

17.428 // Tuesdays 1-3, E25-117
MIT political science department
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Fall 2004
Version 1.0

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THEORY AND METHOD

This course examines the causes and consequences of American foreign policy since 1898. Course readings cover both substantive and methods topics. Four substantive topics are covered: (1) major theories of American foreign policy; (2) major episodes in the history of American foreign policy and historical/interpretive controversies about them; (3) the evaluation of major past American foreign policies--were their results good or bad? and 4) current policy controversies, including means of evaluating proposed policies. Three methods topics are covered: (1) basic social scientific inference--what are theories? what are good theories? how should theories be framed and tested? (2) historical investigative methodology, including archival research, and, most importantly, (3) case study methodology. Historical episodes covered in the course are used as raw material for case studies, asking "if these episodes were the subject of case studies, how should those studies be performed, and what could be learned from them?"

Course requirements: students will be asked to write 2 short papers (6-10 page typed doublespaced pages) and two 1-page exercises. One of the 6-10 page papers will be a case study; the other can be a case study or a policy evaluation. The 1-page exercises are due Sept. 28 and Oct. 19; the papers are due November 30 and December 14.

This is a graduate course, open to undergraduates by permission of the instructor only.

Recommended for purchase at the MIT Coop:

- Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam's War Against America, 2nd ed. (NY: Random House, 2003)
- G. John Ikenberry, ed., American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays, 5th ed. (New York: Longman, 2005).
- John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982)
- Justus D. Doenecke and John E. Wilz, From Isolation to War, 1931-1941, 3rd ed. (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2003).
- Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger, Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala, exp. ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999)
- George Herring, America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975, 4th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002)
- Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam's War Against America (NY: Random House, 2003)
- Stephen Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

Also at the COOP, and recommended:

- Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 5th ed. (2000)
- 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)

Some 50 pages of Paterson, Clifford, and Hagan are assigned. The rest is recommended for those in need of remedial history. So you might consider buying it as well. Turabian is a style reference book you should own and obey.

These books are also on reserve at Dewey library (building E-53, on Wadsworth Street). Most other assigned readings will be available online through Stellar, the new online syllabus service. (I will hand out a how-to sheet on how to access readings on Stellar.) A few assigned readings will be handed out in class.

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

I. THEORIES OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Sept. 14: Hypotheses, Laws, Theories and Case Studies

- B 1. Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science, pp. 7-48 ("Hypotheses, Laws and Theories: A User's Guide"). This summarizes the way that I recommend students should frame and test theories.
- B 2. Ibid., pp. 89-96 ("What is a Political Science Dissertation?"). We define the range of acceptable topics too narrowly. All political science Ph.D. dissertations needn't invent or test a theory. There are other important--and sometimes easier--things to do.

Sept. 21, 28: Theories of American Foreign Policy (406 pp. assigned for 2 weeks)

Note: a glance at the section introductions in Ikenberry, AFP, (4th ed. pages are pp. 59-60, 137-138, 203-204, 297-298, 395-395, 465-466, 573-574) will ease the following reading.

A. Systemic explanations: "the environment governs conduct."

- S 1. Robert Jervis, "Offense, Defense, and the Security Dilemma," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, International Politics, 3rd ed. (New York: 1992), pp. 146-169. Jervis argues that international conflict arises largely from the "security dilemma"--the tendency of states to threaten others' security by their efforts to secure themselves. Can explanations for American conduct be inferred from this famous piece? If so, how much American conduct can Jervis' theory explain?
- B 2. Kenneth Waltz, "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 60-83. Drawn from his classic Theory of International Politics. Can we infer an explanation for U.S. conduct?
- B 3. Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security and the Beginning of the Cold War, 1945-1948," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 84-111. National security concerns drove the U.S. into the Cold War.

- S 4. Stephen Walt, The Origins of Alliances, chapter 2 ("Explaining Alliance Formation"), pp. 17-49. More on how states respond to their environment, with some domestic hypotheses thrown in. Relevant to U.S. conduct?

B. Economic explanations.

- S 1. Benjamin Cohen, The Question of Imperialism (NY: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 36-72, 121-131. An excellent critical explication of Marxist explanations of imperialism, including Marxist explanations for U.S. intervention in the Third World.

C. National Values and Domestic Institutions as causes.

- B 1. Samuel Huntington, "American Ideals versus American Institutions," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 214-247 (pp. 204-237 in 4th ed). **Read carefully only pp. 219-237**, skim the rest. U.S. democratic ideals as explanation.
- S 2. 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? Or is it a subculture with unique values of its own? U.S. elite anti-democratic values as explanation.
- S 3. Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power (NY: Summit, 1983), pp. 108-111. Another culture snippet, on elite racial values.
- S 4. Theodore Lowi, "Making Democracy Safe for the World: On Fighting the Next War," in Ikenberry, AFP, first edition (sadly omitted from later editions), **read only pp. 268-273** (the pages on "policy overselling.") The policy sales process as explanation.
- S 5. Review again here Stephen Walt, The Origins of Alliances, chapter 2 ("Explaining Alliance Formation"), pp. 33-40 (assigned above). Common ideology as an explanation for alliance behavior. Is common ideology a glue or a solvent of alliance ties?

