

SEMESTER AT SEA COURSE SYLLABUS

Voyage: Spring 2014

Discipline: History

Course Title: *HIST 3559-102, America in the World*

Upper /Lower Division: Upper

Faculty Name: Robert K. Brigham

Pre-requisites: None

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course examines America's place in the world from a transnational perspective. Rather than focus on the exceptional elements of U.S. history, we will explore international networks, identities, and processes that transcend the nation state and help place the United States in a global context. We investigate the emergence of the U.S. as a global power, overseas military interventions, the projection of corporate and commercial power, and American attempts to create and dominate a liberal, rule-based world order.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

Upon successful completion of this course, students will be able to:

- Identify liberal internationalism and explain its importance in U.S. foreign policy.
- Discuss the meaning of vertical and horizontal networks of transnational policy makers.
- Explain the character and nature of U.S.-led globalization efforts following WWII.
- Describe U.S. security interests in Asia and Africa following the Cold War.
- Analyze the concept of global legalism and identify key aspects of its practice.
- Explain U.S. opposition to the International Criminal Court.
- Identify several factors leading to U.S. support of the Right to Protect Doctrine.
- Discuss the concept of global humanitarianism and U.S. security interests.
- Identify key aspects of cultural diplomacy and its effectiveness.

REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS:

AUTHOR: Kenneth Broun
TITLE: *Saving Nelson Mandela*
PUBLISHER: Oxford
ISBN #: 9780199740222

DATE/EDITION: 2012

AUTHOR: Joseph Stiglitz
TITLE: *Globalization and its Discontents*
PUBLISHER: Norton
ISBN#: 978039332439-6
DATE/EDITION: 2003

AUTHOR: Joseph Nye
TITLE: *Soft Power*
PUBLISHER: PublicAffairs
ISBN#: 9781586483067
DATE/EDITION: 2004

TOPICAL OUTLINE OF COURSE

A1: Course Introduction

A2: Liberal Internationalism

Required Reading: Woodrow Wilson, "The Meaning of Liberty," at
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65381>

Questions:

What were the key elements of Wilson's liberal internationalism? What did Wilson mean by self-determination? Was Wilson committed to breaking down the imperial preference system? How was the First World War related to Wilson's goals of an integrated world?

A3: Towards Integration

Required Reading: Robert Keohane and Joseph P. Nye, "Globalization," *Foreign Policy* 118 (Spring 2000): 104-119. JSTOR.

Questions:

What do Keohane and Nye mean by globalization? How does it differ from other concepts of globalization? Why should the U.S. embrace this kind of globalization? What are the dangers of globalization for the United States? The world?

A4: What America Wants

Required Reading: Nye, *Soft Power*.

Questions:

What does Nye think are the central characteristics of soft power? How has the United States used soft power effectively in the past? What does the future hold for the United States as its hard power assets no longer dominate the globe? How can the United States better position itself in foreign affairs?

Writing Assignment #1: Book Review

This assignment asks you to review Joseph Nye's *Soft Power*. Your review should be 500 words long (typed, double spaced, pages numbered). The essay should 1) summarize the central thesis, main themes, and conclusions of the book; 2) discuss the relationship of the book to the larger historical issues being debated; 3) offer an over-all evaluation of the merit, importance, and contributions of the book; and 4) in some cases, it would be a good idea to indicate the historical context in which the book was written and provide background on the author and the author's orientation.

The first obligation of any reviewer is a fair, brief summary of the basic character of the book. Authors are entitled to be furious with reviewers who misrepresent them or who pursue an interest of their own at the expense of an adequate discussion of the work assigned. Do not simply describe the contents. We are not writing book reports, but critical evaluations.

You should assess the book's central contribution to the developing body of literature. Why was this book written? How does it fit? How does it change our understanding? It is not necessary to have a vast knowledge of the historiography to summarize a book and identify its central contribution to the field. Most authors are explicit about their purposes and about what they believe they are contributing.

