

17.403 // Tues. & Thurs., 11:00-12:00, Room 35-225
 MIT Political Science Department
 Prof.: Stephen Van Evera (E38-610)
 TAs: Dan Carter, Andrea Gabbitas, Sarah Lischer, and Chris Twomey

Fall 2000
 Draft 1.3

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Course mission: to explain and evaluate America's past and present foreign policies. What caused America's past involvement in foreign wars and interventions? Were the results of American policies good or bad? Would other policies have better served America and/or the wider world? Were the beliefs that guided American policy true or false? If false, what explains these misperceptions? General theories that bear on the causes and consequences of American policy will be applied to explain and evaluate past and present policies.

The history of American foreign policy in the 20th century is covered in detail. Functional topics are also covered: American military policy, American foreign economic policy, and American policy on human rights and democracy overseas. Finally, we will predict and prescribe for the future: what policies should the U.S. adopt toward current crises --e.g., in the Balkans, Central Africa, the Taiwan Straits, and the former Soviet Union? What should be America's stance on global environmental and human rights questions?

Format & Requirements: Class format: two 1-hour general meetings and one 1-hour discussion section meeting per week. Class starts promptly at 11:05, ends at 11:55. Grades are based on section participation (15%), two short papers (40%), final exam (30%), and two quizzes (15%). Students must also complete three ungraded response papers that react to class readings and lectures. The five writing assignments will total 20 pages. Thus this course conforms to the mechanical requirements for all HASS-D courses.

* Discussion sections: students are expected to complete required readings before section and to attend section regularly. Section attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absence from section will be penalized.

Sections will include a public speaking exercise, in the format of "congressional hearings" where you are asked to frame and defend to the group a viewpoint on a foreign policy issue.

* Papers: students will write three short response papers that react to course readings and lectures, and two longer papers on questions arising from the course material. The first two response papers will be one page long (doublespaced--not 1.5 spaced, please), the third will be two pages. The longer papers will be 8 pages. One 8-page paper assignment asks you to explain a past case of American conduct--what accounts for American behavior? A second 8-page assignment asks you to evaluate a past American policy: was the policy appropriate, or would another policy have produced better results?

The first response paper is due the week of Sept. 25-29; the second is due the week of Oct. 9-13; the third is due the week of Oct. 23-27. The first 8-page paper is due at 11:00 a.m. (class time) on Thursday, November 9. The second is due at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, December 5. Please leave yourself time to submit outlines or rough drafts of the 8-page papers to your TAs before you submit final drafts.

Your three response papers should advance an argument about the reading or lectures. Your argument can dispute argument(s) advanced in the reading or lectures; can concur with argument(s) advanced in the reading or lecture; can assess or explain policies or historical events described in the reading and lectures; or can relate current events in the press today to ideas or events in the readings or lectures. We encourage evaluation of policies or ideas covered in the reading or lecture. Are they right or wrong? Good or bad? Somewhere in your paper--preferably at the beginning--please offer a 1-2 sentence summary of your argument. The first two should be one page (double spaced), the third should be two pages (double spaced). They will not be graded but are mandatory and must be completed to receive full credit for class participation.

Late papers will be penalized unless extensions are granted well in advance of the paper deadline. Extensions will not be granted except in emergency situations.

* Quizzes: two short (15 minute) quizzes will be given. Quiz dates are October 5 (Thursday) and November 16 (Thursday). Three short (define-and-identify) questions will be asked on each quiz.

* Final exam: a list of study questions will be circulated before the final. The final exam questions will be drawn from this list. Students are encouraged to study together to prepare their answers. The final will also include short-answer questions that will not be distributed in advance.

* Films: the 17.403 film society. Two optional evening film-showings will be organized during the term. Films on the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War will be shown. Dates and places TBA.

This is an undergraduate course, but is open to graduate students.

Books to purchase, available at the MIT COOP bookstore:

- Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 5th ed. (2000)
 John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy (1982)
 George C. Herring, America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975, 3rd ed. (1996)
 Robert F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971)

These books are also on reserve at Dewey library (building E-53, on Wadsworth Street.) All other readings will be available as photocopied coursenotes, and can be purchased from the Technology Copy Center, in the basement of building E-52 (also on Wadsworth St.)

Also at the Coop, in the section for another course (17.428), should be a book that will improve your papers:

- Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 6th ed., rev. by John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Turabian is not required for 17.403 but you will want to own a copy. She has

the basic rules for how to format footnotes, etc. Learn and obey them.

Readings in books available in the COOP bookstore are denoted below with a "B"; coursenotes readings are denoted below with a "CN"; readings that are handed out in class are denoted below with an "H".

Some of the "further reading" (see p. 9, below) are on reserve at Dewey library, for your consultation should you want to do further reading for your paper assignments. These are denoted with a pound ("#") sign.

Assigned readings average 85 pages per week over 14 weeks. However, note that readings are heavier for some weeks. You should plan ahead and budget your time so you can complete the heavy readings.

CLASS TOPICS

I. THEORIES AND STRATEGIES

Sept. 7: Introduction.

No readings assigned.

Sept. 12: Overview of American Foreign Policy Since 1914.

- H 1. Tables from Paul Kennedy, Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, and Kenneth Oye, ed., Eagle in a New World. Class discussion will focus on tables 6, 17, 18, 31, 35, 4-1, and chart 2 on pages 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 19, and 20 (handwritten numeration), so study these seven with more care; the rest can be skimmed.

Sept. 14, 19, 21: Theories of American Foreign Policy. (123 pages assigned)

- CN 1. Stephen Van Evera, "Offense, Defense and the Causes of War," manuscript, pp. 1-36. Your instructor's summary of the argument, made famous by Robert Jervis, that war is more likely when conquest is easy. A key related argument: international conflict arises largely from the "security dilemma" --the tendency of states to threaten others' security by their efforts to secure themselves.

