

American Politics/ Foreign Policy

Political Science 30
Amherst College

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Pavel Machala
Clark House 203
Office Hours: M and F 3:30-5:00

pmachala@amherst.edu
www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/
542-2095 or 542-2318

The attacks of September 11, the continuing war in Iraq and America's growing relative industrial decline, have cast a long shadow over current U.S. foreign policy. But while these events dominate much of the news, *the purpose of this course will not be to analyze any specific foreign policies, but, instead, to examine how foreign policy is made in the United States.* We will explore the domestic political, socio-economic and cultural forces which have historically shaped major foreign policy debates as well as the grand strategies which have sustained America's role in world affairs. After familiarizing ourselves with the four main foreign policy ideological traditions (Jeffersonian, Hamiltonian, Jacksonian and Wilsonian) which typically compete for political dominance, we will scrutinize how the rules set in the Constitution structure the foreign policy making process. Special attention will be paid to the shifting and evolving power of the Presidency, Congress, the mass media, public opinion, elections, think-tanks, ethnic, religious and class-based lobbies and grass roots social movements. The course will also examine the rise of the power elite and the national security state, the role of the military and intelligence agencies, the power of secrecy and deception, and the significance of the political psychology of presidents and their key advisors, as well as the function of gender in the making of foreign policy.

SYLLABUS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

- You can find the electronic version of this syllabus EITHER in Blackboard/Course Information OR at <http://www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/syllabi>.
- The course is divided into FIVE major parts and 27 sections. Unless otherwise indicated, each section corresponds to one class meeting.
- COURSE REQUIREMENTS
 - Since my lectures are largely interpretative, I will not recapitulate the assigned readings. Therefore, *I will assume you have read them in advance of each class session.*
 - *You are encouraged to post comments to ten separate Blackboard "Discussion Boards."* Each "Discussion Board" corresponds to one class meeting. Please submit your comments no later than 11:00pm on the day prior to the given class meeting. It is my hope that this exercise will enable you to better understand what you have read and more effectively organize your thoughts. Because these comments will be available to

anyone enrolled in the course, I hope some of them will generate serious counter-comments, which will then spill over into our meetings. (None of these comments will be graded, though I will consult them if your final grade is borderline.)

- ***I am not going to be counting class attendance towards your course grade. However, I will consult the attendance sheet in circumstances such as an emergency request for an extension on your exams and term papers.***
- As far as other **major requirements** are concerned, you will have **TWO OPTIONS:**

Option ONE: Two in-class exams AND two on-line quizzes. Each of these four items will count for 25% of your final grade. (The two on-line quizzes are self-scheduled BUT you should expect to spend approximately 40 minutes on each quiz. You will be taking them in Weber 102.)

- **1st on-line quiz - February 28 and March 1 - Webster 102 (6:00-9:00pm) – expect to spend approximately 30 minutes on this quiz; the classroom will close at 9:00pm**
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “A” through “L” will take the quiz on Tuesday, February 28
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “M” through “Z” will take the quiz on Wednesday, March 1
- **1st in-class exam – Thursday, March 16 - during regular class time**
- **2nd on-line quiz - Tuesday, May 9 OR Wednesday, May 10 - Webster 102 (6:00-9:00pm)**
- **2nd in-class exam - Thursday, May 11 - during regular class time**
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “A” through “L” will take the quiz on Wednesday, May 10
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “M” through “Z” will take the quiz on Tuesday, May 9

Option TWO: Two on-line quizzes, one in-class exam, AND one ten-page research paper. The in-class exam and the online quizzes will each count for 20% of the final grade; the research paper will count for 40% of the final grade. (If you decide to write a research paper, you need to submit to Blackboard’s Discussion Board a two-or-three page proposal, including a preliminary bibliography. The deadline for the proposal will be Friday, March 3.