D. Bureaucratic behavior and pathology as explanation.

- B 1. Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 402-446 (pp. 396-441 in 4th ed). Distilled from the single most widely cited book in political science. Does it provide clear explanations?
- S 2. James C. Thompson, Jr., "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," in Ikenberry, AFP, 4th ed (sadly omitted from later editions), pp. 454-463. A famous analysis that points to pathologies in how the government thinks. Experts are purged, analysts are silenced by fear of punishment for speaking politically incorrect truths, etc.
- C 3. Morton Halperin, with Priscilla Clapp and Arnold Kanter, Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1972), pp. 26-62. A good synopsis of organization theory relevant to foreign policy. Can it explain U.S. military policy? If so, how?

E. Misperception as explanation.

- B 1. Robert Jervis, "Hypotheses on Misperception," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 462-484 (pp. 466-488 in 4th ed). Psychology as the cause of national misperception.
- S 2. Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1976), pp. 58-84. Jervis' famous piece outlines "deterrence" and the "spiral model." Can explanations for U.S. conduct be inferred from these models?
- S 3. John Judis, "The Japanese Megaphone: Foreign Influences on Foreign Policymaking," in Eugene R. Wittkopf, ed., The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's, 1994), pp. 95-105. A "propagandizing foreign lobby" explanation is implied here. Does this folk theory deserve attention?
- S 4. Lionel Barber, "The Selling of an African Conflict," Financial Times, March 16, 1990; and Reed Kramer, "Lobby Gets Results for Savimbi," Africa News, November, 1989, pp. 1-3. Accounts of another foreign lobby's operations. Can foreign governments really wield influence through such machinations?
- S 5. Michael Lind, "The Israel Lobby," Prospect, April 1, 2002; and Adam Garfinkle, "Israel Lobby Part II," Prospect, September 2002. Lind: "The Israel Lobby strongly influences U.S. policy in the Mideast!" Garfinkle: "No it doesn't! Unconditional U.S. backing for Israel serves U.S. strategic interests and is done for that reason!"
- S 6. Jeffrey Birnbaum, "The Influence Merchants," Fortune, December 7, 1998, pp. 134-152 **but read only pp. 134-135 and the chart on 137**. A "delphi method" survey reveals that Washington insiders rank the Israel lobby the second most powerful lobby in Washington--behind only the AARP and ahead of the NRA, the AMA, the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the VFW, and others.
- S 7. David Pearson, "The Media and Government Deception," Propaganda Review, Spring 1989, pp. 6-11. A "domesticated press" explanation for U.S. misperception is implied here. Does this folk theory deserve attention?
- S 8. Eason Jordan, "The News We Kept To Ourselves," New York Times, April 11, 2003. The press can be cowed into practicing self-censorship. This allows tyrants to intimidate the press into painting themselves in rose-colored hues.
- S 9. Nicholas Kristoff, "Save Our Spooks," New York Times, May 30, 2003. Governments misperceive the world if their intelligence agencies misreport foreign realities. This can happen if government leaders press their intelligence agencies to tell the leaders what they want to hear regardless of the facts.
- S 10. 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.
- S 11. Irving Janis, "Escalation of the Vietnam War: How Could it Happen?" in Ikenberry, AFP, 4th

ed (sadly omitted from later editions), pp. 544-572. "Groupthink" as the cause of national misperception. Janis points to pathologies much like those identified by Thompson ("How Could Vietnam Happen", above), but Janis' theory is wholly different (Janis points to psychological causes, Thompson to bureaucratic causes). Could these two theories of national misperception be tested against each other?

F. Public opinion dynamics as explanation.

- B 1. Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Conceptual Paradigms and Foreign Policy," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 312-333 (pp. 298-319 in 4th ed). A paradigm pendulum dynamic as explanation.

G. Theories of the consequences of U.S. foreign policy: the domino theory, the credibility theory, theories and factual assumptions about nationalism.

II. AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGIES

Oct. 5: Contending grand strategies past and present

Cold War era strategy:

- B 1. John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy (NY: Oxford U. Press, 1982), chapter 2 ("George F. Kennan and the Strategy of Containment"), pp. 25-53. An explication of the ideas of the prime intellectual architect of America's Cold War containment policy.
- S 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. Your instructor's largely Kennanite criticism of past (Cold War Era) American strategy toward the Third World.

Post-Cold War era strategy:

- S 1. 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?)
- S 2. Patrick E. Tyler, "U.S. Strategy Calls For Insuring No Rivals Develop," New York Times, March 8, 1992, and "Excerpts from Pentagon's Plan: 'Prevent the Re-Emergence of a New Rival,'" *ibid.* The senior Bush administration favored a strategy of U.S. supremacy or hegemony. Those who shaped this policy returned to power in the junior Bush administration (Paul Wolfowitz) and continue to think along the same lines.
- S 3. Thomas L. Friedman, "U.S. Vision of Foreign Policy Reversed," New York Times, Sept. 22, 1993. The Clinton administration said it favored a strategy of "enlargement of the world's free community of market democracies."