Can the U.S. prevent war by making conquest hard in world trouble-spots? Have America's past conflict with others arisen from the security dilemma?

- CN 2. Stephen Walt, The Origins of Alliances, chapter 2 ("Explaining Alliance Formation"), pp. 17-49. Walt presents competing hypotheses on how states choose their friends. Which hypotheses are valid? Do your answers matter for the kind of foreign policy you would recommend?
- CN 3. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Some ("spiral model" advocates) say international conflict is best resolved by the carrot, while using the stick merely provokes; others ("deterrence" advocates) would use the stick, warning that offering carrots ("appeasement") leads others to make more demands. Who's right? Probably both--but under what circumstances? And how can you tell which circumstances you face?
- CN 4. Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), pp. 171-173, 731-733. Does the American foreign policy elite share

America's wider democratic values? We learn here that George Kennan thought women, blacks, and immigrants should be denied the vote; Kennan and Dean Acheson saw little wrong with the white minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa; and John McCloy adopted the cause of Iran's Pahlevi family. Not your typical League of Women Voters views.

- CN 5. Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power (NY: Summit, 1983), pp. 108-111. What to make of the attitudes of Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Alexander Haig reported here? (Are such attitudes widespread among foreign policymakers? Do such attitudes matter?)
- CN 6. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. Pearson thinks the American press is obedient to official views, and afraid to criticize. Anti-establishment paranoia or the real picture?
- CN 7. Michael R. Beschloss, "Foreign Policy's Big Moment," New York Times, April 11, 1999, p. 4/17. Claimed here: during political campaigns U.S. politicians pander to U.S. voters by framing dangerous foreign policy positions that they cannot abandon once in office. The country is thereby led into folly. A corollary: a prime threat to America is ... an American public that responds well to irresponsible pandering.

Sept. 26, 28, Oct. 3: American interests and grand strategies. (123 pages assigned.)

- B 1. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, pp. 25-53. George Kennan was a prime intellectual architect of America's Cold War containment policy. Gaddis explicates his ideas.
- CN 2. Stephen Van Evera, "American Intervention in the Third World: Less Would Be Better," Security Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn 1991), pp. 1-24. The instructor's largely Kennanite analysis of past American strategy toward the Third World.
- CN 3. Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Still Matters," International Security, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1992/93), pp. 127-159. David argues that the Third World mattered in the Cold War and still matters today. An anti-Kennan view.
- CN 4. Samuel P. Huntington, "America's Changed Strategic Interests," Survival, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January/February 1991), pp. 3-17. A conservative view of America's post-Cold War global interests.
- CN 5. Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing U.S. Grand Strategies," in Strategy and Force Planning Faculty, eds., Strategy and Force Planning (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995), pp. 115-134. A survey of four contending post-

Cold War grand strategies. Which strategy is best? (Is this list complete?)

- CN 6. Stephen P. Marks, "Promoting Human Rights," in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., World Security (NY: St. Martin's 1991), pp. 295-320. What are human rights, and how can they best be protected? Is it America's business to protect them?

II. AMERICA'S MAJOR WARS: WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II, COLD WAR, & KOREA

Oct. 5, 12, 17, 19: World War I and World War II. (136 pages assigned)

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford, and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 55-62, 68-92, 117-125, 128-136, 141-153, 173-215. A standard textbook history of American policies before and during the two world wars.

Oct. 24, 26: Cold War Origins & Conduct; the Korean War. (107 pages assigned)

A. Cold War origins and conduct:

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 222-249. A standard textbook account of the Cold Wars's origins, from a viewpoint somewhat critical of U.S. policy.

B. Korea:

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 266-275.

III. INTERLUDE: U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY; U.S. FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Oct. 31, Nov. 2: American National Security Policy, 1945-1999. (200 pages assigned)

- CN 1. Amos A. Jordan, William J. Taylor, and Lawrence J. Korb, American National Security: Policy and Process, 4th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), chapters 4 and 11 ("The Evolution of American National Security Policy" and "Nuclear Strategy"), pp. 63-86, 233-246.

- B 2. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, pp. 3-24, 54-197. Review also pp. 25-53 (assigned above for Sept. 27.) An excellent analytic account of American security policy under Truman and Eisenhower, by a leading American historian.

Nov. 7, 9: American Foreign Economic Policy, 1945-1999. (25 pages assigned).

- CN 1. "World Trade: Jousting for Advantage," The Economist, September 22, 1990, pp. 5-25; and "World Trade: All Free Traders Now?," The Economist, December 7, 1996, pp. 21-23. The first item is a pro-free-trade survey of the basic questions in trade, and a preview of the now-passed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), Uruguay Round. Focus on pp. 12-19, "The Economics of Free Trade," which explicates David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage; you can skim the rest. The second item surveys later trade issues.
- CN 2. Barbara Crosette, "Foreign Aid Budget: Quick, How Much? Wrong," New York Times, February 27, 1995, p. A6; and Jeffrey D. Sachs, "When Foreign Aid Makes a Difference," New York Times, February 3, 1997, p. A17. Crosette has foreign aid facts, Sachs has foreign aid do's and don'ts.
- CN 3. "The Kindness of Strangers," The Economist, May 7, 1994, pp. 19-22. A skeptical view of foreign aid.
- CN 4. Committee for Economic Development, "The Trade Deficit Harms the U.S. Economy," and John Rutledge and Deborah Allen, "The Trade Deficit Helps the U.S. Economy," in William Dudley, ed., Trade: Opposing Viewpoints (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1991), pp. 175-187. Is the U.S. trade deficit bad or good for the U.S.?
- CN 5. Review again Samuel Huntington, "America's Changed Strategic Interests," assigned above for Sept. 26--see his remarks on the importance of economic primacy.