- **1st on-line quiz –February 28 or March 1 Webster 102 (6:00-9:00pm)**
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “A” through “L” will take the quiz on Tuesday, February 28
 - Students whose surname starts with the letter “M” through “Z” will take the quiz on Wednesday, March 1
 -
- **1st (and only) in-class exam – Thursday, March 16 - during regular class time**
- **2nd on-line quiz – May 9 or May 10 - Webster 102 (6:00-9:00pm)**

- Students whose surname starts with the letter “A” through “L” will take the quiz on Wednesday, May 10
- Students whose surname starts with the letter “M” through “Z” will take the quiz on Tuesday, May 9

- **Paper proposal deadline – March 3**
- **Paper due – April 1 (approximate length /10-12 pages)**

Policy on make-up exams and quizzes: *none will be considered without your class Dean's explicit and extremely strong advice.*

“As pursuant to the honor code, plagiarism, multiple submissions, or any other serious violations will result in failure for the course.”

- **Blackboard and Webpage**

Throughout the course we will be relying heavily on Blackboard (<https://blackboard.amherst.edu/webapps/login>) and my webpage (<http://www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/>). Therefore, it is incumbent upon you to familiarize yourself with their basic features. For example, throughout the semester, I will be posting on Blackboard's Announcements any new information about course-related events, such as newspaper articles or speakers. Notification of any new reading material will be also posted on Blackboard's Announcements. Many assigned multilith readings can be also accessed through my webpage.

Additional material can be also found at <http://www.amherst.edu/library/eres/ps/30/>

- **Materials to be Read**

- Throughout the course we will be referring to current events in world politics and American foreign policy. Please try to read one major (U.S. or non-U.S.) **newspaper** on a regular (preferably daily) basis.
- The following books are recommended for purchase at **Amherst Books** (corner of Main and South Pleasant Street):

Louis Fisher, Presidential War Power, 2004 (2nd Edition Revised)

Peter Singer, The president of good & evil : the ethics of George W. Bush, 2004

Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and The Global Order, 2004

Correspondents of the New York Times, Class Matters, 2005

Herbert J. Gans, Democracy and the news, 2003 chs 1, 2, 3, and 4

Stephen Ducat, The wimp factor : gender gaps, holy wars, and the politics of anxious masculinity, 2004 (optional/ the assigned pages will be also in a multilith)

- ALL OTHER REQUIRED readings for this course exist either (or both) in electronic or paper (multilith) forms. OPTIONAL readings exist only in electronic form.
- You may purchase the required reading in two multilith packets. The first volume is already available. The second volume multilith will be ready by March 1. To purchase these multiliths go to the Political Science Office, Room 103 Clark House.
- You can also access the electronic version of the majority of multilith readings through my website (<http://www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/>). You can access these readings by using the electronic version of the syllabus and then clicking on the texts' hyperlinks (**username: "student;" password: "amherst0506"**).
- Books recommended for purchase are marked (P). Readings compiled in multilith form are marked (M). Readings available in electronic form are marked (W).

I. Foreign Policy 101

1. Does America Need A Foreign Policy? (Tuesday, January 31 !!!)

Wallace Shawn, "[Foreign Policy Therapist](#)," *Nation*, December 3, 2001 (W)

Samuel Huntington, "[The Lonely Superpower](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, March/ April 1999 (W)

Thomas Friedman, "[It's A Flat World, After All](#)," *New York Times*, April 3, 2005 (W)

Walter Russell Mead, "[Special Providence](#)," *New York Times*, November 25, 2001 (W)

Walt, Stephen M. "[Taming American Power](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (5) 2005 (W)

Moises Naim, "[Anti-Americanisms](#)," *Foreign Policy*, No. 128, 2002 (5pp) (W)

Pew Global Survey, [American Character Gets Mixed Reviews](#), (W)

BBC Poll <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/programmes/wtwta/poll/html/political/statements.stm>

Zbigniew Brzezinski, "How Jimmy Carter and I Started the Mujahideen," <http://www.counterpunch.org/brzezinski.html>

Madeleine Albright, "An Interview with Lesley Stahl – 60 Minutes," <http://home.comcast.net/~dhamre/docAlb.htm>

OPTIONAL

Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and The Global Order*, 2004 pp. 232-272 (P)

James Risen, "Secret History of the CIA in Iran," *New York Times*, June 20, 2000 (W) <http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/041600iran-cia-intro.html>

Susan Paterson, Michael J. Tierney, Daniel Maliniak, "[Inside the Ivory Tower](#)," *Foreign Policy*, 2005 (W)

Is America too powerful for its own good?