- S 4. 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 criticism of past U.S. assertiveness and a recommendation of future restraint.
- S 5. 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.
- S 6. David E. Sanger, "Bush to Formalize A Defense Policy of Hitting First," New York Times, June 17, 2002. The Bush Administration has embraced a general doctrine of preventive war against rogue states that aspire to develop weapons of mass destruction. Iraq is only the first rogue state that the administration would attack. Good idea?
- S 7. Keir A. Lieber and Robert J. Lieber, "The Bush National Security Strategy," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda. An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2002). A friendly summary and assessment of the 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy (NSS), the document that frames the main elements of the strategy selected by the Bush II Administration, including its general doctrine of preventive war (see Sanger, "Bush to Formalize," directly above).

For more discussion of the 2002 U.S. strategy statement see the "Defense Strategy Review Page" of the Project on Defense Alternatives, at www.comw.org/qdr/.

- H 8. G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," in Ikenberry, AFP, pp. 564-575. Reprinted from Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5 (September/October 2002). The Bush Administration has embarked on a fateful imperial rampage. It will end badly. Others will eventually coalesce to check the U.S.
- H 9. "American Imperialism, Embraced," The New York Times Magazine, December 9, 2001 (2 pages); and Thomas E. Ricks, "Empire or Not? A Quiet Debate over U.S. Role," Washington Post, August 21, 2001 (3 pages). More color on rising arguments for a U.S. empire in the U.S. conservative movement. Do Tom Donnelly, William Kristol and Andrew Bacevich have a good idea?
- S 10. Michael Lind, Made in Texas: George W. Bush and the Southern Takeover of American Politics (NY: Basic Books, 2003): 128-153. What's causing the rise of imperialist thinking in Washington? Lind argues that the Bush coalition includes dangerous elements, including millennialist Christians who want to take U.S. Mideast policy in dangerous directions.
- S 11. Robert Lieber, "The Neoconservative Conspiracy Theory: Pure Myth," Chronicle of Higher Education, May 2, 2003. Lieber disputes claims that a neoconservative clique dominates Bush foreign policy.

Oct. 12: The War on Terror; other national security policy issues.

- S 1. "The Uranium Underground," Time, December 17, 2001, pp. 40-45. Vast amounts of nuclear materials are swishing around the former Soviet Union unguarded--enough to

build tens of thousands of atomic bombs. Washington doesn't seem to care much. (This article is 2.7 years old but sadly little has changed). Is this stupid or what? Duck and cover!

- S 2. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror 2nd ed. (NY: Random House, 2003): 38-55, 61-68, 91-94, 419-489.
Pages 38-55, 62-68, 91-94 describe the Islamist currents of thinking that spawned Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda's violence stems from a stream of Islamist thought going back to ibn Taymiyya, a bellicose Islamic thinker from the 13th century; to Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), the harsh and rigid shaper of modern Saudi Arabian Islam; to Rashid Rida (1866-1935) and Hassan al-Banna (?-1949); and above all to Sayyid Qutb (?-1966), the shaper of modern Islamism. Taymiyya, al-Wahhab and Qutb are covered here. Covered also (pp. 91-94) is the frightening rise of apocalyptic thinking in the Islamic world. What causes the murderous thinking described here?
Pages 419-446 is a terrifying survey of the rise of nihilistic madness in a number of the world's great religions. Isn't the millennialist thinking described here likely at some point to lead believers in these views to use weapons of mass destruction on cities? What should the U.S. do about this threat??
Pages 447-489 surveys and evaluates Bush administration counter-terror strategies. Not assigned but also valuable are pp. 219-393, a survey of Clinton administration counter-terror strategies and policies. They are recommended.
- S 3. Christopher F. Chyba, "Toward Biological Security," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June 2002): 122-137. The danger posed by biological weapons in terrorist hands may be even scarier than the danger of nuclear weapons.
- S 4. Stephen Flynn, "The Neglected Home Front," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 5 (September/October 2004): 20-33. The U.S. is alarmingly vulnerable to terrorist attack. The door is wide open. We are sitting ducks.
- S 5. Jonathan Chait, "The 9/10 President," New Republic, March 10, 2003: 18-23. The Bush Administration is neglecting homeland security.
- S 6. Ralph Blumenthal, "Getting the Intelligence Services a Vulnerable Nation Needs," New York Times, September 8, 2002. Intelligence and counterterror experts are here interviewed on U.S. counter-terror intelligence needs. Their answers indicate that: 1) the U.S. still needs to centralize command of U.S. intelligence functions (Turner) and to centralized assessment of intelligence data (Treverton, Oakley); 2) the U.S. still needs to separate domestic counterterror functions from law enforcement functions--in other words, to create an American MI-5 (Smith, Schulhofer); 3) the U.S. has not adequately moved to train local law enforcement in counterterror functions or to develop local counterterror units (Kallstrom); (4) U.S. borders remain wide open. These weaknesses remain in 2004. What accounts for such appalling lassitude by the U.S. government? Earth to Washington: it's time for action!
- S 7. Graham Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 1 (January/February 2004): 64-74. A plan for action to prevent a disaster that we better prevent! (We will return to this subject in the last class period.)
- S 8. "Nuclear Breakout," New York Times, July 27, 2003; and "Curb the Spread of Nuclear

Arms," New York Times, July 29, 2003 (letters). A snippet arguing that to halt nuclear proliferation the world must strengthen the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Today that treaty doesn't even ban the enrichment of uranium or reprocessing of plutonium, the two basic methods of making nuclear bombs. Let's do something about it! And letters in reaction.