IV. COLD WAR CRISES: BERLIN, TAIWAN STRAITS, AND CUBA 1962

Nov. 14, 16: The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis; other Cold War Crises. (116 pages assigned)

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 291-295, 335-340. Standard synopses of the Taiwan Straits crises and the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- B 2. Kennedy, Thirteen Days, pp. 1-106. A gripping memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis by a central participant.
- CN 3. Fred Kaplan, "Kennedy and Cuba at 35," Boston Sunday Globe, October 12, 1997, pp. D1-D3. Recent revelations about the Cuban Missile Crisis. JFK was the most dovish official in the government. He secretly traded the U.S. Jupiter missiles in Turkey for the Soviet missiles in Cuba. He was willing to give even further if needed. What if someone else had been president?

V. AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD

Nov. 21, 28: The Indochina War, 1950-1975. (125 pages assigned)

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 315-333, 340-354. A standard synopsis of the main events of the war.
- B 2. Herring, America's Longest War, chapters 4 and 7 (pp. 121-157, 242-283). A more detailed account, from a middle-of-the-road perspective, of the key decisions to escalate and de-escalate the war. Herring's book is the most prominent general history of the war.
- CN 3. Lyndon B. Johnson, "American Policy in Viet-Nam," in Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds. The Viet-Nam Reader (NY: Vintage, 1967), pp. 343-351. This statement, Johnson's famous Johns Hopkins University speech of April 7, 1965, was the fullest official explication of the case for the war.
- CN 4. Sol W. Sanders & William Henderson, "The Consequences of 'Vietnam'", Orbis, vol. 21, no. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 61-76. The authors re-evaluate the propositions at issue in the debate over the war, concluding that postwar events show that the hawks were right, and the doves wrong.
- CN 5. Clark Clifford with Richard Holbrooke, Counsel to the President (NY: Random House, 1991), pp. 612-614. A short counterpoint to Sanders and Henderson.

Nov. 30, Dec. 5: Other American interventions: those of 1900-1934 (Panama, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Mexico, Russia); 1945-1993 (Iran 1953, Guatemala 1954, Chile 1973, Angola 1975, Indonesia 1957, Guyana 1964, Congo 1960ff, the wars of the Reagan Doctrine, Panama 1989, Persian Gulf 1991, Somalia 1992-93); and non-interventions (Mexico in 1930s; Bolivia in 1950s). (114 pages assigned)

- B 1. Paterson, Clifford and Hagan, American Foreign Policy, pp. 32-51, 97-101, 153-162, 164-167, 379-383, 440-446, 477-493.
- CN 2. Richard J. Barnet, Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements Around the World (New York: Meridian, 1972), chapter 10 ("The Subversion of Undesirable Governments"), pp. 264-293. A short history of some of the better-known CIA Cold War covert operations.
- CN 3. Peter J. Schraeder, "Paramilitary Intervention," in Peter J. Schraeder, ed., Intervention Into the 1990s, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992), chapter 8, pp. 131-151; focus on pp. 137-149 ("The Reagan Doctrine and Paramilitary Intervention"), skim the rest. The four wars waged under the rubric of the Reagan Doctrine are described here.
- CN 1. Alexander L. George, "Epilogue: The Persian Gulf Crisis, 1990 -

1991," in Alexander L. George, ed., Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management (Boulder: Westview, 1991), pp. 567-576. An account of the outbreak of the Gulf conflict.

VI. THE ROAD AHEAD: CURRENT CRISES AND FUTURE POLICIES

December 7, 12: The Cold War's demise; current crises; the future of American foreign policy. (40 pages assigned)

- CN 1. Frank Fukuyama, "The End of History?" in John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 268-286. Fukuyama forecasts that the spread of democratic ideas will spread peace worldwide over the next several centuries, ending forever the cycle of wars that have plagued human history.
- CN 2. Samuel P. Huntington, "No Exit: The Errors of Endism," in John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992), pp. 287-295. Huntington's pessimistic reply to Fukuyama.
- CN 3. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Coming Clash of Civilizations: Or, the West Against the Rest," New York Times, June 6, 1993, p. E19. Humankind will again be at its own throat, this time in a confrontation of great civilizations.
- CN 4. John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen Van Evera, "When Peace Means War," The New Republic, December 18, 1995, pp. 16-21. Is the U.S. wise enough to settle other people's civil wars? A skeptical view of an ongoing U.S. attempt. (As of fall 2000* the U.S. is still trying to implement the Dayton accord ...)
- CN 5. Nicholas D. Kristoff, "The Real Chinese Threat," New York Times Magazine, August 27, 1995, pp. 50-51. The Chinese are coming.
- CN 6. Robert Kagan, "China's No. 1 Enemy," New York Times, May 11, 1999, p. A27. China hates the United States. Appeasing China will only encourage Chinese expansionism and bring on a Sino-American clash.
- CN 7. Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., "Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77, No. 4 (July/August 1998), pp. 6-11. Taiwan could suck the U.S. into a Taiwan-PRC conflict unless the U.S. restrains Taiwan now.
- CN 8. "Tables by Hannes Adomeit." Some alarming demographic data on the former USSR.
- H 9. Josef Joffe, "A Warning from Putin and Schröder," New York Times, June 20, 2000. Could the United States provoke the rest of the world coalesce against it? What U.S. actions could bring this about? Would national missile defense move us in that direction? Joffe thinks so.

