: Indonesia and the World*, Kompas Gramedia, 2013, pp. 1-17, 43-60.

Optional: I suggest you watch *The Fog of War*, directed by Errol Morris (2003).

November 1 Détente: Nixon and Ford

LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War*, pp. 272-97.

Harold Saunders, "What Really Happened in Bangladesh: Washington, Islamabad, and the Genocide in East Pakistan," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2014, pp. 36-42.

Robert Dallek, *Nixon and Kissinger: Partners in Power*, HarperCollins, 2007, pp. 227-42 [Chile], 509-15, 520-33 [October War].

Jack Devine, "What Really Happened in Chile: The CIA, the Coup Against Allende, and the Rise of Pinochet," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2014, pp. 26-35.

Lynne Duke, "A Plot Thickens," *Washington Post*, Feb. 27, 2005, D1, D6-D7.

Henry Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, Simon and Schuster, 1999, pp. 791-833. [Angola]

Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions*, pp. 273-99. [Angola]

Interview with Robert Hultslander, CIA station chief in Luanda in 1975,
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB67/transcript.html>

November 8 Carter: A New Beginning?

LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War*, pp. 299-315.

Nancy Mitchell, *Jimmy Carter in Africa: Race and the Cold War*, Stanford University/Wilson Center Press, 2016, pp. 1-16, 679-85.

CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, "Dissident Activity in East Europe: An Overview," Apr. 1, 1977, NLC-7-17-5-4-7, Jimmy Carter Library, Atlanta.

Piero Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington and Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976-1991*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2013, pp. 37-53.

Nancy Mitchell, "Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Jimmy Carter and Rhodesia," in Sue Onslow, ed., *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation*, Routledge, 2009, pp. 177-200.

Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa*, pp. 57-74. [Horn of Africa]

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser 1977-1981*, Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1983, pp. 178-90. [Horn of Africa]

William Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab- Israeli Conflict since 1967*, Brookings, 1993, pp. 255-83.

Chen Jian, "China and the Cold War after Mao," in Melvyn Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 3: 181-200.

November 15 The End of Détente. From Carter to Reagan

Takeyh and Simon, *The Pragmatic Superpower*, pp. 239-68. [Fall of the Shah]

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "U.S. Policy on Iran: Back to Fundamentals," *Washington Post*, Nov. 8, 1978, A15.

Jack Anderson, "Clinging to Dictators," *Washington Post*, Nov. 17, 1978, C7.

John Coatsworth, "The Cold War in Central America," in Leffler and Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 3: 201-09.

Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," *Commentary*, Nov. 1979, pp. 34-45.

Garthoff, Raymond, *Détente and Confrontation: American - Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, rev. ed., Brookings, 1994, pp. 913-34. [Soviet brigade in Cuba]

Brown, *The Rise and the Fall of Communism*, pp. 421-37. [Poland]

“Ronald Reagan Dies at 93,” *New York Times* obituary, June 6, 2004.

Gaddis, *The Cold War*, pp. 211-66.

“Grain Pact Signed,” *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1983, p. 1.

November 22 Thanksgiving Break

November 29 The End of the Cold War

Quandt, *Peace Process*, pp. 335-80.

George Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993, pp. 101-14.

Samantha Power, *“A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide*, Basic Books, 2002, pp. 171-79. [Saddam Hussein and chemical weapons]

Piero Gleijeses, “The CIA’s Paramilitary Operations during the Cold War: An Assessment,” *Cold War History*, Aug. 2016, pp. 291-306.

Charles Krauthammer, "Morality and the Reagan Doctrine," *The New Republic*, Sept. 8, 1986, pp. 17-24.

Coatsworth, “The Cold War in Central America,” pp. 210-21.

Chas Freeman, “The Angola/Namibia Accords,” *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1989, pp. 126-41.

Piero Gleijeses, *The Cuban Drumbeat. Castro’s Worldview: Cuban Foreign Policy in a Hostile World*, Seagull, 2009, pp. 40-45, 58-67. [Southern Africa]

Charles Cogan, “Partners in Time: The CIA and Afghanistan,” *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1993, pp. 73-82.

Archie Brown, “The Gorbachev Revolution,” in Leffler and Westad, eds., *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, 3: 244-66.

December 6 From Bush to Bush

Steven Hook and John Spanier, *American Foreign Policy since World War II*, 19th rev. ed., Sage, 2013, pp. 174-308.

Anthony Lewis, "Paying for Reagan," *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1990, p. 37

Takeyh and Simon, *The Pragmatic Superpower*, pp. 299-328. [Gulf War]

Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 15, 2002, p. 12.

James Baker, "The Right Way to Change a Regime," *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 2002, C9.

Michael Smith, "Blair Planned Iraq War from the Start," *Sunday Times* (London), May 1, 2005, p. 7.

Paul Pillar, "Intelligence, Policy, and the War in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006, pp. 15-27.