- S 9. The advance of science has a fearsome byproduct: we are discovering ever more powerful means of destruction. These destructive powers are being democratized: the mayhem that only major states can do today may lie within the capacity of millions of individuals in the future unless we somehow change course. Deterrence works against states but will fail against crazed non-state organizations or individuals. How can the spread of destructive powers be controlled?

We will return to this subject in the last class period in December.

For more on controlling the longterm bioweapons danger see www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/pathogensmonograph.pdf

Oct. 19, 26: Other policy issues and debates

A. Policy debates

On ethics and human rights:

- S 1. Leslie H. Gelb and Justine A. Rosenthal, "The Rise of Ethics in Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May/June 2003): 2-7. Ethical concerns once played little role in U.S. foreign policy; now they have an important place at the table.

On supporting national self-determination:

- S 1. Michael Lind, "In Defense of Liberal Nationalism," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 3 (May/June 1994), pp. 87-99. Should the U.S. view national self-determination as a human right and lend it support? How much international chaos would follow if it did?

On saving failed states:

- S 1. Robert I. Rotberg, "Failed States in a World of Terror," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002): 127-141. Failed states are havens for terrorists. Can western powers resuscitate them? Should they try? Rotberg says yes, calling for a new Marshall Plan for Afghanistan and elsewhere.
- S 2. Robert D. Kaplan, "Continental Drift: Africa's Dysfunctional Politics," New Republic (December 28, 1992), pp. 15-20. A skeptical view on saving failed states and societies.
- S 3. Chester Crocker, "The Lessons of Somalia," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 74, No. 3 (May/June 1995), pp. 2-8. The 1992-1994 U.S. intervention saved several hundred thousand Somali lives. Is that a failure?

On "preventive diplomacy" (action to forestall wars and human rights horrors):

- S 1. Chaim Kaufmann, "See No Evil," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002): 142-149. The U.S. could have stopped genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and elsewhere but chose not to. Good choice? Should the U.S. intervene to prevent such horrors?
- S 2. Glenda Cooper, "U.S. Memos on Rwanda Cited," Boston Globe, August 23, 2001. More color on U.S. inaction in Rwanda.
- S 3. Ben Barber, "Feeding Refugees, or War?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 4 (July/August 1997), pp. 8-14.
- S 4. Nicholas Kristoff, "Reign of Terror," New York Times, September 12, 2004. Another genocide is now unfolding in the Darfur region of Sudan. Again the world is not acting to stop it. Should it?

Does this subject need more study?

On intervention to promote democracy:

- S 1. Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 5 (September/October 2004): 34-56. A case study in how not to intervene to promote democracy, by an advocate of the war and a learned student of democratization.
- S 2. Tom Zeller, "Building Democracy is Not a Science," New York Times, April 27, 2003. The United States' mixed record at exporting democracy by intervention is summarized here.
- S 3. Sylvia Nasar, "It's Never Fair to Just Blame the Weather," New York Times, January 17, 1993, p. E1. Third world democracy is good: it serves publics far better than authoritarian regimes. For example, democracies are far better at saving their citizens from starvation during famine. Dramatic evidence! (But compare with Noble, below.)
- S 4. Kenneth Noble, "Democracy Brings Turmoil in Congo," New York Times, January 31, 1994, p. A3. Third world democracy is bad: democratization causes communal conflict and civil war, e.g. as in this instance. Dramatic evidence! (But compare with Nasar, above.)

On U.S. defense policy:

- S 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. Past policies are described.
- S 2. Lawrence J. Korb, "U.S. Defense Spending After the Cold War: Fact and Fiction," in Cindy Williams, ed., Holding the Line: U.S. Defense Alternatives for the 21st Century (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001). Korb thinks the defense budget is too big. The U.S. could execute its grand strategy with fewer forces. But is Korb's conclusion correct if we assume that the U.S. has embraced a policy of conquering rogue states that seek weapons of mass destruction? Or a wider notion of pursuing American empire?

An excellent history syllabus on late Cold War U.S. security policy by Prof. Frank Gavin of the

University of Texas is at <http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~gavinprp/>. See it for specific advice on historical research and security research topics.

On protecting the global commons--e.g., the global environment and global public health:

- S 1. Andrew C. Revkin, "Scientists Say a Quest for Clean Energy Must Begin Now," New York Times, November 1, 2002. A new study warns that we must start looking for clean energy sources now or we may destroy the planet. Later may be too late. No kidding. This will require broad international cooperation. Sadly we're not very good at international cooperation. Oh dear.
- S 2. Keith Bradsher, "Bird Flu is Back, Raising Fear of Spread Among Humans," New York Times, August 30, 2004. The 1918 flu killed 675,000 Americans--more than the two World Wars combined. Bummer. Could it happen again? Maybe! The current avian flu in Asia is mighty scary. What's the answer? Worldwide preventive action. Again, everyone must cooperate. Hence this is a foreign policy problem.