H10. Frederick Seitz, "Missile Defense Isn't Rocket Science," Wall Street Journal, July 7, 2000. A positive view of national missile defense.

FURTHER READING

Readings denoted below with a "##" are on reserve at Dewey library.

Historiographical surveys on American foreign policy:

- ## Jerald A. Combs, American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). An excellent overview of American diplomatic historiography.
- John M. Carroll and George C. Herring, eds., Modern American Diplomacy, rev. ed. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1996). A collection of bibliographic review essays on aspects of American diplomatic history.
- Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981). Like Carroll & Herring, a collection of bibliographic review essays.
- Michael Hogan, ed., America and the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941 (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Fourteen historiographical reviews, most from the journal Diplomatic History.

Bibliographies on American foreign policy:

- The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), Guide to American Foreign Relations Since 1700, ed. Richard Dean Burns (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1983). An enormous (1311 pages) and excellent bibliography.
- Benjamin R. Beede, Intervention and Counterinsurgency: An Annotated Bibliography of the Small Wars of the United States, 1898-1984 (NY: Garland, 1985).
- Myron J. Smith, Jr., The Secret Wars: A Guide to Sources in English. Vol. 2: Intelligence, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare, Covert Operations, 1945-1980 (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 1981)

For more bibliographies see also:

- Foreign Affairs: this journal's "Recent Books on International Relations" section reviews most important books on U.S. foreign policy.
- American Historical Review: more than half of this journal is devoted to useful book reviews, many of books on U.S. foreign relations.
- Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 4th ed. (1995); this text (assigned for this course) has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.
- Jerald A. Combs, The History of American Foreign Policy, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf, 1986); this text also has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Textbooks and surveys:

- ## Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, 10th ed.

(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980)

Jerald A. Combs, The History of American Foreign Policy, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf, 1986)

Howard Jones, The Course of American Diplomacy: From the Revolution to the Present, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Dorsey, 1988)

Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process, 5th ed. (NY: St. Martin's, 1996)

Frederick H. Hartmann and Robert L. Wendzel, America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World (NY: HarperCollins, 1994)

Richard A. Melanson, American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)

George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950 (NY: New American Library, 1951)

John G. Stoessinger, Nations in Darkness: Russia, China, and America, 5th ed. (NY: McGraw, 1990) (An interpretive survey.)

Historical document & essay collections:

Thomas G. Paterson and Dennis Merrill, eds., Major Problems in American Foreign Relations, 2 vols, 4th ed. (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1994)

Thomas G. Paterson, ed. Major Problems in American Foreign Policy, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1989)

Journals:

Diplomatic History. The main journal covering American diplomatic history.

Journal of Cold War History. A promising new history journal.

American Historical Review. A general historical journal that gives good coverage to American diplomatic history.

Foreign Policy. A prominent if irritatingly undocumented journal of current policy.

Foreign Affairs. The first and most famous journal of American foreign policy opinion. Published by the Council on Foreign Relations. For many decades it offered yawnsome pontifications by senior officials who repeated conventional wisdoms. In the 1970s, and also more recently, it has shown marked signs of life.

International Security. The leading American journal of military and foreign policy.

Security Studies. Another journal of military and foreign policy.

The National Interest. The leading conservative foreign policy journal.

Survival. A Europe-oriented journal of military and foreign policy.

Press & radio on world affairs:

The Economist. A British weekly newsmagazine. The best single printed news source on current world affairs.

The Far Eastern Economic Review. A fine newsmagazine covering Asian affairs.

BBC World Service. Good world news coverage, aired in Boston at 9:00-10:00 a.m., 7:00-7:30 p.m., 10:00-10:30 p.m., and 12:00-1:00 a.m. daily on WBUR

(90.9 FM radio). Less fun than KISS 108 but better for your brain.

Readers on current policy questions:

Kenneth A. Oye, Robert J. Lieber and Donald Rothchild, Eagle in a New World: American Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War Era (NY: HarperCollins, 1992)
John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992)

Theories of International Politics & of American Foreign Policy:

Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy,"
Diplomatic History, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 15-44.
Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues, 3rd ed. (NY: 1992)
K.J. Holsti, The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985)
Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979)
Benjamin Cohen, The Question of Imperialism (NY: Basic Books, 1973)
G. John Ikenberry, ed., American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays (NY: HarperCollins, 1989)
Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence (NY: St. Martin's, 1988)

Peace Movements:

Robert David Johnson, The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994)

Foreign lobbies, propaganda, and the press as influences on American foreign policy:

Jarol B. Mannheim, Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy (NY: Oxford University Press, 1994)
Ross Y. Koen, The China Lobby in American Politics (NY: Harper & Row, 1974)
Nicholas John Cull, Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995)
Horace C. Peterson, Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914-1917 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939)
J. Duane Squires, British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935)
Warren P. Strobel, Late-Breaking Foreign Policy: The News Media's Influence on Peace Operations (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1998)
Johanna Neuman, Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International Politics? (NY: St. Martin's, 1996)
Philip Seib, Headline Diplomacy: How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997)

American Grand Strategy:

- Robert J. Art, "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy After the Cold War," International Security, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Spring, 1991), pp. 5-53. A survey of American interests and strategic choices after the Cold War.
- Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky, "Come Home America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation," International Security, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy," International Security (Summer 1989), Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 5-49. A late Cold War argument for U.S. engagement in Europe and withdrawal from the Third World.
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., America's Strategy in a Changing World: An International Security Reader (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992)
- Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Matters," International Security, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Summer 1989), pp. 50-85. A late Cold War argument for continued engagement in the Third World.
- Nicholas Spykman, America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1942). A prominent early argument for European engagement, premised on geopolitics.
- James Burnham, Containment or Liberation? An Inquiry into the Aims of United States Foreign Policy (NY: John Day, 1954). The best statement of the rollback viewpoint.
- Robert W. Tucker, A New Isolationism: Threat or Promise? (Washington, DC: Potomac Associates, 1972). A statement of the isolationist viewpoint.

