

PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN FOREIGN POLICY
CSS/PSC 4353
Spring 2008
T/R 9:30-10:50

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Office Hours:
T/R 11:00-12:30
W 2:00-4:30
and by appt.

This is a course on the role of public discourse in United States foreign policy. The course will cover the years 1945-2007, with a heavy focus on the struggle between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union from 1945-1991 and the current war in Iraq. Special attention will be given to how the Cold War shaped U.S. policies, influenced public attitudes and communication, gave new impetus to specific forms of argument and reasoning, and fostered new ways of thinking about America, democracy, foreign relations, and peace, among many other topics. Cold War rhetoric came in many varieties, from speeches, essays, and public letters to films, cartoons, and propaganda campaigns. It continues to influence public discourse today, almost two decades after the Cold War ended. We will examine the broad expanse of public rhetoric and relate it to the world of politics, diplomacy, intelligence, and civic education.

Our approach will be historical/rhetorical/critical. I will try to provide some of the basic historical background and what rhetoricians would call the “rhetorical situation” for the week’s readings. Then we will examine various forms of public discourse--speeches, films, TV programs, documents, events, etc.--and examine what scholars have had to say about the situations and rhetoric that we have studied. I will expect you to know the main elements of the history, the rhetoric, and the criticism of foreign policy discourse as it has evolved over the course of the last sixty years.

Required Textbooks

Martin J. Medhurst, Robert L. Ivie, Philip Wander, and Robert L. Scott, *Cold War Rhetoric: Strategy, Metaphor, and Ideology*, rev. ed. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997)

Martin J. Medhurst and H. W. Brands, eds., *Critical Reflections on the Cold War: Linking Rhetoric and History* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000)

Robert L. Ivie, *Democracy and America’s War on Terrorism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005)

| -Kenneth M. Jensen, ed., *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts “Long Telegrams” of 1946* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993)

Ernest R. May, *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1993)

Herbert W. Simons, "Special Issue on Rhetoric and the War in Iraq," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10 (2007): 177-369.

Reading Packet. This is a collection of documents, speeches, and communiques relating to the American foreign policy. To be distributed.

Assignments

One book review. Select one book from the list at the end of this syllabus and write a *3-4 page book review* that focuses on rhetoric and its uses during the Cold War, Persian Gulf War I, the current Iraq War, or the War on Terror. The review should be typed, double-spaced, and should provide enough detail and citations from the book under review for the reader to get a good grasp of the content, scope, and limitations of the work. The book review is worth 20% of the course grade. **Due March 6 in class.**

One research paper. The research paper should be 13-16 pages, typed, double-spaced, including notes. Please prepare the paper according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th edition (see chapters 16 and 17 on "Documentation 1: Notes and Bibliographies"). The paper should seek to explain the role or roles played by public rhetoric in one of the central events of the Cold War (e.g., Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin Airlift, Sputnik Launching, etc.), the first Persian Gulf War, the current war in Iraq, or the ongoing War on Terror. You will be provided with a list of events from which to choose. Your job is to do the research into the event to discover what part rhetoric played in the eventual resolution of the situation or event. The research paper is worth 40% of the course grade. **Due Monday, May 5 in my office.**

A mid-term examination. The mid-term will be an examination over the course content up to the mid-point in the course. The mid-term is worth 20% of the course grade. **In class on March 20.**

A final examination. The final exam will cover the material from the second half of the course. The final exam is worth 20% of the course grade. **Saturday, May 10 from 9:00-11:00 am.**