B. Segue to Cases: the Case Study Method. How Should Case Studies Be Performed?

- S 1. Alexander L. George and Timothy J. McKeown, "Case Studies and Theories of Organizational Decision Making," in Advances in Information Processing in Organizations, Vol. 2 (Greenwich, Ct.: JAI Press, 1985), pp. 21-58. A classic statement on the execution of case studies.
- S 2. Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," APSR, Vol. 65, 1971, pp. 682-693. Another important how-to-do-it on the case study method.
- B 3. Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science, pp. 49-88 ("What Are Case Studies? How Should They Be Performed?")
- S 4. Andrew Bennett, "Lost in Translation: Big (n) Misinterpretations of Case Study Research" (Paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 1997). An excellent survey of oft-repeated nasty myths about the case method.
- S 5. William J. Broad, "Crater Supports Idea on Extinction," New York Times, August 14, 1992. Here's a "case" that scientists are trying to explain. Are political/historical cases similar? Can political analysis proceed in the same way?
- S 6. "The C.I.A.'s El Salvador," New York Times, December 17, 1993, p. A39. Social science starts with "facts." But what "facts" can we believe? Moral of this story: you can't believe everything you read in the archives (or anywhere else).
- S 7. David Leven, "In Texas, the Death Penalty Still Fails to Deter," New York Times, Sept. 19, 1993, p. E16. Good social science starts with sound methods of scientific inference. Leven makes two blunders on this count: can you spot them?
- S 8. Ian Shapiro, "A Model That Pretends to Explain Everything," and Morris P. Fiorina, "When Stakes are High, Rationality Kicks In," both in New York Times, February 26, 2000, p.

A15. Should students of U.S. foreign policy use rational choice methods more often?
Two short pieces on the great debate over rational choice.

- S 9. Stephen M. Walt, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies," International Security, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999): 5-48. A famous and controversial audit of the contribution of work using rational choice methods to international studies. Are audits like this useful?
Also of interest are criticisms of this piece published in the Fall 1999 issue of International Security.

- S 10. Please find online at www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/syllabi.html a syllabus on qualitative methods from the Arizona State University Qualitative Methods Institute (January 2002) and other syllabi on the case method from qualitative methods taught around the country. Check them out to see how the qualitative methods are taught around the country.

In the past the "methods" field in political science was often assumed to consist solely of large-n (statistical) methods. While statistics was a required course at most schools, case study methodology often wasn't even taught. This is changing, as these syllabi illustrate.

For more on qualitative methods see www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/.

The Arizona State University Qualitative Methods Institute runs a valuable winter student seminar (all expenses paid). Inquire about it. Maybe you can go.

III. CASE HISTORIES: AMERICAN WARS, CRISES AND INTERVENTIONS

Nov. 2: The Filipino-Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II

- S 1. Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 5th ed. (2000), pp. 11-27 (middle) (or pp. 1-34 of 4th ed.) Please **focus on pp. 11-27 (middle) (or pp. 13-31 in 4th ed), skim the rest quickly**. A textbook account of U.S. policy in the Spanish-American and U.S.-Filipino wars.
- S 2. David Healy, U.S. Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890s (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1970), chapter 3, first part of chapter 6 (pp. 48-67, 110-113). Healy says that the U.S. had a large imperialist movement in the 1890s, but that its eyes were not on the Philippines.
- S 3. Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895, 5th ed. (2000), pp. 67-92, 103-107 (pp. 79-111, 123-127 in the 4th ed. 1995). A standard textbook account of U.S. entry into, and conduct of, World War I.
- B 4. Doenecke and Wilz, From Isolation to War, 1931-1941, 3rd ed., pp. 1-38, 82-169. If you have the 1991 edition (2nd ed.) read pages 1-39, 76-158. The standard study of the onset of World War II.

- S 5. 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), pp. 11-43. A post-hoc argument against U.S. entry.
- S 6. Jonathan G. Utey, Going to War With Japan 1937-1941 (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 151-156; and Waldo Heinrichs, The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-142, 177, 246-247 (note 68). Was the crucial American decision to cut off oil exports to Japan taken by a bureaucracy out of control? Utey and Heinrichs disagree. How can this mystery be unravelled? Study these pages carefully as they will come up again in the next regular class, led by Marc Trachtenberg.
- Nov. 8: Historical methods, a **special Monday night class** (time TBA, but likely to be 6:00-8:00 or 6:30-8:30) with Marc Trachtenberg. Trachtenberg will cover topics in Historical Investigation and Explanation, drawing on chapters 1-3, 5 of his new book. These chapters are on "Theory of Historical Inquiry"; "Diplomatic History and IR Theory"; "Critical Analysis of Historical Texts"; and "Working With Historical Documents". Marc wishes that no reading be assigned but I will nonetheless try to make some of these chapters available and you would be wise to peruse them in advance. Trachtenberg is a fabulous historian and this is a great chance to learn historians' tricks.
- Van Evera will provide some food. Class location TBA but will likely be in E38, 6th floor.
- Nov. 9: The Outbreak of the Pacific War, 1941. Marc Trachtenberg will lead this session also. Assigned reading: Chapter 4 from Trachtenberg's new book on historical method, which covers this case. I will find a way to get it to you.
- Nov. 16: The Cold War, Korea, and the 1950s
- A. The Cold War and Korea.
- B 1. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, pp. vii-24, 54-197. Review also pp. 25-53 (assigned several weeks ago.) The standard analytic account of American security policy under Truman and Eisenhower.
- S 2. 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. An overview of the vast Cold War origins debate.
- S 3. John Lewis Gaddis, "The Tragedy of Cold War History," Diplomatic History, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 1-17. Cold War hawks were right. The U.S. could not have avoided the Cold War. Stalin was dangerously crazed.
- S 4. Melvyn P. Leffler, "Inside Enemy Archives," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July/August 1996), pp. 120-135. Cold War hawks were wrong on some important points. Stalin hoped to cooperate with the United States after World War II. The Cold War was

essentially inadvertent. The Soviets didn't cook up the Korean or Angolan wars.