The United States and Human Rights:

- David P. Forsythe, Human Rights and World Politics, 2nd ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983)
- David Forsythe, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Congress Reconsidered (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988)
- Richard Claude and Burns Weston, eds., Human Rights in the World Community: Issues and Action (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989)
- Lars Schoultz, Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)
- Human Rights Watch, The Bush Administration's Record on Human Rights in 1989 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990)
- Human Rights Watch, World Report 1990 (NY: Human Rights Watch, 1991), and later years.
- Jerome Slater and Terry Nardin, "Nonintervention and Human Rights," Journal of Politics, Vol. 48 (1986), pp. 86-96.
- Morton H. Halperin and David Scheffer, with Patricia L. Small, Self-Determination in the New World Order (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, 1992)
- Walter Lacqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., The Human Rights Reader, rev. ed. (NY: Meridian, 1990)

The United States and democracy:

- Thomas Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)
- Tony Smith, America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Foreign aid and NGOs:

- Michael Maren, The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity (NY: Free Press, 1997)

The United States and World War I:

- ## Ross Gregory, The Origins of American Intervention in the First World War (NY: W.W. Norton, 1971)
- ## Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1979)
- Kendrick A. Clements, The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992), pp. 93-203.
- Thomas J. Knock, To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, Woodrow Wilson: A Life for World Peace, trans. Herbert Rowen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)
- N. Gordon Levin, Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution (NY: Oxford University Press, 1968)
- John W. Coogan, The End of Neutrality: The United States, Britain, and Maritime Rights, 1899-1915 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981)
- Horace C. Peterson, Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914-1917 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939)
- J. Duane Squires, British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935)
- Charles A. Beard, The Devil Theory of War: An Inquiry into the Nature of History and the Possibility of Keeping Out of War (NY: Vanguard Press, 1936)
- Edward H. Buerhig, Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1968)
- Ernest R. May, The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); excerpted in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., The Use of Force, 1st ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp. 298-315.

The United States and World War II:

- ## Justus D. Doenecke and John E. Wilz, From Isolation to War, 1931-1941 (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1991). The best single -volume survey.
- Justus D. Doenecke, "U.S. Policy and the European War, 1939 -1941," Diplomatic

- History, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Fall 1995), pp. 669-698.
- Robert A. Divine, The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II (Huntington, NY: Krieger, 1976)
- Bruce M. Russett, No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry Into World War II (New York: Harper & Row, 1972)
- Jonathan G. Utley, Going to War With Japan, 1937-1941 (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985)
- Waldo Heinrichs, The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- William L. Neumann, America Encounters Japan (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963), pp. 184-289.
- James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt 1940-1945: The Soldier of Freedom (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970)
- Robert A. Divine, Roosevelt and World War II (NY: Penguin, 1970)
- Kent Roberts Greenfield, American Strategy in World War II: A Reconsideration (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963)
- Manfred Jonas, Isolationism in America, 1935-1941 (Chicago: Imprint, 1990)
- Selig Adler, The Uncertain Giant, 1921-1941: American Foreign Policy Between the Wars (NY: Collier, 1965)
- Selig Adler, The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction (NY: Abelard-Schuman, 1957)
- Nicholas John Cull, Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- David S. Wyman, Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941 (NY: Pantheon, 1968)
- David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945 (NY: Pantheon, 1984)
- Richard B. Frank, Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire (NY: Random House, 1999)

Origins of the Cold War:

- ## John Lewis Gaddis, Russia, The Soviet Union and the United States (NY: John Wiley, 1978), pp. 175-206.
- ## John Lewis Gaddis, The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947 (NY: Columbia U. Press, 1972)
- ## Thomas G. Paterson and Robert J. McMahon, eds., The Origins of the Cold War, 3rd ed. (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1991)
- John Lewis Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," Diplomatic History, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer 1983), pp. 171-190.
- Norman A. Graebner, ed., The Cold War (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1976)

Soviet-American relations, the Cold War:

- ## John W. Spanier, American Foreign Policy Since World War II, 12th ed. (NY: Praeger, 1992)
- John Lewis Gaddis, Russia, The Soviet Union and the United States (NY: John Wiley, 1978).
- Walter LaFeber, America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1992, 7th ed. (NY:

- McGraw-Hill, 1993)
- James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, United States Foreign Policy and World Order (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1989)
- Martin Walker, The Cold War: A History (NY: Henry Holt, 1993)
- Raymond Garthoff, Detente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1985)
- George F. Kennan, Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin (NY: New American Library, 1960)

Chinese-American Relations:

- Michael Schaller, The United States and China in the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed. (NY: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Rosemary Foot, The Practice of Power: U.S. Relations with China since 1949 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)
- Harry Harding, A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972 (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1992)
- John Stoessinger, Nations in Darkness--China, Russia, and America, 5th ed. (McGraw, 1990)
- Bevin Alexander, The Strange Connection: U.S. Intervention in China, 1944-1972 (NY: Greenwood, 1992)
- Hsiang-tse Chiang, The United States and China (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988)
- Thomas J. Christensen, Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-58 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Thomas J. Christensen, "A 'Lost Chance' For What? Rethinking the Origins of U.S.-PRC Confrontation," Journal of American-East Asian Relations, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 249-278.
- David Shambaugh, Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives America, 1972-1990 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
- Chas. W. Freeman, "Sino-American Relations: Back to Basics," Foreign Policy, Vol. 104 (Fall 1996), pp. 3-17.
- Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross, The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security (NY: W.W. Norton, 1997)
- Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, The Coming Conflict with China (NY: A.A. Knopf, 1997)
- Chi Wang, History of U.S.-China Relations: A Bibliographical Research Guide (McLean, Va.: Academic Press of America, 1991)