<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,647755,00.html>

Mark Fiore, Greater Geoglandia , <http://www.sfgate.com/columnists/fiore/>

2. The Iraq War

Brent Scowcroft, "[Don't Attack Saddam](#)," Wall Street Journal, August 20, 2002 (W)

The White House, "[The Decade of Deception and Defiance](#)," September 12, 2002 (W)

Patrick Tyler, "[U.S. Strategy Plan Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop](#) – A One- Superpower World, New York Times, March 8, 1992 (W)

Defense Planning Guidance/ excerpt /also known as Pentagon's Plan to "[Prevent the Re-emergence of a New Rival](#)," New York Times, March 8, 1992 (W) ***

U.S. - IRAQ ProCon .org <http://www.usiraqprocon.org/?gclid=CPfVns2Tp4ICFROBGgodxgdyDw>

Frontline, The War Behind Closed Doors, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/view/>

Chalmers Johnson, [BLOWBACK: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire](#) (W)

Stephen M. Walt, "[The Blame Game](#)," Foreign Policy, November /December 2005 (W) ***

David C. Hendrickson and Robert W. Tucker, "[Revisions in Need of Revising: What Went Wrong in the Iraq War](#)," Survival 47(2) 2005 (W) **

Henry A. Giroux, EDUCATION [AFTER ABU GHRAIB: Revisiting Adorno's politics of education](#)," Cultural Studies Vol. 18, No. 6 November 2004, pp. 779- 815 (W)

OPTIONAL

[Selected Hyperlinks](#)

<http://www.amherst.edu/~pmachala/Archive/Iraq%20War/The%20Iraq%20War%20hyperlinks.doc>

[Abu Ghraib](#)

<http://images.google.com/images?q=abu+graib&hl=en&btnG=Search+Images>

George W. Bush, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and to the American People," 9/20/2001

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/print/20010920-8.html>

[View the President's Remarks](#)

[Listen to the President's Remarks](#)

[George W. Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point](#) (W) George W. Bush, "[The National Security Strategy of the United States](#)," September 17, 2002 September 20, 2002 *Excerpts from President Bush's outline of "The National Security Strategy of the United States."* New York Times, September 20, 2002 (W)

The entire text of George W. Bush, "[The National Security Strategy of the United States](#)," September 17, 2002 September 20, 2002 (W)

[Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, William Kristol, and others, open letter to President William Clinton warning that the policy of containing Iraq is "dangerously inadequate."](#) *January 26, 1998* (W)

[NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security](#) (April 14, 1950) (W)

Richard Falk, "[Demystifying Iraq](#)," CR: The New Centennial Review 5.1 (2005) 43-62 (W)

Ellen C. Collier, "[Instances of Use of United States Forces Abroad, 1798 - 1993](#)", *Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division*, Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, October 7, 1993 (W)

Bill Clinton, "[The Cost of Action Must be Weighed Against the Price of Inaction](#)," December 16, 1998 (W)

3. The Cost/Price/Heroism of War

Tim O'Brien, *The Things They Carry*, pp. 1-26, 67-85 (excerpts/ class handout/ also an insert in volume I of the multilith) **

Chris Hedges, "[On War](#)," *New York Review of Books*, 51(20) December 16, 2004 (W)

Patrick Radden Keefe, "[Iraq: America's Private Armies](#)," *New York Review of Books*, 51(13) August 12, 2004 (W)

Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam*, 1993 ch. 1 (M) *

Roberto Lovato, "[The War for Latinos](#)," *Nation*, October 3, 2005 (W) (M) *

OPTIONAL

Military Recruitment

http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=173&Itemid=61

Military Recruitment 2004: Massachusetts

http://nationalpriorities.org/auxiliary/maps_files/recruitment/MA.pdf

NPP INCOME TAX CHART <http://nationalpriorities.org/auxiliary/interactivetaxchart/taxchart.html>

National Security

http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=97&Itemid=132

National Priorities Project http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

Citizen Soldier <http://www.citizen-soldier.org/index.html>

The Cost of Iraq War http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=182

