#### 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.
- Robert Schulzinger, ed., <u>A Companion to American Foreign Relations</u> (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).
- John M. Carroll and George C. Herring, eds., <u>Modern American Diplomacy</u>, 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., <u>American Foreign Relations: A Historiographical Review</u> (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.
- Michael Hogan, ed., Paths to Power: The Historiography of American Foreign
  Relations to 1941 (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2000). More
  historiographical reviews most from the journal Diplomatic History.

# Bibliographies on American foreign policy:

- Robert L. Beisner and Kurt W. Hanson, <u>American Foreign Relations Since 1600: A Guide to the Literature</u>, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-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), <u>Guide to American Foreign Relations</u>
  Since 1700, ed. Richard Dean Burns (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1983).
- Benjamin R. Beede, <u>Intervention and Counterinsurgency: An Annotated</u>
  <u>Bibliography of the Small Wars of the United States, 1898-1984</u> (NY: Garland, 1985).
- Myron J. Smith, Jr., <u>The Secret Wars: A Guide to Sources in English. Vol. 2:</u>
  <u>Intelligence, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare, Covert Operations,</u>
  1945-1980 (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 1981)

For more bibliographies see also:

- <u>Foreign Affairs</u>: 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, Shane J. Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, and Kenneth J. Hagan, <u>American Foreign Relations: A History Since 1895</u>, 6th ed. (2005); 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); t

his text also has useful bibliographical notes at the ends of chapters.

# Websites to consult:

- http://anacreon.clas.uconn.edu/~pressman/documents.htm. This website collects a range of documents on U.S. foreign policy and has links to other important websites. The focus is on the war on terror and the mideast but many other subjects are covered. Organized by Professor Jeremy Pressman of the University of Connecticut.
- www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/. This is the National Security Archive website, an excellent source of primary documents about U.S. foreign and security policy.

For more bibliographies, encyclopedias, and relevant websites see appendix 1 in Marc Trachtenberg, The Craft of International History: A Guide to Method (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006). It is a gold mine.

#### Textbooks and surveys:

- ## Thomas A. Bailey, <u>A Diplomatic History of the American People</u>, 10th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980)
- ## Jerald A. Combs, <u>The History of American Foreign Policy</u>, 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, <u>Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations from</u>
  1897
  (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002)
- Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Jmes M. Scott, American Foreign
  Policy, 6th ed. (Florence, KY: Thompson Wadsworth, 2002)
- Frederick H. Hartmann and Robert L. Wendzel, <u>America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World</u> (NY: HarperCollins, 1994)
- Richard A. Melanson, <u>American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War</u> (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998)
- George F. Kennan, <u>American Diplomacy</u>, 1900-1950 (NY: New American Library, 1951)
- John G. Stoessinger, <u>Nations in Darkness: Russia, China, and America</u>, 5th ed. (NY: McGraw, 1990) (An interpretive survey.)

#### Historical document & essay collections:

- Thomas G. Paterson and Dennis Merrill, eds., <u>Major Problems in American</u>
  <u>Foreign Relations</u>, 2 vols, 4th ed. (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1994)
- Thomas G. Paterson, ed. <u>Major Problems in American Foreign Policy</u>, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1989)

## Journals:

- <u>Foreign Affairs</u>. 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.
- <u>Foreign Policy</u>. A prominent if irritatingly undocumented journal of current policy.
- <u>Diplomatic History</u>. The main journal covering American diplomatic history. <u>Journal of Cold War History</u>. A good new history journal.
- $\overline{\text{International Security}}$ . 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.
- <u>American Historical Review</u>. A general historical journal that once gave good coverage to American diplomatic history but has lately drifted into postmodern gibberizing.

# Press and radio on world affairs:

- <u>The Economist</u>. A British weekly newsmagazine. The best single printed news source on current world affairs.
- The Far Eastern Economic Review. A fine monthly newsmagazine covering Asian affairs.
- BBC World Service. Good world news coverage, aired in Boston at 9:00-10:00 a.m. and 11:00p.m.-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.

