

DRAFT – SUBJECT TO CHANGES

**U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1898:
Interventions, Wars, and Military Occupations**

History 512:352
Rutgers University, Spring 2024
Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:00 to 3:20 PM
Hardenbergh Hall, Room A3

Professor David S. Foglesong

Available to meet on Zoom by appointment
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Course Description

Since the United States intervened in the Cuban-Spanish war in 1898, Americans have had many experiences with interventions in and occupations of foreign countries, from the Philippines to Afghanistan. Those experiences have often provoked controversy. While some wars and occupations have been hailed as great successes, others have been viewed as disastrous failures. Some Americans have asserted that “nation building” is a fulfillment of the world historical mission of the United States, yet others have argued that in attempting to remake foreign countries the United States has repeatedly violated its own ideals.

In this course we will focus on U.S. interventions, wars, and military occupations and set them in the wider context of the history of American foreign relations. Through lectures, readings, documentary films, and essay assignments, students will be asked to compare and analyze different interpretations of controversial issues such as the influence of ideas about manliness in debates over going to war and the problems encountered in military occupations of foreign countries. The primary objectives of the course are to encourage students to think independently and critically about U.S. foreign relations and to improve their writing skills.

Requirements and Grading

Four short essays of about 1500-1800 words (5 to 6 pages) on assigned topics are required. The essays will develop critical perspectives on interpretations of major issues addressed in required readings. Students will be expected to be familiar with the History Department's statement on plagiarism (<http://history.rutgers.edu/undergraduate>) Essays that contain plagiarism (unacknowledged use of others' words or ideas) will not be accepted. **The printed essays will be due in class on February 1, March 5, April 2, and April 25. Each essay will count for 20% of your course grade.** Essays submitted after the due dates will be marked down one grade point (for example, from B to C+) for each day after the due date.

Each student will be expected to complete the assigned reading by the dates specified and to be ready to respond to questions about the reading in class. **Regular, well-informed participation in class will count for 20% of the course grade.**

Class participation will be assessed according to the following rubric:

A: Student participated in discussion in almost every class meeting, regularly made comments or raised questions that reflected completion of the required reading, and frequently responded to questions posed during lectures.

B: Student participated in many class discussions and occasionally made comments that showed understanding of arguments in the required reading.

C: Student participated in a few class discussions but rarely showed familiarity with arguments presented in the required reading.

D: Student participated in one or two class discussions but never showed understanding of arguments presented in the required reading.

F: Student never participated in any class discussions.

Students who are not comfortable speaking in class may meet with the professor to discuss alternative arrangements to verify the timely completion of the assigned reading.

Required Reading

The following books have been ordered through the Rutgers University Bookstore:

Paterson, Thomas G. et al, *American Foreign Relations: A History/Since 1895*. Volume II. Eighth Edition.

Appy, Christian G. *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity* (2015)

Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. *Imperial Life in the Emerald City*

Hoganson, Kristin. *Fighting for American Manhood*

Additional required readings will be posted in Modules on the Canvas site for the course.

Schedule of Lectures and Reading Assignments

Note: After the lectures are delivered, the PowerPoint presentations will be posted on the course's Canvas site so that students can review them there.

JANUARY 16: INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE.

Recommended Viewing: "Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War" (PBS documentary, available on youtube.com).

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 1.

JANUARY 18: U.S. "INSULAR IMPERIALISM": ABERRATION?
CULMINATION? PRECEDENT?

Required Reading:

W. L. Williams, "United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation" [Canvas]

Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, Introduction, Ch. 1-3

Recommended Reading:

Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (1997)

Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1998)

Stefan Aune, "Indian Fighters in the Philippines: Imperial Culture and Military Violence in the Philippine-American War," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (2021), 419-447. [Canvas]

JANUARY 23: MEN, WOMEN, AND EMPIRE:
GENDER & AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Required Reading:

Matthew Frye Jacobson, "Imperial Amnesia" [Canvas]
Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, Chapters 4-8, Conclusion

Recommended Reading:

Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (1979)
Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (1995)
Robert Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood* (2001)
Elizabeth McKillen, "Pacifist Brawn and Silk-Stocking Militarism: Labor, Gender, and Antiwar Politics, 1914-1918," *Peace and Change*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (July 2008), 388-425.

Recommended Viewing: "TR: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt" (documentary, 1996).

JANUARY 25: THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF CUBA

Required Reading:

Louis Perez, "Cuba Between Empires, 1898-1899," 473-500.
Daniel A. Rodríguez, "'What Does that Flag Mean to Them?' Rural Relief, Children's Suffering, and American Philanthropy in Cuba," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2022):948-972.

Recommended Reading:

Howard Gillette, "The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1899-1902: Workshop for American Progressivism" (1973), 410-425.
Louis Perez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (1999), esp. Ch. 4
Louis A. Perez, *Cuba in the American Imagination* (2008)
Mark Askew, "Military Government by Induction: American Strategic Ambiguity in the Military Government of Cuba, 1899," *War in History*. 2020; 27(1):33-56.