Bender, "[Economists say cost of war could top \\$2 trillion](#)," *Boston Globe*, January 8, 2006 (W)

Tod Ensign, *A Working Class War: Who's Opposing It?* Citizen Soldier <http://www.citizen-soldier.org/draftchatter.html>

John S. Friedman, "[The Iraq Index](#)," *Nation*, December 19, 2005 (W)

Michael E. O'Hanlon and Nina Kamp, "[Iraq Index: Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq](#)," updated November 21 2005, Brookings Institution

WEBSITES (optional)

Veterans for Peace <http://www.veteransforpeace.org/>

IVAW: Iraq Veterans Against War <http://www.ivaw.net/>

Other Relevant Links <http://www.ivaw.net/index.php?id=26>

AntiWar.com <http://www.cpj.org/>

Web page listing names of those killed since 5/1/03 <http://www.antiwar.com/casualties/list.php>

Photos those Americans killed in Iraq <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/iraq/casualties/facesofthefallen.htm>

4. Foreign Policy Theories

Andrew Hurrell, "[America and the World: Issues in the Teaching of then U.S. Foreign Policy](#)," Perspectives on Politics, 2(10 2004 (W) (M)

JEAN A. GARRISON, ed. [Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium](#), International Studies Review (2003) 5, 155–202 (W)

David Skidmore and Valerie Hudson, "Establishing the Limits of State Autonomy, @ in Skidmore and Hudson, *The Limits of State Autonomy*, pp. 1-15 (15pp) (M) ***

Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow, [Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis](#), 1999 pp.1-12 (10pp) (M) ***

William G. Domhoff, *Who Rules America? Power and Politics in the year 2000* 3rd edition, pp.1-16 (M) *

Doug Stokes, [The Heart of Empire? Theorizing US Empire in an Era of Transnational Capitalism](#), Third World Quarterly, Volume 26:Issue 2, 2005 (W) (M)

Elisabeth Drew, "[The Enforcer](#)," New York Review of Books, 50(7) May 1, 2003 (W) (M)

[Eisenhower's Farewell Address to the Nation](#) (W) ***

Bush's Foreign Policy Team <http://rightweb.irc-online.org/charts/fpteam.php>

II. Self-Declared Traditions in American Foreign Policy

5. "The Jeffersonian Tradition"

Walter Russell Mead, [American Grand Strategy in a World at Risk](#), Orbis, 49(4) 2005 (W) (M) ****

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence*, ch. 6 (pp.40) (Reserve) (M) ****

Thomas Jefferson," [First Inaugural Address](#)," March 4, 1801 (W) (M) ***

Robert Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "[Thomas Jefferson and Foreign Policy](#)," *Foreign Affairs* 69 (Spring 1990): 135-156 (W) (M) ****

OPTIONAL

Melvyn P. Leffler, "[911 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy](#)," International Affairs, 79 (5) 2003 (W)

Emma Rothchild, "[Real, Pretended or Imaginary](#)," New York Review of Books, 51(5) March 25 2004 (W)

6. “The Hamilton Way”

Walter Russell Mead, “[The Hamilton Way](#),” World Policy Journal, Fall 1996 (20pp) (W) (M) or Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence*, ch. 4 (30pp) (Reserve) ****

Mike Wallace, “[That Hamilton Man](#),” New York Review of Books, 52(2) February 10, 2005 (10pp) (W) (M) **

George Washington, [FAREWELL ADDRESS \(Excerpts\)](#), September 17th, 1796 (W) (M) ***

John Harper, “[Mentor for a Hegemon: The Rising Fortune of Alexander Hamilton](#),” National Interest, fall 2000 (W) (M) ****

OPTIONAL

John Lamberton Harper, *American Machiavelli, Alexander Hamilton and The Origins of US Foreign Policy*, 2004 (Reserve)

Coalition for a Realistic Foreign Policy, <http://www.realisticforeignpolicy.org/static/000024.php>

7. “The School of Andrew Jackson”

Walter Russell Mead, “[The Jacksonian Tradition](#),” National Interest, winter 1999 (25pp) (W) (M) or Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence*, ch.7 (pp.219-263(40pp) (Reserve) ****