Written Book Report	20%
Research Paper	40%
Mid-Term Exam	20%
Final Exam	20%

SYLLABUS

- Week One: World War II as context. Thinking rhetorically.
- January 15: Introduction: World War II and Its Aftermath
- January 17: **Read:** Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, pp. 3-19; 266- 270; and Medhurst, et al., *Cold War Rhetoric*, chapter 1 by Scott and chapter 2 by Medhurst.
- Week Two: The Yalta Accords and the Potsdam Conference: The Fate of Eastern Europe
- January 22: **Read:** Report of the Crimea (Yalta) Conference” (In Packet); Harry S. Truman, “Address on Foreign Policy at the Navy Day Celebration, October 27, 1945.” (In Packet).
- January 24: **Read:** Stalin’s February 9, 1946 “Election Speech” (In Packet); Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, chapter 2 by Frank Costigliola
- Week Three: Kennan’s “Long Telegram” and Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” Speech
- January 29: **Read:** George Kennan, “Long Telegram,” February 22, 1946 in Jensen, *Origins of the Cold War*, pp. 17-32.
- January 31: **Read:** Winston Churchill’s March 5, 1946 “Alliance of English-Speaking People,” [Better known as the “Iron Curtain” speech] (In Packet)
- Week Four: The Other “Long Telegrams” of 1946
- February 5: **Read:** The Novikov Telegram and the Roberts Cables in Jensen, *Origins of the Cold War*, pp. 1-16 and 33-70.
- February 7: **Read:** The Clifford-Elsey Report (In Packet)

Week Five: The Truman Doctrine Speech and the Marshall Plan Address

February 12: **Read:** Harry S. Truman, "Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947" [Better known as the Truman Doctrine Speech] (In Packet), and George C. Marshall, "European Unity: The Marshall Plan."(In Packet).

February 14: The Berlin Blockade

Week Six: NSC 68, The Campaign of Truth, and the Onset of the Korean War

February 19: **Read:** May, *American Cold War Strategy*, "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security" (April 14, 1950), pp. 23-82.

February 21: **Read:** Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, chapter 3 by Newman; Harry S. Truman, "Address on Foreign Policy at the American Society of Newspaper Editors," April 20, 1950 (In Packet).

Week Seven: The Strange Case of Alger Hiss and the Rise of Joseph McCarthy

February 26: **Read:** Joseph Raymond McCarthy, "The Great Betrayal" (In Packet); Medhurst, et al., *Cold War Rhetoric*, chapter 6 by Ivie

February 28: **Read:** Harry S. Truman, "Far Eastern Policy" (In Packet); Robert A. Taft, "Our Misguided Foreign Policy" (In Packet)

Week Eight: Eisenhower: Rhetoric and National Security, 1950-1957

March 4: **Read:** Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Crusade for Freedom" (1950) and John Foster Dulles, "From Negative Containment to Liberation." (1952) [In Packet]; Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, chapter 4 by Parry-Giles.

March 6: **Read:** Dwight D. Eisenhower, "The Chance for Peace" (1953) [In Packet] and "Atoms for Peace," (1953) [In Packet]; and Medhurst, et al., *Cold War Rhetoric*, chapter 3 by Medhurst.

SPRING BREAK

Week Nine: Khrushchev, Sputnik, and the U-2 Affair

March 18: **Read:** Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Our Future Security," (November 19, 1957) [In Packet]; Dwight D. Eisenhower, Excerpts from "The President's News Conference of May 11, 1960," and Excerpts from "Statement by the President Concerning the Position Taken by Chairman Khrushchev at the Opening of the Summit Conference, May 16, 1960." [In Packet].

March 20: **Mid-Term Exam**

Week Ten: JFK, the Bay of Pigs, Berlin, and the Cuban Missile Crisis

March 25: **Read:** John F. Kennedy, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," (October 22, 1962) [In Packet] and Kennedy, "The American University Address," [In Packet]; and Medhurst, et al., *Cold War Rhetoric*, chapter 4 by Medhurst.

March 27: **Read:** J. W. Fulbright, "Foreign Policy: Old Myths and New Realities" (1964) [In Packet]; and Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, chapter 7 by Woods.

Week Eleven: LBJ and the Vietnam War

April 1: **Read:** Lyndon B. Johnson, "A Pattern for Peace in Southeast Asia: The Johns Hopkins Speech." (1965) [In Packet]; Dean Rusk, "Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," (1966) [In Packet].

April 3: The Vietnam War

Week Twelve: Nixon, Kissinger, and the Rhetoric of Detente

April 8: **Read:** H.W. Brands, “The World in a Word: The Rise and Fall of Detente,” (In Packet); Henry Kissinger, “The Western Alliance: Peace and Moral Purpose,” (July 26, 1976) [In Packet].