- S 5. James I. Matray, "Civil is a Dumb Name for a War," Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter, Vol. 26, No. 4 (December 1995), pp. 1-15. A historian frames the unresolved debates over the Korean war. What research would push these debates toward resolution? How should a case study that addressed them be framed?
- S 6. Jerald A. Combs, American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 197-198, 258-281. The present changes our understanding of the past. Should history work this way?
Students interested in the writing of history and in the creation of political ideas should explore further in this excellent book, now sadly out of print. (More of it is assigned below.)
- B. Adventures in the Archives. Also assigned for this week: a document treasure hunt in the Harvard Government Documents library declassified documents collection; and/or in the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, which holds most of the Kennedy Administration's archives.

More on this later.

A relevant snippet is:

- S 1. Tim Weiner, "Keeping the Secrets that Everyone Knows," New York Times, October 30, 1994, p. 16E. The JFK library is hiding the record from us.

As preparation for the Adventure please also consult Prof. Marc Trachtenberg's website on history methods, www.history.upenn.edu/trachtenberg. There look at two memos he wrote on interpreting declassified documents and on how to do Cold War history. They are listed on his home page as "A discussion of declassification analysis" and "A practical guide to doing Cold War history."

Nov. 23: The Indochina War, 1945-1975; The Iraq war of 1991

- B 1. Herring, America's Longest War, chapters 4 and 7 (pp. 131-169, 271-320 in the 4th edition). The standard account, from a middle-of-the-road perspective, of the key decisions to escalate and de-escalate the war.
- S 2. 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.
- S 3. Clark Clifford with Richard Holbrooke, Counsel to the President (NY: Random House, 1991), pp. 612-614. A short counterpoint to Sanders and Henderson.
- S 4. Review again Janis, "Groupthink," and Thompson, "How Could Vietnam, Happen?" assigned above.
- S 5. Jerald A. Combs, American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 299-300, 367-383. More on the impact of the present on the past. Indochina transformed the academic study of American diplomatic history; pre-Vietnam episodes were now reinterpreted more critically. (Should history work this way?)

- S 6. Morris J. Blachman, "The Stupidity of Intelligence," in Morton H. Halperin and Arnold Kantor, eds., Readings in American Foreign Policy: A Bureaucratic Perspective (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), pp. 328-334. The "intelligence to please" problem has long been with us. We saw "intelligence to please" in U.S. estimates of Iraqi WMD in 2003. And we saw it earlier in Vietnam, says Blachman. How can it be cured? Should it be studied?
- S 7. Kenneth Pollack, The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq (NY: Random House, 2002): 11-54. How did the U.S. confrontation with Saddam Hussein develop? Pollack offers excellent background.

Dec. 30: Other U.S. Third World interventions

- S 1. Federico Gil, Latin American-United States Relations (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), chapter 4 ("The Interventionist Era, 1904-1933"), pp. 86-116. A standard factual synopsis of the main events in the Caribbean.
- S 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. 264-297. A short history of some of the better-known CIA covert operations. Are such operations effective? Under what circumstances? Against what kinds of regimes?
- S 3. Kinzer and Schlesinger, Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala, pp. xi-xv, 65-117. More details on events leading up to the 1954 coup in Guatemala. Please **skim pp. 65-77, read most carefully pp. 79-97**, a rare inside look at a major foreign-policy-directed propaganda operation.
- S 4. James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1988), chapter 2 ("Petroleum Politics and the American Intervention of 1953"), pp. 51-97; but **read carefully only pp. 78-86, 92-94** (skim the rest). A more detailed account of the coup summarized by Barnet (#2 above.)
- S 5. Peter J. Schraeder, "Paramilitary Intervention," in Peter J. Schraeder, ed., Intervention Into the 1990s, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), chapter 8, pp. 131-151; focus on pp. 137-149 ("The Reagan Doctrine and Paramilitary Intervention"), skim the rest. (The coursenotes may contain the version from the 1990 edition, in which case these pages are wrong. But the older edition works fine: find the "Reagan Doctrine and Paramilitary Intervention" section and read it.) What policies flowed from the Reagan Doctrine? The four wars waged under its rubric are described here.