Arthur Schlesinger, “[Democratic Autocrat](#),” New York Review of Books, 50(8) May 15, 2003 (W) (M) **

Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism*, 2004 pp.96-117 (M) **

OPTIONAL

Robert Kaplan, “[The Media and the Military](#),” Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 294, Issue 4, 2004 (W)

Richard Brookhiser, “[Carrying Sticks and Hugging Trees](#),” New York Times, December 9, 2001 (W)

Michael Kelly, “[The American Way of War](#),” Atlantic Monthly, June 2002, (5pp) (W)

Fred Kaplan, “[JFK’s First Strike Plan](#),” Atlantic Monthly, October 2001 (10pp) (W)

8. “Wilsonianism and Its Mission”

Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence*, ch.5 (pp.132-173(40pp) (Reserve) (M) ****

Woodrow Wilson. "The World Must Be Made Safe for Democracy." War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917 (W) (M) ****

Walter A. McDougal, “Wilsonianism, or Liberal Internationalism (so called),” in McDougal, *Promised Land, Crusader State* (25pp) (M) ****

III. DO INDIVIDUALS MATTER?

9. Judgment/Character/ Ethics/Personality of the President

James Bryce, "[Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents](#)," from James Bryce, *The Great American Commonwealth*, (W) (M) **

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Rating the Presidents: Washington to Clinton," ([full](#) and [excerpt](#)) *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 179-90 (W) (M) **

Bill Keller, "[The Soul of George W. Bush](#)," *New York Times*, March 23, 2002 (W)*

Peter Singer, *The president of good & evil : the ethics of George W. Bush*, 2004 chs. 2,4,5,6, 8, 10 (P) ****

OPTIONAL

Historical rankings of U.S. Presidents From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_rankings_of_U.S._Presidents#Surveys_of_scholars

10. Neocons

Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and The Global Order*, 2004 pp.9- 73 112-156 (100pp) (P) ****

Thomas G. West, "[Leo Strauss and American Foreign Policy](#)," *Claremont Review of Books*, summer 2004 (W) **

Zachary Selden, "[Neoconservatives and the American Mainstream](#)," *Policy Review* online (W) **

OPTIONAL

"[Leo Strauss and the American Right](#)," featuring Harvey Mansfield. In RAM format 5/15/03 - NPR's(direct link bunt needs RealPlayer) (W))

William Pfaff, "[Neoconservatives: The Long Reach of Leo Strauss](#)," *International Herald Tribune*, May 15, 2003 (2pp) (W)

James Atlas, "[A Classicist's Legacy: New Empire Builders](#)," *New York Times*, May 4, 2003 (5pp) (W)

Alain Franchon and Daniel Vernet, "[Strategist and Philosopher](#)," *Le Monde*, April 15, 2003 (5pp) (W)

Gerhard Sporn, "[The Leo-conservatives](#)," *Der Spiegel*, June 2003 (5pp) (W)

Bill Keller, "[The Sunshine Warrior](#)," *New York Times Magazine*, September 22, 2002 (10pp) (W)

Peter Berkowitz, "[What Hath Strauss Wrought?](#)" *Weekly Standard*, 8(37) 2003 (W)

Mark Blitz, "[Leo Strauss, the Straussians and American foreign policy](#)," *OpenDemocracy* November 11 2003 (W)

Max Boot, "[Think Again: Neocons](#)," *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2004 (W)

Elizabeth Drew, "[The Neocons in Power](#)," New York Review of Books, 50(10) 2003 (W)
Francis Boyle, "[Neo-Cons, Fundies, Feddies, and Con-Artists](#)," Perdana Peace Forum 12-17, 2005 (W)
Shadia B. Drury [Leo Strauss and the American Right](#), ch. 4 (W)
[Danny Postel](#), [Noble lies and perpetual war: Leo Strauss, the neo-cons, and Iraq](#) 10, 16, 2003 (W)
Irving Kristol, [The Neoconservative Persuasion](#), Weekly Standard, 8(47) August 25, 2003 (W)
Michael Lind, "[The Weird Men Behind George W. Bush's War](#)," New Statesman, April 7, 2003 (W)
Mark Lilla, "[The Closing of the Straussian Mind](#)," The New York Review of Books, 51(17) 11- 4, 2004 (W) (M)
Empire Builders, Christian Science Monitor,
<http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/neocon/index.html?s=spusa>
Neocon 101 <http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/neocon/neocon101.html>
Neoconservative Quiz <http://www.csmonitor.com/specials/neocon/quiz/neoconQuiz.html>
Bruce Murphy, Neoconservative clout seen in U.S. Iraq policy
<http://www.jsonline.com/news/gen/apr03/131523.asp?format=print>
Bush's Foreign Policy Team <http://rightweb.irc-online.org/charts/fpteam.php>