# Readers on 1990s 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., <u>International Politics: Enduring</u> Concepts and Contemporary Issues, 3rd ed. (NY: 1992)
- K.J. Holsti, <u>The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International</u> Theory (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985)
- Kenneth N. Waltz, <u>Theory of International Politics</u> (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1979)
- Benjamin Cohen, The Question of Imperialism (NY: Basic Books, 1973)
- G. John Ikenberry, ed., <u>American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays</u> (NY: HarperCollins, 1989)
- Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., The Domestic Sources of

#### Peace Movements:

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

# Foreign lobbies and ethnic politics as influences on American foreign policy:

- Tony Smith, <u>Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of</u>
  American Foreign Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)
- Thomas Ambrosio, ed., <a href="Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy">Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy</a> (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002)
- Mohammed E. Ahrari, ed., <a href="Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy">Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy</a> (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987)
- Alexander DeConde, Race, Ethnicity and Ameican Foreign Policy: A History (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992)
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, <u>The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy</u> (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007)
- John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," <u>London Review of Books</u>, Vol. 28. No. 6 (March 23, 2006); a footnoted version is at <a href="http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=891198">http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=891198</a>. A precursor to their book <u>The Israel Lobby</u>, listed above. More writings on controversy stirred by their article are found online at www.americantaskforce.org.
- Michael Massing, "The Storm Over the Israel Lobby," <u>The New York Review of Books</u>, Vol. 53, No. 10 (June 8, 2006).
- Jeffrey Birnbaum, "The Influence Merchants," <u>Fortune</u>, December 7, 1998, pp. 134-152, especially the chart on p. 137. 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.
- Edward Tivnan, <u>The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy</u> (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1987)
- A.F.K. Organski, <u>The \$30 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel</u> (NY: Columbia U. Press, 1990)
- Steven L. Spiegel, <u>The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan</u> (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1985)
- Paul Findley, <u>They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby</u> (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1985)
- Michael Lind, "The Israel Lobby," <u>Prospect</u>, April 1, 2002; and Adam Garfinkle, "Israel Lobby Part II," <u>Prospect</u>, September 2002.
- Ross Y. Koen, <u>The China Lobby in American Politics</u> (NY: Harper & Row, 1974)
- Nicholas John Cull, <u>Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against</u>
  <u>American "Neutrality" in World War II</u> (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Horace C. Peterson, <u>Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American</u>
  <u>Neutrality</u>, 1914-1917 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939)
- J. Duane Squires, <u>British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from</u> <u>1914 to 1917</u> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935)
- Ken Silverstein, "Their Men in Washington: Undercover with D.C.'s Lobbyists for Hire," <a href="Harper's Magazine">Harper's Magazine</a> (July 2007): 53-61. A revealing window on how

foreign lobbies operate in Washington. Silverstein demonstrates that even the most odious foreign interests can hire very capable former U.S. government officials with strong connections to the government and the press.

# Propaganda, and the press as tools of American foreign policy and influences on American foreign policy:

- Jarol B. Mannheim, <u>Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy</u> (NY: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Warren P. Strobel, <u>Late-Breaking Foreign Policy: The News Media's Influence on</u> Peace Operations (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1998)
- Johanna Neuman, <u>Lights, Camera, War: Is Media Technology Driving International</u> Politics? (NY: St. Martin's, 1996)
- Philip Seib, <u>Headline Diplomacy: How News Coverage Affects Foreign Policy</u> (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997)
- David Barstow, "Behind TV Analysts, Pentagon's Hidden Hand," New York Times, April 20, 2008. The many former generals who commentated on TV about the Iraq war after 2002 were secretly given large Pentagon access on condition they not reveal it, and often made money as contractors off their Pentagon access. Conflict of interest anyone?