IV. CONCLUSION

Dec. 7: Current crises: the future of American foreign policy

- S 1. 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.
- S 2. Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 2 (March/April 1997), pp. 18-32. America's China doves (e.g., Robert Ross) are wrong wrong wrong. The U.S. and China are on a collision course, and the U.S. should stay on it.
- S 3. 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.
- S 4. Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "The Last Negotiation," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 3 (May/June 2002): 10-19. The U.S. could and should impose peace between Israel and the Palestinians.
- S 5. Verlyn Klinkenborg, "Be Afraid. Be Very Afraid." New York Times Book Review, May 30, 2004. Recent science paints a frightening picture of the human impact on the global climate. Are we creating a hell that, once in, we cannot escape? This seems a increasingly plausible, perhaps likely!
- S 6. John Browne, "Beyond Kyoto," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 4 (July/August 2004): 20-32. Browne outlines a program for action to address the grave and growing danger of climate change.
- S 7. Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Nuclear Shadow," New York Times, August 14, 2004. We are losing control of nuclear weapons. No one in Washington seems to care. A collective snore is heard from the government. This is a recipe for immense calamity. Isn't it obvious that unless we take prompt action terrorists will get hold of nuclear materials, make nuclear weapons, and nuke us until we glow?
- S 8. David Sanger, "The North Korean Uranium Challenge," New York Times, 5/24/04. Saddam's Iraq didn't have nuclear weapons or a nuclear program. North Korea has both--and it has a nutty government that might sell the nukes it makes to the highest bidder. What to do? Smash 'em? Won't work. Cut a deal? The Bush administration is opposed. Overthrow the North Korean government? That's tough work. But we better do something!!
- S 9. "Nuclear Breakout," New York Times, July 27, 2003; and "Curb the Spread of Nuclear Arms," New York Times, July 29, 2003 (letters). A snippet arguing that to halt nuclear proliferation the world must strengthen the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Today that treaty doesn't even ban the enrichment of uranium or reprocessing of plutonium, the two basic methods of making nuclear bombs. Let's do something about it! And letters in reaction.
- S 10. Review again Allison, "How to Stop Nuclear Terror," and Rees, Our Final Hour, assigned above. What policy toward the spread of weapons of mass destruction should the U.S.

pursue?

- S 11. Review again Keir A. Lieber and Robert J. Lieber, "The Bush National Security Strategy," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December 2002), assigned above. When does preventive war make sense?

- S 12. Clyde Prestowitz, "Why Don't We Listen More," Washington Post, July 7, 2002. Bush is losing the U.S. friends by acting with little regard for their interests and ideas. Instead the U.S. should consult its friends and take their interests into account before acting.

- S 13. David D. Newsom, "Foreign Policy and Academia," Foreign Policy, No. 101 (Winter 1995-96), pp. 52-67. **Read only pp. 62-66** ("Communication Problems"), lightly skim the rest. Academics are obfuscatory, amphibolous, obscurantist, and recondite. Also, they are hard to understand. Should they address their work to real people once in a while?

- S 14. Gregory A. Raymond, "Foreign Policy Evaluation: Adding Civism to International Education," International Studies Notes, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Fall 1992), pp. 17-21. Is the genre of research he recommends worthwhile?

- B 15. Van Evera, Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science, pp. 117-121 ("Professional Ethics"). Does political science need professional ethics? If so, what should they be?

- B 16. Review again Van Evera, "What is a Political Science Ph.D. Dissertation?", Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science, pp. 67-72 (discussed in first class). What should be the field agenda?

FURTHER READING

Historiographical surveys on American foreign policy:

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.

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.

Gerald K. Haines and J. Samuel Walker, eds., American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981). Like Carroll and Herring, a collection of bibliographic review essays.

Bibliographies on American foreign policy:

Robert L. Beisner and Kurt W. Hanson, American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ANC-Clio, 2003). An enormous and excellent annotated bibliography. You should often start your research here. An earlier edition is: 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).

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); a text with useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Jerald A. Combs, The History of American Foreign Policy, 2 vols. (NY: Knopf, 1986); a text with useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

Websites to consult:

www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/research-g/us-policy.html. This site is a research guide to internet resources on American foreign policy. See other websites referenced there.

www.nsarchiv.org. This is the National Security Archive website, an excellent source of primary documents about U.S. foreign and security policy.

History textbooks & surveys:

Thomas G. Paterson, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth J. Hagan, American Foreign Relations: A History

- Since 1895, 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000)
- 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, Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations to 1913 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002)
- Howard Jones, Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations from 1897 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002)
- Stephen Ambrose, Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938, 7th ed. rev. (NY: Penguin, 1993)
- George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950 (NY: New American Library, 1951)

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)

Political science general texts, edited collections on U.S. foreign policy:

- Frederick H. Hartmann and Robert L. Wendzel, America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World (NY: HarperCollins, 1994)
- James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, United States Foreign Policy and World Order, 4th ed. (NY: HarperCollins, 1989)
- Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and James M. Scott, American Foreign Policy, 6th ed. (Florence, KY: Thompson Wadsworth, 2002)
- Richard A. Melanson, American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)
- Seyom Brown, The Faces of Power: Constancy and Change in United States Foreign Policy from Truman to Clinton, 2nd. ed (NY: Columbia U. Press, 1994)
- Stanley J. Michalak, Jr., Competing Conceptions of American Foreign Policy: Worldviews in Conflict (NY: HarperCollins, 1992)
- Robert J. Art and Seyom Brown, U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role (NY: Macmillan, 1993)
- John G. Stoessinger, Nations in Darkness: Russia, China, and America, 5th ed. (NY: McGraw, 1990) (An interpretive survey.)
- Kenneth A. Oye, Robert J. Lieber and Donald Rothchild, eds., Eagle in a New World: American Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War Era (NY: HarperCollins, 1992)
- Carol Wekesser, ed., American Foreign Policy: Opposing Viewpoints (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1993)
- John T. Rourke, Taking Sides, 4th ed. (Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin, 1992)