The Korean War:

- Stanley Sandler, ed., The Korean War: An Encyclopedia (NY: Garland, 1994)
- ## Burton I. Kaufmann, The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility, and Command (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986)
- ## Rosemary Foot, The Wrong War: American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict, 1950-1953 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985)
- ## John W. Spanier, The Truman-MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War (NY: W.W. Norton, 1965)
- Peter Lowe, The Origins of the Korean War (NY: Longmans, 1986)

- James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, United States Foreign Policy and World Order, pp. 142-190.
- Bernard Brodie, War and Politics, (NY: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 57-112.
- Morton H. Halperin, "The Korean War", in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., The Use of Force, 3rd ed. (NY: University Press of America, 1988), pp. 220-237.
- Allen Whiting, China Crosses the Yalu: The Decision to Enter the Korean War (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1960)
- Thomas J. Christensen, "Threats, Assurances, and the Last Chance for Peace," International Security, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992), pp. 122-154.
- Thomas J. Christensen, Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-1958 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Martin Lichterman, "To the Yalu and Back," in Harold Stein, ed., American Civil-Military Relations: A Book of Case Studies (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, for the Twentieth Century Fund, 1963), pp. 569-642.
- David Rees, Korea: The Limited War (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970)
- Glenn D. Paige, The Korean Decision, June 24-30 1950 (NY: Free Press, 1968)
- Robert R. Simmons, The Strained Alliance (NY: Free Press, 1975)
- Frank Baldwin, ed., Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945 (NY: Pantheon, 1974).
- William W. Stueck, Jr., Road to Confrontation: American Policy Toward China and Korea, 1947-1950 (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1981).
- Bruce Cumings, The Origins of the Korean War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)
- Robert Jervis, "The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War," Journal of Conflict Resolution vol. 24, no. 4 (Dec. 1980), pp. 563-92.

U.S. National Security Policy:

- Richard Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma: An Introduction to the American Experience in the Cold War (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1993)
- Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., The Use of Force, 3rd ed. (NY: University Press of America, 1988)
- John F. Reichart and Steven R. Sturm, eds., American Defense Policy, 5th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1982)
- Steven E. Miller, ed., Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence: An International Security Reader (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
- Steven E. Miller and Sean M. Lynn-Jones, eds., Conventional Forces and American Defense Policy: An International Security Reader, rev. ed. (Cambridge: MIT press, 1989)
- Steven E. Miller and Stephen Van Evera, eds., Naval Strategy and National Security: An International Security Reader (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Lynn Eden and Steven E. Miller, eds., Nuclear Arguments: Understanding the Strategic Nuclear Arms and Arms Control Debates (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)
- Scott D. Sagan, Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989)
- Fred Kaplan, The Wizards of Armageddon (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1983)
- Alain C. Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith, How Much Is Enough? Shaping the Defense

Program, 1961-1969 (NY: Harper Colophon, 1971)

U.S. Foreign Economic Policy:

Robert Z. Lawrence and Charles L. Schultze, eds., An American Trade Strategy: Options for the 1990s (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1990).

Robert Gilpin, The Political Economy of International Relations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

I.M. Destler, American Trade Politics, 2nd ed. (NY: Twentieth Century Fund, 1992).

Robert Gilpin, "The Politics of Transnational Economic Relations," in Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, eds., Transnational Relations and World Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 48-69.

Kenneth A. Oye, Economic Discrimination and Political Exchange (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Lester Thurow, Head to Head: The Coming Economic Battle Among Japan, Europe and America (NY: Warner, 1992).

Cold War Crises: Berlin, Offshore Islands, and Cuba 1962:

Berlin, 1948 & 1958-1962:

Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice (NY: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 107-136, 390-444.

Offshore Islands:

Gordon H. Chang, Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948-1972 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 116-142, 182-199.

Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice (NY: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 266-292, 363-386.

Cuban Missile Crisis:

Raymond Garthoff, Reflections on the Cuban Missile Crisis, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1989)

Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh, eds., The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive Documents Reader (NY: The New Press, 1992).

Marc Trachtenberg, ed., "White House Tapes and Minutes of the Cuban Missile Crisis: ExComm Meetings October 1962," International Security, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1985), pp. 164-203.

David A. Welch and James G. Blight, "An Introduction to the ExComm Transcripts," International Security, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Winter 1987/88), pp. 5-29.

McGeorge Bundy, transcriber, and James G. Blight, ed., "October 27, 1962: Transcripts of the Meetings of the ExComm," International Security, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Winter 1987/88), pp. 30-92.

- Elie Abel, The Missile Crisis (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1968)
- Graham Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971)
- Albert and Roberta Wohlstetter, "Controlling the Risks in Cuba", in Art and Waltz, The Use of Force, 3rd. ed., pp. 238-273.
- Robert A. Divine, ed., The Cuban Missile Crisis, 2nd. ed. (NY: Marcus Weiner, 1988)

The Indochina War:

- ## Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, eds. The Viet-Nam Reader (NY: Vintage, 1967)
- ## Robert J. McMahon, ed., Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1990)
- ## George McT. Kahin, Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam (NY: Knopf, 1986)
- ## George McT. Kahin & John W. Lewis, The United States in Vietnam rev. ed., (NY: Delta, 1969)
- ## David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest, 1973)
- ## Larry Berman, Lyndon Johnson's War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam (NY: Norton, 1989)
- ## Leslie H. Gelb with Richard K. Betts, The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked (Washington: Brookings, 1979)
- ## Richard M. Nixon, No More Vietnams (NY: Arbor House, 1985)
- ## Norman Podhoretz, Why We Were in Vietnam (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1982)
- ## Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, The Indochina Story (NY: Bantam, 1970)
- ## Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy, 1941-1968, rev. ed. (New York: Fawcett, 1968)
- ## William Shawcross, Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1979)
- ## Nayan Chanda, Brother Enemy: The War After the War: A History of Indochina Since the Fall of Saigon (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986)
- ## William Appleman Williams, Thomas McCormick, Lloyd Gardner, and Walter LaFeber, eds., America in Vietnam: A Documentary History (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1985)
- ## Marvin E. Gettleman, Jane Franklin, Marilyn Young and H. Bruce Franklin, eds. Vietnam and America, A Documentary History (NY: Grove Press, 1985)
- ## The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam, 4 vols. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973); also issued in an abridged edition by the New York Times: The New York Times, The Pentagon Papers (NY: NY Times, 1971)
- Larry Berman, Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam (NY: W.W. Norton, 1982)
- Jeffrey P. Kimball, To Reason Why: The Debate About the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990)
- William J. Duiker, U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994)
- Andrew J. Rotter, The Path to Vietnam: Origins of the American Commitment to

- Southeast Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987)
- Marilyn Blatt Young, The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990 (NY: HarperCollins, 1991)
- John Prados, The Hidden History of the Vietnam War (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1995)
- Robert D. Schulzinger, A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1941-1975 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- James C. Thomson, "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," in Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kanter, eds., Readings in American Foreign Policy: A Bureaucratic Perspective (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), pp. 98-110.
- Morris J. Blachman, "The Stupidity of Intelligence," in Halperin and Kantor, eds., Readings in American Foreign Policy, pp. 328-334.
- Sam Adams, "Vietnam Coverup: Playing War With Numbers," Harpers (May 1975), pp. 41-75.
- Peter A. Poole, Eight Presidents and Indochina (Huntington, NY: Krieger, 1978)
- Gareth Porter, ed., Vietnam: A History in Documents (NY: New American Library, 1981)
- Daniel Ellsberg, Papers on the War (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1972)
- Bernard Brodie, War and Politics (NY: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 113-222 ("Vietnam").
- F. M. Kail, What Washington Said: Administration Rhetoric and the Vietnam War, 1949-1969 (New York: HarperCollins, 1973)
- E.J. Kahn, The China Hands: America's Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them (NY: Viking, 1975)
- Irving Janis, Victims of Groupthink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), pp. 101-135 ("Escalation of the Vietnam War")
- Wallace Terry, Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans (NY: Random House, 1984)
- Tom Wells, The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1994)
- Philip Caputo, Rumor of War (NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1977)
- William Whitworth, Naive Questions About War and Peace (New York: Norton, 1970)
- John Prados, The Hidden History of the Vietnam War (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1995)
- David L. DiLeo, George Ball, Vietnam, and the Rethinking of Containment (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991)
- Jerome Slater, "The Domino Theory and International Politics: The Case of Vietnam," Security Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1993/94), pp. 186-224; and Douglas J. MacDonald, "Falling Dominoes and System Dynamics: A Risk Aversion Perspective," in *ibid*, pp. 225-258.
- William Griffin and John Marciano, Teaching the Vietnam War (Montclair, N.J.: Allenheld-Osmond, 1980), pp. xv-51.

A bibliography is:

- ## Richard Dean Burns and Milton Leitenberg, The Wars in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, 1945-1982: A Bibliographic Guide (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 1984)

The Spanish-American-Filipino War, 1898-1902:

- Benjamin R. Beede, ed., The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions 1898-1934: An

- Encyclopedia (NY: Garland, 1994)
- David Healy, U.S. Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890s (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1970)
- John L. Offner, An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain Over Cuba, 1895-1898 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992)
- Robert L. Beisner, From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865-1900 (NY: Crowell, 1975)
- Thomas G. Paterson and Stephen G. Rabe, eds., Imperial Surge: The United States Abroad, the 1890s-Early 1900s (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1992)
- Ivan Musicant, Empire By Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century (New York: Henry Holt, 1998)
- Louis Halle, Dream and Reality: Aspects of American Foreign Policy (NY: Harper Colophon, 1974), pp. 176-214.
- .Daniel B. Schirmer, Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1972)
- Walter LaFeber, The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963)
- John A.S. Grenville and George Berkley Young, Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy, 1873-1917 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 239-296.
- Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)
- Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother: America's Forgotten Bid for Empire Which Cost 250,000 Lives (NY: Longmans, 1961, reprinted by Kraus Reprint, NY, 1970)
- Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom, eds., The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance (Boston: South End Press, 1987)
- Robert Seager II, "The Naval Lobby," in Alexander E. Campbell, Expansionism and Imperialism (NY: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 68-79.
- John Dobson, Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1988)
- H.W. Brands, Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Brian McAllister Linn, The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989)
- Elinor Fuchs & Joyce Antler, Year One of the Empire: A Play of American Politics, War and Protest Taken from the Historical Record (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973)

Histories of other American interventions in the Third World :

The interventions of 1900-1934:

- Benjamin R. Beede, ed., The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions 1898-1934: An Encyclopedia (NY: Garland, 1994)
- Federico Gil, Latin American-United States Relations (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), chapter 4 ("The Interventionist Era, 1904-1933"), pp. 86-116.