# American Grand Strategy:

- Robert J. Art, "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy After the Cold War," <u>International Security</u>, 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," <u>International Security</u>, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 5-48.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Case for Finite Containment: Analyzing U.S. Grand Strategy," <u>International Security</u> (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., <u>America's Strategy in a Changing World: An International Security Reader</u> (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992)
- Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Matters," <u>International Security</u>, 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 <a href="the-Balance of Power">the Balance of Power</a> (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, <u>A New Isolationism: Threat or Promise</u>? (Washington, DC: Potomac Associates, 1972). A statement of the isolationist viewpoint.
- Steven R. David, "Why the Third World Still Matters," <u>International Security</u>, 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.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "America's Changed Strategic Interests," <u>Survival</u>, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January/February 1991), pp. 3-17. A conservative view of America's post-Cold War global interests.

#### The United States and Human Rights:

- Fiona Terry, <u>Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action</u> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002)
- David P. Forsythe, <u>Human Rights and World Politics</u>, 2nd ed., rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983)
- David Forsythe, <u>Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: Congress Reconsidered</u> (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988)
- Richard Claude and Burns Weston, eds., <u>Human Rights in the World Community:</u>
  Issues and Action (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989)
- Lars Schoultz, <u>Human Rights and United States Policy Toward Latin America</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981)
- Human Rights Watch, <u>The Bush Administration's Record on Human Rights in 1989</u> (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990)
- Human Rights Watch,  $\underline{\text{World Report 1990}}$  (NY: Human Rights Watch, 1991), and later years.
- Jerome Slater and Terry Nardin, "Nonintervention and Human Rights," <u>Journal of Politics</u>, Vol. 48 (1986), pp. 86-96.
- Morton H. Halperin and David Scheffer, with Patricia L. Small, <u>Self-</u>

  <u>Determination in the New World Order</u> (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, 1992)
- Walter Lacqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., <u>The Human Rights Reader</u>, rev. ed. (NY: Meridian, 1990)
- Stephen P. Marks, "Promoting Human Rights," in Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., <u>World Security</u> (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?

## The United States and conflict prevention/conflict termination:

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

# The United States and democracy:

- Thomas Carothers, <u>Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve</u> (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, <u>The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and</u> 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, <u>Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace</u> (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1979)
- Kendrick A. Clements, <u>The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson</u> (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992), pp. 93-203.
- Thomas J. Knock, <u>To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World</u> Order (NY: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, <u>Woodrow Wilson: A Life for World Peace</u>, trans. Herbert Rowen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)
- N. Gordon Levin, <u>Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War</u> 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, <u>Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American</u>
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- J. Duane Squires, <u>British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917</u> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935)
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- Edward H. Buerhig, <u>Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power</u> (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.

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- Justus D. Doenecke, "U.S. Policy and the European War, 1939-1941," <u>Diplomatic History</u>, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Fall 1995), pp. 669-698.
- Robert A. Divine, <u>The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into World War II</u> (Huntington, NY: Krieger, 1976)
- Bruce M. Russett, <u>No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S.</u>
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- Jonathan G. Utley, <u>Going to War With Japan, 1937-1941</u> (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1985)
- Waldo Heinrichs, <u>The Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II</u> (NY: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- William L. Neumann, <u>America Encounters Japan</u> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963), pp. 184-289.

- James MacGregor Burns, <u>Roosevelt 1940-1945</u>: The Soldier of Freedom (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970)
- Robert A. Divine, Roosevelt and World War II (NY: Penguin, 1970)
- Mark Stoler, Allies and Adversaries: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Grand Alliance, and U.S. Strategy in World War II (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000)
- 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)
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- ## John Lewis Gaddis, <u>The United States and the Origins of the Cold War</u> 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)
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- Norman A. Graebner, ed., <a href="The Cold War">The Cold War</a> (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1976)

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- Michael Schaller, <u>The United States and China in the Twentieth Century</u>, 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, <u>A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China since 1972</u> (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1992)
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- Thomas J. Christensen, <u>Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic</u>

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- Thomas J. Christensen, "A 'Lost Chance' For What? Rethinking the Origins of U.S.-PRC Confrontation," <u>Journal of American-East Asian Relations</u>, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 249-278.
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- ## 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)
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# U.S. National Security Policy:

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- McGeorge Bundy, <u>Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years</u> (New York: Random House, 1988)
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On the ideas and acitivies of the neoconservatives, who have large influence in the George W. Bush administration, an informative blog is: LobeLog.com.

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