JANUARY 30: THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Jeremi Suri, *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama* (2011), Introduction and Chapter 3

Dominic Tierney, *How We Fight: Crusades, Quagmires, and the American Way of War* (2010), Introduction and Chapter 5

Recommended Reading:

Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*
Alfred McCoy and F. A. Scarano, ed., *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the*

Making of the Modern American State (2009)

FEBRUARY 1: TR, THE OPEN DOOR & THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 2.

First essay due.

FEBRUARY 6: WILSONIAN INTERVENTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Kendrick A. Clements, "Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Policy"

John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico* (1987), Chapter 9

Recommended Reading:

F. Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (1998), esp. Ch. 14

FEBRUARY 8: THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE VERSAILLES PEACE

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 3

FEBRUARY 13: FROM COLOSSUS OF THE NORTH TO GOOD
NEIGHBOR: U.S. POLICY & LATIN AMERICA, 1921-1934

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, 167-183. [**check pages!**]

David Schmitz, "The Origins of the Good Neighbor Policy" [Canvas]

Alan McPherson, *The Invaded: How Latin Americans and Their Allies
Fought and Ended U.S. Occupations* (2014), Introduction,
Chapter 7, and Conclusion [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

Hans Schmidt, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934*
(1971)

Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S.
Imperialism* (2001)

Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua
Under U.S. Imperial Rule* (2005)

Ellen Tillman, *Dollar Diplomacy by Force: Nation-Building and
Resistance in the Dominican Republic* (2016)

FEBRUARY 15: ORIGINS OF THE U.S. WAR AGAINST JAPAN

Watch "Prelude to War" (propaganda film, 1942).

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, pages 152-166, Ch. 6

John Dower, "Race, Language and War in Two Cultures," in
Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (1993), 257-
285. [Canvas]

FEBRUARY 20: THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945-1952:
A TRIUMPH OF "NATION BUILDING"?

Required Reading:

John Dower, "Occupied Japan and the Cold War in Asia," in
Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (1993), 155-
207. [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

M. Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*
John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World
War II*

Recommended Viewing: "The Teahouse of the August Moon" (1956)

FEBRUARY 22: THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF GERMANY, 1945-1949

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to
Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (1996), Introduction

Jeremi Suri, *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-
Building From the Founders to Obama* (2011), Chapter 4

Recommended Reading:

Konrad Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995* (2006)

FEBRUARY 27: THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY, 1945-1948

Watch beginning of "A Bell for Adano" (1945)

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 7.

Alessandro Brogi, *Confronting America: The Cold War Between
the United States and the Communists in France and Italy*
(2011), Introduction and Chapter 3 [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

John Hersey, *A Bell for Adano* (1944)

Andrew Buchanan, "'Good Morning, Pupil!' American Representations
of Italianness and the Occupation of Italy, 1943-1945," *Journal
of Contemporary History*, Vol. 43, No 2 (2008), 217-240.

FEBRUARY 29: WAR AND STATE-BUILDING IN KOREA

Required Reading: [Canvas]

G. Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea*, Introduction, Ch. 1

Recommended Reading:

Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War* (1981, 1991)

MARCH 5: COVERT INTERVENTIONS AND THE NEW LOOK (1950s)

Required Reading:

R. Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy* (1989),
81-99. [Canvas]

Christian Appy, "Eisenhower's Guatemalan Doodle," in Appy, ed., *Cold War Constructions*, 183-213. [Canvas]

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 8.

Recommended Reading:

John Foran, "Discursive Subversions" in C. Appy, ed., *Cold War Constructions*, 157-182.

Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (1991)

Ervand Abrahamian, *The Coup: 1953, the CIA, and the Roots of Modern U.S.-Iranian Relations* (2015)

Recommended Viewing: "Coup 53" (Documentary, 2020)

"Secret Intelligence: Intervention" (PBS)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoPqt-w8jWg&t=11s>

Second Essay Due.

MARCH 7: U.S. INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1961

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Schmitz, "New Frontiers? Kennedy, Johnson, and the Return to Intervention"

Francis, "United States Policy toward Latin America during the Kissinger Years"

Pastor, "The Reagan Administration: On Its Own Petard" [**cut?**]

Longley?

Cortright?

Recommended Reading:

T. Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (2011)

MARCH 12 AND 14: SPRING BREAK

MARCH 19: THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONALISM AND
COMMUNISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE U.S. POLITICAL
IMAGINATION

Watch CNN Cold War: Vietnam 1954-1968

Recommended Viewing: "The Ugly American" (Film, 1963).

Required Reading:

Appy, *American Reckoning*, Introduction and Part 1

William Lederer and Eugene Burdick, *The Ugly American*, "A Factual Epilogue," 271-285. [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

Mark Philip Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America* (2000)
MARCH 21: NATION BUILDING AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Required Reading:

Edward Miller, *Misalliance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and the Fate of South Vietnam* (2013), Introduction [e-book at libraries.rutgers.edu]

Recommended Reading:

Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era*

Philip E. Catton, *Diem's Final Failure: Prelude to America's War in Vietnam* (2002)

Seth Jacobs, *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia* (2004)

Jessica Elkind, *Aid Under Fire: Nation Building and the Vietnam War* (2016)

MARCH 26: THE U.S. WAR IN VIETNAM

Required Reading:

Appy, *American Reckoning*, Part 2

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 9.