11. The Costs of Iraq War "After Stiglitz"

[Bush's Administration Past Comments About the Cost of Iraq War](#) (W)*

Linda Bilmes and Stiglitz, [The Economic Cost of the Iraq War](#) (W) ***

William Northaus, "[Iraq: The Economic Consequences of War](#)," New York Review of Books, 29(19) 2002 (W) **

John S. Friedman, "[The Iraq Index](#)," Nation, December 19, 2005 (W) *

OPTIONAL

Bender, "[Economists say cost of war could top \\$2 trillion](#)," Boston Globe, January 8, 2006 (W)

Michael E. O'Hanlon and Nina Kamp, "[Iraq Index: Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Saddam Iraq](#)," updated November 21 2005, Brookings Institution

IRAQ INDEX:Tracking Reconstruction and Security in Post-Saddam Iraq
<http://www.brookings.edu/iraqindex>

WEBSITES (optional)

The Cost of Iraq War PUSHBACKCNN.COM <http://pushbackcnn.com/>

Global Security.Org http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/iraq_reconstruction.htm (Iraq War)

National Security Project
http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=97&Itemid=132

The Cost of Iraq War (from the National Priorities Project)
http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=182

Showing how federal tax and spending policies impact your community.
(from the National Priorities Project)

http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1

Showing how your parents income tax pays for the Iraq war (from the National Priorities Project)

<http://nationalpriorities.org/auxiliary/interactivetaxchart/taxchart.html>

Military Recruitment (from the National Priorities Project)

http://nationalpriorities.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=173&Itemid=61

Military Recruitment 2004: Massachusetts (from the National Priorities Project)

http://nationalpriorities.org/auxiliary/maps_files/recruitment/MA.pdf

Veterans for Peace <http://www.veteransforpeace.org/>

IVAW: Iraq Veterans Against War <http://www.ivaw.net/>

Other Relevant Links <http://www.ivaw.net/index.php?id=26>

AntiWar.com <http://www.cpj.org/>

Web page listing names of those killed since 5/1/03 <http://www.antiwar.com/casualties/list.php>

Photos those Americans killed in Iraq <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/world/iraq/casualties/facesofthefallen.htm>

12. Manliness

Stephen Ducat, The wimp factor : gender gaps, holy wars, and the politics of anxious masculinity, 2004 pp.1-23 and 84-114 and 150-167 (60pp) (Optional Purchase/ Amherst Books) or (M) ***

Robert Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, pp. 1-7, 17-35 (25pp) (M) ***

Norman Mailer, "[White Men Unburdened](#)," *New York Review of Books* 2003 (5pp) (W) (M) ***

Cynthia Enloe, "[Masculinity as Foreign Policy Issue](#)," *Foreign Policy in Focus*, October 2000 (W) (M) ***

OPTIONAL

MAUREEN DOWD, "[All the President's Women](#)," *New York Times*, October 5, 2005 (W)

13. Secrets and Intelligence

Sissela Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*, 1983 chs.12 and 13 (M) ***

Kate Doyle, "[U.S. Secrecy and Lies](#)," *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 5 (24) 2000 (5pp) (W) (M) **

Kitty Kelly, "[Bush's Veil Over History](#)," *New York Times*, October 10, 2005 (W) (M)

Spencer Ackerman and John Judis, "[The Selling of Iraq War: The First Casualty](#)," *New Republic*, June 30, 2003 (W) (M) **

Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and The Global Order, 2004 pp.201-231 (P) ****

Mark Danner, "[The Secret Way to War](#)," *New York Review of Books*, 52 (10) June 2005 (W) (M) **