In addition to a summary and an assessment of the book's relationship to earlier literature, reviews usually attempt to judge a work's solidity as social science and art. Consider, therefore, a book's validity as well as its contribution. It is not enough to say that a book is interesting or dull and it is not at all helpful to simply write that a book is extensively documented or based on a huge amount of research. The fundamental necessity here is to consider whether the book is actually convincing and to tell your reader specifically why it is convincing or not. Does the author's evidence support her/his argument and conclusions? Has she/he examined all the relevant evidence? Is the argument logically sound? Does the author employ a novel methodology? If so, is this appropriate to her/his task? Does the author use foreign-language sources? Does the organization and prose style

lend clarity and force to the work or does poor writing damage its credibility? Does the author reveal a bias that may have affected her/his judgments?

A5: Postwar Cooperation: The United States and Japan

Required Reading: Natsuyo Ishibashi, "The Dispatch of Japan's Self Defense Force to Iraq," *Asian Survey* 47 (Sept./Oct 2005): 766-789. JSTOR.

Questions:

What does Japan's support of the U.S.-led war in Iraq tell us about the current state of U.S.-Japanese relations? How do Japanese leaders explain their foreign policy choices in the global war on terror? How does the United States influence these choices? Does the U.S. leverage its soft power well in Japan?

A6: The Nature of U.S.-Japanese Relations

Required Reading: "Japan-U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress," *Congressional Research Service*, May 4, 2012. PDF; Joshua Rowen, "The U.S.-Japanese Security Alliance, ASEAN, and the South China Sea Dispute," *Asian Survey* 45 (May/June 2005): 414-436. JSTOR.

Questions:

What key security problems face the United States and Japan in the Pacific Rim? How does each nation identify these problems and allocate resources to solve them? Is Pacific Rim security truly shared for mutual benefit?

A7: Lecture: The U.S. and Japan Today

A8: The U.S. and China, Yesterday and Today

Required Reading: Council on Foreign Relations, "U.S. Relations with China," at <http://www.cfr.org/china/us-relations-china-1949---present/p17698>

Questions:

What have the been the dominate issues of U.S.-Chinese relations over the past fifty years? How has the past conditioned the U.S. response to China? Can the United States accept a greater security role for China in the 21st century? What are the main obstacles to better relations between the U.S. and China?

A9: The Legacies of War in Viet Nam

Required Reading: "The Wars for Vietnam," at <http://vietnam.vassar.edu/>

Questions:

What were the key factors leading the United States to intervene militarily in Viet Nam? How was the war explained and justified to the U.S. Congress and the American people? How was the war prosecuted? What were the stages of the conflict? What role did changing relations with the Soviet Union and China play in the conduct and outcome of the war? How and why did the war end?

A10: U.S.-Vietnamese Relations Today

Required Reading: U.S. Embassy in Vietnam, "U.S.-Vietnamese Relations," at <http://vietnam.usembassy.gov/chronology.html> and Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, "Taking Stock: 15 Years After Normalization Between U.S., Vietnam (July 2010)," at <http://vietnamembassy-usa.org/relations/taking-stock-15-years-after-normalization-between-us-vietnam>; "Bilateral Trade Agreement," U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council at <http://www.usvtc.org/trade/bta/> and Mark E. Manyin, "The Vietnam-U.S. Normalization Process," June 17, 2005, CRS Issue Brief for the United States Congress.

Questions:

What were the biggest obstacles to normalized diplomatic relations between the United States and Viet Nam? How were each of these issues dealt with in the road map to peace? What could have been done to shorten the negotiations? How did economic integration impact the normalization process? What are the effects of foreign direct investment in Viet Nam today? Does the war play a role in contemporary Vietnamese politics? How has the United States and Viet Nam moved beyond the war to normalized relations?

FIELD WORK

FIELD LAB (At least 20 percent of the contact hours for each course, to be led by the instructor.)