Required Viewing: "Hearts and Minds" (1974)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zdJcOWVLmmU>

OR <https://rutgers.kanopy.com/video/hearts-and-minds>

Recommended Reading:

M. Lawrence, *The Vietnam War: A Concise International History*

James M. Carter, *Inventing Vietnam: The United States and State-Building, 1954-1968* (2008)

MARCH 28: THE LONG SHADOWS OF THE VIETNAM WAR:
THE "VIETNAM SYNDROME" AND LESSONS OF THE LOST WAR

Required Reading:

George Herring, "The Vietnam Syndrome," 409-429. [Canvas]

Appy, *American Reckoning*, Part 3.

Recommended Reading:

Linda Dittmar and Gene Michaud, ed. *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American Film* (1990)

APRIL 2: INTERVENTION AND "NATION BUILDING" IN THE
1990S: SOMALIA, HAITI, BOSNIA, AND KOSOVO

View televised address on Haiti by President Bill Clinton

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 11

M. Bowden, *Black Hawk Down*, 3-11, 83-9, 423-30. [Canvas]

J. R. Bolton, "Wrong Turn in Somalia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73,
No. 1 (January/February 1994), 56-66. [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

Jon Western, *Selling Intervention and War: The Presidency, the
Media, and the American Public*, Chapter 5: "Famine in Somalia
and Ancient Hatreds in Bosnia" [Canvas]

Third essay due.

APRIL 4: THE U.S.-IRAQ WARS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Required Reading:

Paterson, *American Foreign Relations*, Chapter 12.

Recommended Reading:

Douglas Little, *American Orientalism*

John Tirman, *The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America's
Wars*, Chapter 7: "Iraq: The Twenty Years' War"

Robert Draper, *To Start a War: How the Bush Administration Took
America Into Iraq* (2020)

Joseph Stieb, *The Regime Change Consensus: Iraq in American
Politics, 1990-2003* (2021)

APRIL 9: Watch "No End in Sight: Iraq's Descent Into Chaos"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ga5CcwMHKBI>

Required Reading:

Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City* (start)

APRIL 11: THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF IRAQ

Required Reading:

Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City* (finish)

Recommended Reading:

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*

Peter Hahn, *Missions Accomplished? The United States and Iraq
since World War I* (2012)

APRIL 16: THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND
AFGHANISTAN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Nick Cullather, "Damming Afghanistan: Modernization in a Buffer State," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 89, No. 2, 512-537.

Conor Tobin, "The Myth of the 'Afghan Trap': Zbigniew Brzezinski and Afghanistan, 1978-1979," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2020), 237-264.

Recommended Reading:

Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (2004)

Artemy Kalinovsky, *A Long Goodbye: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (2011)

APRIL 18: WAR AND NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN

Required Reading: [Canvas]

Carter Malkasian, *The American War in Afghanistan* (2021), Chapter 16. [e-book also available at libraries.rutgers.edu]

Seth Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan* (2009), Introduction & Chapter 7

Recommended Reading:

Terry Anderson, *Bush's Wars* (2011)

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War Within the War for Afghanistan* (2012)

J. Kael Weston, *The Mirror Test: America at War in Iraq and Afghanistan* (2016)

Craig Whitlock, *The Afghanistan Papers* (2021)

APRIL 23: REGIME CHANGE AND WAR FROM OBAMA TO TRUMP:
LIBYA AND SYRIA

Required Reading:

Philip H. Gordon, *Losing the Long Game: The False Promise of Regime Change in the Middle East* (2020), Chapters 6 and 7. [Canvas]

Recommended Reading:

Christopher Phillips, *The Battle For Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (2016)

Ben Rhodes, *The World As It Is: A Memoir of the Obama White House* (2018)

Susan Rice, *Tough Love: My Story of the Things Worth Fighting For* (2019)

Samantha Power, *The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir* (2019)

APRIL 25: THE UNITED STATES AND UKRAINE, 1917-2024:
SELF-DETERMINATION, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND NATION
BUILDING

Required Reading:

Myron B. Kuropas, "Fighting Moscow from Afar: Ukrainian Americans and the Evil Empire," in Ieva Zake, *Anti-communist minorities in the U.S.: political activism of ethnic refugees* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 43-66. [Canvas]

Additional reading TBA.

Recommended Reading:

Susan D. Fink, "From 'Chicken Kiev' to Ukrainian Recognition: Domestic Politics in U.S. Foreign Policy toward Ukraine," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, XXI (1/2), 1997: 11-61. [Canvas]

Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948*. Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, No. 1505. University of Pittsburgh, 2001. [Canvas]

Samuel Charap and Timothy J. Colton. *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Yuliya Yurchenko, *Ukraine and the Empire of Capital: From Marketisation to Armed Conflict*. London: Pluto Press, 2018.

Serhii Plokyh, *The Russo-Ukrainian War: The Return of History*. New York: Norton, 2023.

Fourth essay due in class. If you would like the graded essay to be returned to you by mail, attach a large (8 x 11) envelope with sufficient postage.