Texts on foreign policymaking:

- James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System, 3rd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1994)
- Paul E. Peterson, ed., The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy (Norman: U. of Oklahoma Press, 1994)

Philip J. Briggs, Making American Foreign Policy: President-Congress Relations from the Second World War to the post-Cold War Era, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994)
 David A. Deese, The New Politics of American Foreign Policy (New York: St. Martin's, 1994)

Journals:

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 but now covers many issues very well.
Foreign Policy. A prominent if irritatingly undocumented journal of current policy.
Diplomatic History. The main journal covering American diplomatic history.
Journal of Cold War History. A good new history journal.
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.
American Historical Review. A general historical journal that once gave good coverage to American diplomatic history but has lately drifted into postmodern intergalactic hyperspace. It's sad.

Press and 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., 1:00-2:00 p.m., and 12:00-2:00 a.m. weekdays, and 4:00-5:00 Saturdays and Sundays, on WBUR (90.9 FM radio). Less fun than KISS 108 but better for your brain.

Theories of & theories relevant to American foreign policy:

Ole R. Holsti, "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," Diplomatic History, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 15-44.
 Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence (NY: St. Martin's, 1988)
 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)
 Robert J. Art, "Bureaucratic Politics and American Foreign Policy: A Critique," Policy Sciences (December 1973), pp. 467-490; also found in Ikenberry, AFP, first edition, pp. 433-457. The classic critique of Allison, Essence of Decision.

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)

Tony Smith, Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)

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)

Edward Tivnan, The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1987)

Paul Findley, They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1985)

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)

The domino and credibility theories:

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.

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

Frank Ninkovich, Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994)

Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder, eds. Dominoes and Bandwagons: Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland (NY: Oxford University Press, 1991)

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

Robert Jervis, "Deterrence Theory Revisited," World Politics (January 1979), Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 289-324.

Michael C. Desch, "The Keys That Lock Up the World: Identifying American Interests in the Periphery," International Security (Summer 1989), Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 86-121 at 94-96.

Jonathan Mercer, Reputation and International Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Alexander George and Richard Smoke, Deterrence in American Foreign Policy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974)

Douglas J. Macdonald, Adventures in Chaos: American Intervention for Reform in the Third World (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Douglas J. Macdonald, "Communist Bloc Expansion in the Early Cold War: Challenging Realism, Refuting Revisionism," International Security, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter 1995/96), pp. 152-188.

United States Grand Strategy:

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 good statement of the isolationist viewpoint.

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.

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.

The United States and human rights:

Fiona Terry, Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002)

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)

David Callahan, Unwinnable Wars: American Power and Ethnic Conflict (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998)

The United States and conflict prevention/conflict termination:

Barnett Rubin, Blood on the Doorstep: The Politics of Preventive Action (NY: Council on Foreign Relations, 2003)

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)

The United States and terrorism:

Anonymous, Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2004)

Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror 2nd ed. (NY: Random House, 2003)

Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, America's Achilles Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998)

Anonymous, Through Our Enemies' Eyes: Osama Bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2002)

Peter L. Bergen, Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden (NY: Touchstone, 2002)

Strobe Talbott and Nayan Chanda, eds., The Age of Terror: America and the World After September 11 (NY: Basic Books, 2001)

James F. Hoge and Gideon Rose, ed., How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War (NY: Public Affairs Press, 2001)

Kurt M. Campbell and Michèle A. Flournoy, principal authors, To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign Against Terrorism (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001)

Paul R. Pillar, Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2001)

Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002)

Malise Ruthven, A Fury for God: The Islamist Attack on America (Granta: 2002)

Yonah Alexander and Michael S. Swetman, Usama bin Laden's al-Qaida: Profile of a Terrorist Network (Transnational, 2001)

Anthony H. Cordesman, Terrorism, Asymmetric Warfare, and Weapons of Mass Destruction (NY: Praeger, 2001)

Gideon Rose, "Review Essay: It Could Happen Here: Facing the New Terrorism," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78, No. 2 (March/April 1999): 131-137.

Environmental issues:

Ross Gelbspan, Boiling Point: How Politicians, Big Oil and Coal, Journalists and Activists Have Fueled the Climate Crisis--And What We Can Do To Avert Disaster (New York: Basic Books, 2004). This and other works on environmental dangers are discussed in Verlyn Klinkenborg, "Be Afraid. Be Very Afraid." New York Times Book Review, May 30, 2004.

Case study method:

Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1994)

David Collier, "The Comparative Method," in Ada W. Finifter, ed., Political Science: The State of the Discipline, 2nd. ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1993), pp. 105-120

Alexander George, "Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison," in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed., Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 43-68.

Harry Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W.

Polsby, ed., Handbook of Political Science, Vol. 7, Strategies of Inquiry (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), pp. 79-137.

Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Ronald Rogowski, "The Role of Scientific Theory and Anomaly in Social-Scientific Inference," American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 2 (June 1995), pp. 467-470.

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 33-42.

Archival research:

Philip C. Brooks, Research in Archives: The Use of Unpublished Primary Sources (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969)

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)

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)

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