On February 14, students will join me in an all day tour of Ho Chi Minh City's museums devoted to the Viet Nam War. We will visit the following: The Museum of Revolution at 65 Ly Tu Trong Street; the War Remnants Museum at 28 Vo Van Tan Street; and Reunification Palace at 106 Nguyen Du Street. The museums are open only Tuesday-Sunday from 800-1130 and from 1400-1630. Helping me with the tours will be staff of the museums and a representative of Hoi-Viet My, the U.S.-Vietnamese Friendship Society. During our lunch

break, we will take an extended walking tour of Central Saigon to visit important sites from the war years. We will visit: the Continental Hotel, where Graham Greene wrote the *Quiet American*; the Rex Hotel, where the Military Assistance Command-Vietnam (MACV) held their press briefings; the roof of the Intercontinental Hotel, where American reporters watched the Tet Offensive unfold; the former grounds of the U.S. Embassy, where the American last helicopters infamously left Viet Nam; and Saigon's central square, where so many Buddhists protests took place.

FIELD ASSIGNMENTS

Field Lab Writing Assignment:

The Viet Nam War continues to cast a long shadow over daily life in Viet Nam. While walking the streets in Ho Chi Minh City, visitors will notice that the streets are named for heroes of the revolution and past anti-colonial leaders. In selecting street names, the Party has purposefully assembled a pantheon of champions tied to Viet Nam's glorious past. The government has also carefully managed the way the past is remembered and commemorated in official museums. After touring the Museum of Revolution, Reunification Palace, and the War Remnants Museum with me, students are asked to write a 1,500-word essay (typed, double-spaced, pages numbered), that describes the ways in which the war is venerated. This essay is worth 20% of the student's overall grade. Students will discuss their findings in class.

Field Lab Journal

In addition, students will keep a writing journal and assess America's preponderant power in at least three ports of call. They will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. The Field Journal will be worth 10% of the student's overall grade.

A11: The U.S. and Burma: Liberalism Challenged

Required Reading: Toshihiro Kudo, "The Impact of U.S. Sanctions on the Myanmar Garment Industry," *Asian Survey* 48 (Nov./Dec. 2008): 997-1007, JSTOR; Donald Seekins, "Burma and U.S. Sanctions," *Asian Survey* 46 (May/June 2006): 417-436, JSTOR; David Steinberg, "The United States and Its Allies: The Problem of Burma/Myanmar Policy," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29 (August 2007): 219-237.

Questions:

How has American-styled liberalism been challenged in Burma? What role have U.S. sanctions played in convincing the Burmese government to reform? Could the U.S. have

influenced political decisions in Burma with more direct action? Are U.S.-led sanctions ultimately effective?

A12: Economic Integration

Required Reading: Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*

Questions:

What does Stiglitz think is the major problem with the International Monetary Fund? Why does the U.S. continue to support policies that threaten to destroy local currencies, according to Stiglitz? Why was China successful in side-stepping the IMF's global developmental regime?

A13: U.S. Relations with India

Required Reading: R. Nicholas Burns, "America's Strategic Opportunity with India," *Foreign Affairs* 86 (Nov./Dec. 2007): 131-146. JSTOR.

Questions:

What have been the fundamental factors in shaping U.S. relations with India? What is the proper balance between economic and security concerns in this relationship? Have U.S. policy makers done a good job in securing that balance?

A14: The U.S. and the Law of the Seas

Required Reading: "The Law of the Seas," at http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/convention_overview_convention.htm

Questions:

Why does the United States refuse to ratify the latest covenants of the U.N.'s Law of Seas Treaty? Is it likely that the U.S. Senate will ratify the Treaty any time soon? What have been the historical objections to the Treaty? Do America's allies support the Treaty?

A15: In Class Discussion of the FRUS papers

Writing Assignment: FRUS Paper

Students are required to write a 1,500 word, typed (double-spaced) research paper utilizing the *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) series on-line. The goal is to

capture a single event in the primary documents of the United States State Department. You may use a variety of techniques for this paper, including a standard narrative.

My purpose in assigning this paper is to show students the many voices that go into the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy. In your essay, try to capture as many disparate views as you can and analyze the bureaucratic nature of the conversations. What drives the policy makers to reach the conclusions that they do? What role does historical reasoning play in their thinking? Do they use history well? What pressures do policy makers place on each other to reach certain conclusions? Does the State Department have complete control over diplomatic affairs? How does your particular event fit into the pattern of American foreign relations? Are there serious misperceptions in U.S. policy makers' minds about your event? If so, what fuels these misperceptions? All these questions and more can be asked and answered in a quality report that goes to the sources. Primary research in these documents lends itself to a variety of theoretical approaches. I would be happy to discuss the possibilities with you.