Elisabeth Bumiller and James Dao, "[Cheney Says Peril of a Nuclear Iraq Justifies Attack](#)," *New York Times*, August 26, 2002 (W) (M)

Seymour Hersh, "[Selective Intelligence](#)," *New Yorker*, May 12, 2003 (W) (M)

Thomas Powers, "[The Vanishing Case for War](#)," *New York Review of Books*, Volume 50(19) · December 4, 2003 (W) (M) ***

Thomas Powers, "[Secret Intelligence and the 'War on Terror'](#)," *New York Review of Books*, 51(20) December 16, 2004 (W) (M)

OPTIONAL

"Iraq Weapons of Mass Destruction Intelligence in Secretary Powell's United Nation's Speech," *Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Assessments on Iraq*, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence at < <http://a257.g.akamaitech.net/7/257/2422/13jul20041400/www.gpoaccess.gov/serialset/creports/pdf/s108-301/sec7.pdf>>

Christopher Scheer, "Ten Appalling Lies We Were Told About Iraq," *AlterNet*, June 27, 2003
<http://www.alternet.org/story/16274/>

Senator Robert Byrd, "[Time to Come Clean, Mr. President](#)," June 6, 2003 (W)

NICHOLAS LEMANN , "[TELLING SECRETS: How a leak became a scandal](#)," *New Yorker*, November 7, 2005 (W)

MAUREEN DOWD, "[Woman Of Mass Destruction New York Times](#)," October 22, 2005 (W)
Judith Miller, "[Judith Miller's Farewell](#)," *New York Times*, November 10, 2005 (W)

WEBSITES (optional)

The National Security Archive, <http://www.gwu.edu/%7EEnsarchiv/index.html>

14. Mid-term In-class Exam Thursday March 16

IV. DOES THE SOCIAL SYSTEM MATTER?

15. Elections 2000 and 2004

Terry Teachout, "[Republican Nation, Democratic Nation?](#)" *Commentary*, January 2001 (10pp) (W) (M)

[Mark Danner](#), "[How Bush Really Won](#)," New York Review of Books, 52 (1) January 13, 2005(W) (M) ***

Stephen Eric Bronner, "[It Happened Here: The Bush Sweep, the Left, and the American Future](#)," Logos, 1(4) 200? (W) (M) *

Douglas Kellner, *Media Spectacle and the Crisis of Democracy: Terrorism War and Election Battles*, chs.5** and 6* (M)

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16. Class Structure

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Andrew Hacker, "[Class Dismissed](#)," New York Review of Books, 38(5) 1991 (W) (M) *

Jeff Madrick, "[The Power of the Super-Rich](#)," New York Review of Books, July 18, 2002 (W) (M) ***

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[David Cole](#), "[What Bush Wants to Hear](#)," New York Review of Books, 52(18) 2005 (W) (M) **

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US Constitution, Articles I:7-10; II:2-3, III:2, and VI
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18. (Imperial) Presidency

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Michael Beschloss, "[The End of Imperial Presidency](#)," New York Times, December 18, 2000 (W) (M)

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Wolfensberger, Donald R., "[THE RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY?](#)" Wilson Quarterly, Spring 2002, Vol. 26, Issue 2 (W) (M) ***

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19. Congress and the War Powers

Louis Fisher, Presidential War Power, 2004 (2nd revised ed.), chs. 6****, 7 -11*** + appendixes A-E (pp. 150) (P)

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Daniel Ellsberg, Secrets : a memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon papers, 2002 ch.1 (pp.15) (M) **

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John Rielly, [A Americans and the World: A Survey at Century's End.](#)@ *Foreign Policy*, spring 1999 (15pp) (W) (M) *

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Richard Sobel, *The Impact of Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy*, ch. 2 (M) ***

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Entman, Robert M. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

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American Journalism Review <http://www.ajr.org/index.asp>

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22. K Street/Wall Street/Mass Media Complex

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John Judis, *The Paradox of American Democracy*, ch.5: Business and the Rise of K Street@ (25pp) (M) ****

Jennifer Washburn, “[When money talks, Congress listens](#),” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 53(4) 1997 (W) ***