Overviews of Cold War interventions:

- Richard J. Barnet, Intervention and Revolution: America's Confrontation with Insurgent Movements Around the World (New York: Meridian, 1972)
- Peter J. Schraeder, ed., Intervention Into the 1990s, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992)
- Peter H. Smith, Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations (NY: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Cole Blasier, The Hovering Giant: U.S. Responses to Revolutionary Change in Latin America (Pittsburgh: U. of Pittsburgh Press, 1985)
- Michael Shafer, Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)

Overviews of covert operations:

- William Blum, Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995). This is an update of William Blum, The CIA: A Forgotten History (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed, 1986)
- Stephen F. Knott, Secret and Sanctioned: Covert Operations and the American Presidency (NY: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Thomas Powers, The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979)
- Robert Borosage and John Marks, eds., The CIA File (NY: Grossman, 1976)
- David B. Wise & Thomas B. Ross, The Invisible Government: The CIA and U.S. Intelligence (NY: Vintage, 1974)

Iran 1953:

- James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1988), chapter 2, pp. 51-97 (on the 1953 Mossadeq coup.)
- Francis Gavin, "Politics, Power, and U.S. Policy in Iran, 1950-1953," Journal of Cold War History, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter 1999): 56-89.
- Mark J. Gasiorowski, U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah: Building a Client State in Iran (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Moyara de Moraes Ruehsen, "Operation 'Ajax' Revisited: Iran, 1953," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 29, No. 3 (1993): 467-486.

Guatemala 1954:

- Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger, Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala (NY: Anchor, 1990)

Bay of Pigs 1961:

- Stephen G. Rabe, Eisenhower and Latin America (University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 117-173 (on the Bay of Pigs).
- Irving Janis, Groupthink: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascoes, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), pp. 14-47 ("A Perfect Failure: The Bay of Pigs").

Dominican Republic 1965:

Jerome Slater, "The Dominican Republic, 1961-66," in Blechman & Kaplan, Force Without War, pp. 289-342.

Jerome Slater, Intervention and Negotiation: The United States and the Dominican Revolution (NY: Harper & Row, 1970)

Chile 1973:

Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power (NY: Summit, 1983), pp. 258-297 (on the 1973 Chile coup.)

James Petras & Morris Morley, The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1975)

Paul Sigmund, The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977)

Nathaniel Davis, The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985)

Arturo Valenzuela, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978)

U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, First Session, Hearings Before the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Vol. 7: Covert Action, pp. 144-203 ("Covert Action in Chile, 1963-73") (This is the Chile study of the "Church Committee Hearings.")

Angola 1975:

John Stockwell, In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story (NY: W.W. Norton, 1978)

Central Americas in the 1980s:

John H. Coatsworth, Central America and the United States: The Clients and the Colossus (NY: MacMillan, 1994)

Eldon Kenworthy, America/Américas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995)

Walter LaFeber, Inevitable Revolutions (Norton, 1984)

Dennis Gilbert, Sandinistas: The Party and the Revolution (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 162-174.

Robert Pastor, Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987)

Stephen Kinzer, Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua (NY: Putnam, 1991)

Robert Parry and Peter Kornbluh, "Iran-Contra's Untold Story," Foreign Policy, No. 72 (Fall 1988), pp. 3-30.

Human Rights Watch, El Salvador's Decade of Terror: Human Rights Since the Assassination of Archbishop Romero (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991)

Americas Watch, El Salvador and Human Rights (NY: Human Rights Watch, 1991)

Amnesty International, El Salvador: "Death Squads"--A Government Strategy (London: Amnesty International, 1988)

Reagan Doctrine, 1985-1991:

Robert W. Tucker, Intervention and the Reagan Doctrine (New York: Council on Religion and International Affairs, 1985)

Walter F. Hahn, ed., Central America and the Reagan Doctrine (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987)

Robert Johnson, "Rollback Revisited: A Reagan Doctrine for Insurgent Wars?" Overseas Development Council Policy Focus, No. 1 (1986), pp. 1-12.

Persian Gulf War, 1991:

Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, The Imperial Temptation: The New World Order and America's Purpose (NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 1992, pp. 73-162 (on the Gulf War).

U.S. News & World Report, Triumph Without Victory: The History of the Persian Gulf War (NY: Times Books, 1992)

Elaine Sciolino, The Outlaw State: Saddam Hussein's Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis (NY: John Wiley & Sons, 1991)

Analytical assessments of Third World intervention:

Peter W. Rodman, More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995)

Richard N. Haass, Intervention: The Use of American Military Force in the Post-Cold War World (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, 1994)

Arnold Kanter and Linton F. Brooks, eds., U.S. Intervention in the Post-Cold War World: New Challenges and New Responses (NY: American Assembly, 1994)

Richard Feinberg, The Intemperate Zone (WW Norton, 1983)

Robert H. Johnson, "Exaggerating America's Stakes in Third World Conflicts," International Security, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter 1985/86), pp. 32-68.

Jerome Slater, "Dominos in Central America: Will They Fall? Does It Matter?" International Security, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 1987), pp. 105-134.

Michael Desch, "The Keys that Lock Up the World," International Security, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Summer 1989), pp. 86-121.

Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Matters," International Security, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Summer 1989), pp. 50-85.

The end of the Cold War and the future of the World:

John Lewis Gaddis, The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Michael J. Hogan, ed., The End of the Cold War: Its Meaning and Implications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Paul Kennedy, Preparing for the Twenty-First Century (NY: Random House, 1993)

Michael H. Shuman and Hal Harvey, Security Without War: A Post-Cold War Foreign Policy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993)

Michael Klare, Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy (NY: Hill & Wang, 1995)

Earl H. Fry, Stan A. Taylor, and Robert S. Wood, America the Vincible: U.S. Foreign Policy for the 21st Century (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994)

The White House, A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement (Washington, D.C.: White House, 1994)