April 10: **Read:** Ronald Reagan, “Address to the National Association of Evangelicals” March 8, 1983 (better known as “The Evil Empire” speech); Ronald Reagan, “Nicaragua” (1986) [In Packet]; Medhurst, “Writing Speeches for Ronald Reagan: An Interview with Tony Dolan,” (In Packet).

Week Thirteen: The First Persian Gulf War and the Rhetoric of Demonization

April 15: **Read:** George H.W. Bush, “Iraqi Aggression in the Persian Gulf,” (September 11, 1990) [In Packet]; William Jefferson Clinton, “Remarks at Freedom House Breakfast,” (October 6, 1995) accessible through www.presidentialrhetoric.com. Click on “Links” and then on “Public Papers of the Presidents.” Medhurst and Brands, *Critical Reflections on the Cold War*, chapter 10 by Ivie.

April 17: Dia Del Oso—No Class

Read: George W. Bush, “Our Mission and Our Moment,” (September 20, 2001) accessible at www.presidentialrhetoric.com. Click on “Speeches.” We will discuss this on April 22.

Week Fourteen: 9/11, Terrorism, and the Future of American National Security Policy

April 22: **Read:** Colin Powell, “Remarks to the United Nations Security Council,” (February 5, 2003). Go to Google and type in “Colin Powell speech at U.N.” Also George W. Bush, “Outline for the Future of Iraq,” at www.presidentialrhetoric.com. Also David Zarefsky, “Making the Case for War: Colin Powell at the United Nations,” in *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 275-302.

April 24: **Read:** Sue Lockett, et al., “Going Public, Crisis after Crisis: The Bush Administration and the Press from September 11 to Saddam,” pp. 195-219; Robert L. Ivie, “Fighting Terror by Rite of Redemption and Reconciliation,” pp. 221-248; Kathleen Hall Jamieson, “Justifying the War in Iraq: What the Bush Administration’s Uses of Evidence Reveal,” pp. 249-274, all in *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, ed. Herbert W. Simons, 2007.

Week Fifteen: The War on Terror and Democratic Governance

April 29: **Read:** Ivie, *Democracy and America’s War on Terror*, chapt. 1-3

May 1 : **Read:** Ivie, *Democracy and America’s War on Terror*, chapt. 4-conclusion.

Monday, May 5: **Research papers due by 5:00 pm today!**

Select Bibliography

Michael R. Beschloss, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963*.

Michael R. Beschless, *May-Day: Eisenhower, Khrushchev and the U-2 Affair*.

David Callahan, *Dangerous Capabilities: Paul Nitze and the Cold War*.

Paul Chilton, *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House*.

Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror*.

Robert A. Divine, *Blowing on the Wind: The Nuclear Test Ban Debate, 1954-1960*.

Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge: Eisenhower's Response to the Soviet Satellite*.

Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective*.

David Frum and Richard Pearle, *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror*.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold war, 1941-1947*.

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*.

Fraser J. Harbutt, *The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America, and the Origins of the Cold War*.

Zalmay Khalilzad, *From Containment to Global Leadership?*

Klaus Larres, *Churchill's Cold War*.

Vojtech Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War*.

Martin J. Medhurst, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Strategic Communicator*

David E. Murphy, *Battleground Berlin*.

Paul Pierpaoli, *Truman and Korea: The Political Culture of the Early Cold War*.

Lisle A. Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950*.

Herbert F. York, *The Advisers: Oppenheimer, Teller, and the Superbomb*.

Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only*

Nancy E. Bernhard, *U.S. Television News and Cold War Propaganda, 1947-1960*

Michael R. Beschloss, *May-Day: Eisenhower, Khrushchev and the U-2 Affair*

Timothy J. Botti, *Ace in the Hole: Why the United States Did Not Use Nuclear Weapons in the Cold War*

David Callahan, *Dangerous Capabilities: Paul Nitze and the Cold War*

Paul Chilton, *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House*

Stephen J. Cimbala, *U.S. Military Strategy and the Cold War End Game*

Richard Crockatt, *The Fifty Years War*

Richard B. Day, *Cold War Capitalism: The View from Moscow, 1945-1975*

Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge: Eisenhower's Response to the Soviet Satellite*

Elizabeth Edwards, *Truman, Containment, and the Cold War*

Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture*

Rosemary Foot, *A Substitute for Victory: The Politics of Peacemaking at the Korean Armistice Talks*

Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective*

Richard M. Fried, *The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!: Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold War America*

John Lewis Gaddis, et al. eds., *Cold War Statesmen Confront the Bomb: Nuclear Diplomacy Since 1945*

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*

Michael D. Gambone, *Eisenhower, Somoza, and the Cold War in Nicaragua, 1953-1961*

Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations*

Fred I. Greenstein, *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader*

Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America's Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain*

Fraser J. Harbutt, *The Iron Curtain: Churchill, America, and the Origins of the Cold War*

Elizabeth Hazard, *Cold War Crucible*

Arthur Herman, *Joseph McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator*

Lynn Boyd Hinds and Theodore Otto Windt, *Cold War Rhetoric: The Beginning*

Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*

Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954*

Robert Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War*

Richard H. Immerman, ed., *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War*

Zachary Karabell, *Architects of Intervention: The United States, the Third World, and the Cold War, 1946-1962*

George F. Kennan, *George F. Kennan and the Origins of Containment, 1944-1946*

Carolyn Kennedy-Pipe, *Stalin's Cold War*

Zalmay Khalilzad, *From Containment to Global Leadership?*

Frank Kofsky, *Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation*

Michael Kort, *The Cold War*

Steven James Lambakis, *Winston Churchill, Architect of Peace: A Study of Statesmanship and the Cold War*

Deborah W. Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations During the Cold War*

Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*

Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Last Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*

Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union*

Robert James Maddox, *From War to Cold War: The Education of Harry S. Truman*

Vojtech Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity*

Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan*

Martin J. Medhurst, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Strategic Communicator*

Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Eisenhower's War of Words: Rhetoric and Leadership*

David E. Murphy, Sergei A. Kondrashev, and George Bailey, *Battleground Berlin: CIA vs. KGB in the Cold War*

John F. Neville, *The Press, the Rosenbergs, and the Cold War*

Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture*

Thomas Parrish, *Berlin in the Balance: The Blockade, the Airlift, the First Major Battle of the Cold War*

Paul G. Pierpaoli, *Truman and Korea: The Political Culture of the Early Cold War*

David Pietrusza, *The End of the Cold War*

Ronald E. Powaski, *The Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917-1991*

Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*

Peter Rodman, *More Precious Than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World*

Lisle A. Rose, *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950*

Gary D. Rawnsley, ed., *Cold War Propaganda in the 1950s*

Christopher Andrew Rosato, *Intimidating the Enemy: An Assessment of Power Imaging in Four Cold War Presidential Administrations*

Shawn Rosenheim, *The Cryptographic Imagination*

Frances Stoner Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*

Pierre Senarclens, *From Yalta to the Iron Curtain*

Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945-1960*

Alvin A. Snyder, *Warriors of Disinformation: American Propaganda, Soviet Lies, and the Winning of the Cold War*

S.J. Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist: Walter Duranty: The New York Times Man in Moscow*

Robert D. Ubricco, *Harry S. Truman, the Politics of Yalta, and the Domestic Origins of the Truman Doctrine*

Robert Underhill, *The Truman Persuasions*

George R. Urban, *Radio Free Europe and the Pursuit of Democracy*

Reinhard Wagnleitner, *Coca-colonization and the Cold War*

Stanley Weintraub, *MacArthur's War: Korea and the Undoing of an American Hero*

John Kenneth White, *Still Seeing Red: How the Cold War Shapes the New American Politics*

Jay Winik, *On the Brink*

Edwin Yoder, *Joe Alsop's Cold War: A Study of Journalistic Influence and Intrigue*

Herbert F. York, *Making Weapons, Talking Peace*

John W. Young, *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991*

Vladislav M. Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*