Paul Krugman, “[Toward One-Party Rule](#),” *The New York Times*, June 27, 2003 (W)

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Nicholas Confessore, [Welcome to the Machine: How the GOP disciplined K Street and made Bush supreme](#), *Washington Monthly*, July/August 2003 (W) (M) **

David Brooks, [The Problem with K Street Conservatism](#), *Weekly Standard*, 06/24/2002, Volume 007, Issue 40 (W) (M) **

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23. The Power-Elite and the Dissident Establishment (Tuesday, May 2)

Ari Berman, “[The Strategic Class](#),” *Nation*, August 29, 2005 (W) ***

Inderjeet Parmar, “[Resurgent Academic Interest in the Council of Foreign Relations](#),” *Politics*, 21(1) (10pp) (M) ***

C.W. Mills, *The Power Elite*, chs.1 and 12 (W) ****

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Military Contractors <http://www.fas.org/man/company/index.html>

Who Rules America? <http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/index.html>

William Domhoff, Alternative Theoretical Views Military Contractors
<http://www.fas.org/man/company/index.html>
 Who Governs? Theories of Power in America <http://www.udel.edu/htr/American/Texts/whogovern.html>
 Allen Wolfe, Power Elite Now, the American Prospects (in P's e-Archives)
 The Theory of Elites and the Circulation of Elites, From Coser, 1977:396-400,
<http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~lridener/DSS/Pareto/PARETOW7.HTML>
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Forbes 400 Richest Americans, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Vol. 47, No. 3, pages 360–378
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<http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/%7Efelwell/Theorists/Four/Presentations/MILLS/MILLS.PPT#259.33>,

V. OUTSOURCING FOREIGN POLICY

24. A New Liberal Anti-Federalism OR a “Feel-Good” Citizens’ Foreign Policy? (Thursday, May 4)

Terrence Guya, “Local [Government and Global Policies: The Implications of Massachusetts’ ‘Burma Law’](#),” *Political Science Quarterly*, 115 (3) 2000 (W) (M) ****

Dana Priest, “[U.S. Activist Receives Nobel Peace Prize for Land Mine Campaign; Home-Based Effort, Via Computer, Led to International Ban in Treaty](#),” *Washington Post*, October 11, 1997 (W) (M) ***

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<http://www.valleyadvocate.com/gbase/News/content.html?oid=oid:37095> **

Naomi Klein, [No logo : taking aim at the brand bullies](#), 1999 pp. 397- 419 (M) **

Karl Marx, “[Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association](#)”, in Marx, *The First International and After* (Political Writings, Vol. III), pp. 80-81 (W) (M) **

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US Constitution, Articles I, sec. 10 <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.overview.html> (W)

Michael Clough, [A Grass-Roots Policymaking](#), *Foreign Affairs*, 73(1) January/February 1994 (W) (M)

Human Rights Watch World Report 2006, “U.S. Policy of Abuse Undermines Rights Worldwide,”

<http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2006/01/13/global12428.htm> (W)

Steve Pfarrer, [Stirring Up the Coffee Industry: Dean Cycon of Dean's Beans in Orange](#), *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, July 16, 2004 (W)

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http://www.cooperativecoffees.com/members/member_pages/deans_beans.html Caroline Tiger, Bittersweet Chocolate, *Salon.com*, February 14, 2003 <http://www.laborrights.org/press/chocolate021403.htm>

25. NO CLASS ON TUESDAY, May 9 !!!

26. Second In-Class exam (Thursday, May 11)

Some General Websites

Presidents <http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/>

Presidents <http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/P/index.htm>

The White House Website <http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/>

The White House <http://www.whitehouse.gov/>

National Security Council <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/>

National Security Agency <http://www.nsa.gov/>

FBI <http://www.fbi.gov/>

CIA <http://www.odci.gov/>

Pentagon <http://www.defenselink.mil/>

The National Security Archives <http://www.gwu.edu/%7Eensarchiv/>

House Committee on International Relations http://www.house.gov/international_relations/

Middle East Research and Information Project

http://www.merip.org/new_war_resources/new_war_links.html

Middle East <http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/middleeast/>

Institute for Policy Study <http://ips-dc.org/>