A16: Global Health and U.S. Security Interests

Required Reading: Laurie Garrett, "The Lessons of HIV/AIDS," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (July/Aug. 2005). JSTOR.

Questions:

Does public health play a role in security concerns? How does Garrett suggest that U.S. policy makers think about the HIV/AIDS crisis? What are the major obstacles to a U.S.-led global health regime? What are the local impediments to progress on global health issues? How can the United States meet its security needs better through more careful integration of global health issues into national security policy?

A17: U.S. Security Interests in Africa

Required Reading: Padraig Carmody, "Transforming Globalization and Security: Africa and America Post-9/11," *Africa Today* 52 (Autumn 2005): 97-120. JSTOR.

Questions:

What are the major issues transforming U.S. security policy toward Africa? How does resource scarcity and globalization impact those shared interests? Is it likely that the United States will develop a more sophisticated policy toward Africa in the next four years?

A18: Mandela and the West

Required Reading: Broun, *Saving Nelson Mandela*.

Questions:

In what ways did Nelson Mandela's trial resurrect the human rights struggle in South Africa? Why did the trial have such a global impact? Why did so many people who had never met Mandela accept his narrative of South African history? What role did universal norms in law and human rights play in the public perception of Mandela?

A19: Networked Courts

Required Reading: The Rome Statutes at <http://www.icc-cpi.int/Menus/ICC/Legal+Texts+and+Tools/Official+Journal/Rome+Statute.htm> and David Scheffer, "Staying the Course with the International Criminal Court," *Cornell International Law Journal* 35 (2002), LexisNexis at <http://www.lexisnexus.com/hottopics/lnacademic/>

Questions:

Why did the Clinton administration pledge to create an international criminal court? Did Clinton support the actual negotiations in Rome? What was Ambassador Scheffer's official position on the Court? Why did the Clinton administration ultimately sign the Rome Statute?

A20: Global Justice or American Exceptionalism?

Required Reading: William K. Lietzau, "The United States and the International Criminal Court," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 64 (2001) at <http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol64/iss1/>; John Bolton, "The Risks and Weaknesses of the International Criminal Court from America's Perspective," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 64 (2001) at <http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol64/iss1/>; and Sean Murphy, "Efforts to Obtain Immunity from the International Criminal Court for U.S. Peacekeepers," *American Journal of International Law* 96 (2002), JSTOR.

Questions:

What are the major U.S. objections to the ICC? Have those initial fears been realized? Should the U.S. join the ICC? What changes would make the ICC more effective? Should the prosecutor be so independent? Is the ICC a "French Court"?

Film Viewing:

The Reckoning

http://www.newdaydigital.com/component/option,com_dma/Itemid,67/view,dma/ or *Prosecutor*. Showing TBA.

Writing Assignment, International Criminal Court Paper

While president, Bill Clinton proposed establishing an international criminal court to adjudicate the most serious crimes: genocide; crimes against humanity; and war crimes. World leaders came together in Rome to establish such a court, and on 17 July 1998, the international community reached an historic milestone when 120 States adopted the Rome Statute, the legal basis for establishing the permanent International Criminal Court. Though Clinton had proposed the Court, the United States ended up voting against the Rome Treaty. Clinton had serious political pressure to vote against the establishment of the Court, but there were other obstacles to the U.S. joining the Court as well. In an essay of 1,500 words (typed, double-spaced, pages numbered) students are asked to write on some aspect of America's relationship to the International Criminal Court. Why did Clinton first propose the Court and then vote against it? What were the major U.S. objections to joining the Court? Why did the Defense Department insist upon immunity for American service members? What did Clinton think about the independence of the Special Prosecutor? What did Ambassador David Scheffer think about the Rome Treaty? Why did Clinton eventually sign the Treaty at the last possible moment? These are just some of the questions students might explore in their papers.

A21: The U.S. and the Right to Protect Doctrine

Required Reading:

Kofi Annan, "In Larger Freedom," at <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/> and <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sgsm11701.doc.htm> and Full Text of the 2005 World Summit Outcome, "Right to Protect," at <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/35-r2pcs-topics/398-general-assembly-r2p-excerpt-from-outcome-document>

Questions:

Is the U.N.'s responsibility to protect doctrine a legitimate instrument for negotiators to consider in ending deadly conflict? Is it possible for negotiators to consider military intervention as an incentive for others to negotiate? What have been the prospects for peace with international intervention as a threat? What can be done to improve the international

negotiating regime?

A22: A Post-American World?

Required Reading: Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (Nov./Dec. 1997): 22-43. JSTOR.

Questions:

Is the idea of a rule-based liberal world order still viable? What are the major obstacles facing such a world order today? How can transnational actors network more effectively? Do nation states have to be democracies to have an effective networked order?

A23: Lecture, The U.S. and the Middle East Crisis

A24: Final Exam Review

A25: A Day Finals

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Field Lab Journal

In addition, students will keep a writing journal and assess America's preponderant power in at least three ports of call. They will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. The Field Journal will be worth 10% of the student's overall grade.

METHODS OF EVALUATION / GRADING RUBRIC

Each student is required to write: a short book review of Joe Nye's *The Future of Power* (500 words, typed, double-space, pages numbered); a paper utilizing the volumes of the Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series (1,500 words, typed, double-spaced); a 1,500-word field lab essay (typed, double spaced, pages numbered) about the Viet Nam's commemoration in Ho Chi Minh City's museums; and a 1,500-word essay (typed, double-spaced, pages numbered) about America's opposition to the International Criminal Court. In addition, students will keep a writing journal and assess America's preponderant power in at least three ports of call. They will meet with me in office hours to discuss their journal, and a formal assessment of the journal will be done at the end of the semester. All students are required to sit for a final exam. Students should attend class and will be graded on their participation. Participation is defined as obvious evidence in class of engagement with the assigned readings. This evidence will be presented in class through regular interventions in our discussion based on the readings. Laptops are allowed in class, but they must be used for note-taking and document research only.

Attendance and Participation	10%
Field Lab Writing Assignment	20%
Field Lab Journal Assignment	10%
Book Review, <i>Soft Power</i>	10%
FRUS Paper	15%
International Criminal Court Paper	15%
Final Exam	20%

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

State Department's Foreign Relations of the United States

http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/frus.html

Also located in the Library in the Government Documents Section, S 1.1

The Department of Defense Archives

<http://www.defense.gov/pubs/archive.html>

The National Security Archives

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

Diplomatic History, the journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/%28ISSN%291467-7709>

Also available in the Library at E183.7.D48

The Encyclopedia of Human Rights

<http://www.oxford-humanrights.com/?authstatuscode=202>

Woodrow Wilson Center, Cold War International History Project

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=topics.home&topic_id=1409

Miller Center for Public Affairs

<http://millercenter.org/>

The Thomas Jefferson Papers

http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/

John Quincy Adams Presidential Papers

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/john_quincy_adams.php

Papers of Woodrow Wilson

http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/woodrow_wilson.php

Herbert Hoover Presidential Library

<http://hoover.archives.gov/>

Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library

<http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/>

Harry Truman Presidential Library

<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/>

Dwight Eisenhower Presidential Library

<http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/>

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library

<http://www.jfklibrary.org/>

Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library

<http://www.lbjlibrary.org/>

Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library

<http://nixon.archives.gov/>

Gerald Ford Presidential Library

<http://www.ford.utexas.edu/>

Jimmy Carter Presidential Library

<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/>

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

<http://www.reaganlibrary.com/>

George H.W. Bush Presidential Library

<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/>

William J. Clinton Presidential Library

<http://www.clintonlibrary.gov/>

HONOR CODE

Semester at Sea students enroll in an academic program administered by the University of Virginia, and thus bind themselves to the University's honor code. The code prohibits all acts of lying, cheating, and stealing. Please consult the Voyager's Handbook for further explanation of what constitutes an honor offense.

Each written assignment for this course must be pledged by the student as follows: "On my honor as a student, I pledge that I have neither given nor received aid on this assignment." The pledge must be signed, or, in the case of an electronic file, signed "[signed]."