

8-1-2005

War and Empire

Brian Flanagan
Grand Valley State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/features>

ScholarWorks Citation

Flanagan, Brian, "War and Empire" (2005). *Features*. 65.
<https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/features/65>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies at ScholarWorks@GVSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Features by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@GVSU. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gvsu.edu.

War and Empire A Reader

Compiled By Brian Flanagan

Between September 14 and November 17, 2005, the Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies will host 18 scholars, journalists, and government leaders from across the country -- including H. W. Brands, Richard Brookhiser, Robert Caro, Victor Davis Hanson, Arianna Huffington, and Michael Scheuer -- to discuss war and American empire.

A taboo subject for much of the 20th century, American empire has been debated in a raft of books since the beginning of the War on Terror. Are we imperial or internationalist? Hegemonic or a global leader? Gathered below are the most influential articles and books attempting to answer these questions and many more, from the pens of our conference participants and other prolific writers.



Conference Participants

Brad Birzer

+ JOURNAL ARTICLES

Birzer, Brad. "[French Imperial Remnants on the Middle Ground: The Strange Case of August de la Balme and Charles Beaubien.](#)" *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* Summer (2000).

----- "Expansive Creative Destruction: Entrepreneurship in the American West." *Western Historical Quarterly* 30 (Spring 1999).

+ BOOKS

Birzer, Brad and Larry Schweikart. [Encyclopedia of the American West](#). New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2002).

+ BOOK CHAPTER

Birzer, Brad. "On the Edge of Empire: Miami Chief John B. Richardville as Old Northwest Entrepreneur." *People of Persistence: The Woodland Peoples of the Great Lakes*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming.

+ [MORE PUBLICATIONS BY BRAD BIRZER](#)

H. W. Brands

+ BOOKS

Brands, H. W. [Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines](#). Oxford UP, 1992.

----- [Inside the Cold War: Loy Henderson and the Rise of the American Empire, 1918-1961](#). Oxford UP, 1991.

----- [The Wages of Globalism: Lyndon Johnson and the Limits of American Power](#). Oxford University Press, 1997.

----- [What America Owes the World: The Struggle for the Soul of Foreign Policy](#). Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[MORE BOOKS BY H. W. BRANDS](#)

Josiah Bunting

+ BOOKS

Bunting, Josiah. [Ulysses S. Grant](#). Henry Holt, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY JOSIAH BUNTING](#)

Robert Caro

+ BOOKS

Caro, Robert. [Master of the Senate: The Years of Lyndon Johnson](#). Knopf, 2003

----- [Means of Ascent: The Years of Lyndon Johnson](#). Knopf, 1991

----- [The Path to Power: The Years of Lyndon Johnson](#). Knopf, 1983

[MORE BOOKS BY ROBERT CARO](#)

Thomas Carty

+ BOOK

Carty, Thomas. [A Catholic in the White House? Religion, Politics, and John F. Kennedy's Presidential Campaign](#). Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Andrew Cayton

+ BOOKS

Anderson, Fred and Andrew Cayton. [Dominion of War: Liberty and the Empire in North America, 1500-2000](#). Viking, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY ANDREW CAYTON](#)

Thomas Donnelly

+ JOURNAL ARTICLES

Donnelly, Thomas. "[Empire of Liberty: The Historical Underpinnings of the Bush Doctrine.](#)" *National Security Outlook* June (2005).

----- "[Preemption, Unilateralism, and Hegemony.](#)" *New York Sun* 22 Mar. 2004.

----- "[The Proof of Primacy.](#)" *National Security Outlook* February (2004).

----- "[Toward a Global Cavalry.](#)" *National Security Outlook* July (2003).

----- "[The Underpinnings of the Bush Doctrine.](#)" *National Security Outlook* January (2003).

+ BOOKS

Donnelly, Thomas. [*The Military We Need: The Defense Requirements of the Bush Doctrine*](#). American Enterprise Institute, 2005.
----- [*Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century*](#). Project for the New American Century, 2000.

Ivan Eland

+ COMMENTARY

Eland, Ivan. "[The Harvest of Messianic Foreign Policy: Anti-U.S. Radical Islam](#)" *ISI* 23 May 2005.
----- "[Media Coverage of Intelligence Manipulation Reflects Acceptance of Imperial Presidency](#)." *ISI* 16 May 2005.
----- "[Three Strikes for Empire](#)." *ISI* 28 March 2005.
----- "[American Exceptionalism](#)." *ISI* 26 Oct. 2004.

[MORE COMMENTARY BY IVAN ELAND](#)

+ JOURNAL ARTICLE

Eland, Ivan. "[The Empire Strikes Out: The 'New Imperialism' and Its Fatal Flaws](#)" *Policy Analysis* November (2002).

+ BOOKS

Eland, Ivan. [*The Empire Has No Clothes: U.S. Foreign Policy Exposed*](#). Independent Institute, 2004.
----- [*Putting "Defense" Back into U.S. Defense Policy*](#). Greenwood, 2001.

Donald Frazier

+ BOOKS

Frazier, Donald. [*Blood and Treasure: Confederate Empire in the Southwest*](#). Texas A&M University Press, 1997.
----- [*United States and Mexico at War: Nineteenth Century Expansionism and Conflict*](#). MacMillan, 1997.

[MORE BOOKS BY DONALD FRAZIER](#)

Richard Gamble

+ PAPER

Gamble, Richard. "[Savior Nation: Woodrow Wilson and the Gospel of Service](#)." The Philadelphia Society. 21 Apr. 2001.

+ BOOK

Gamble, Richard. [*The War for Righteousness: Progressive Christianity, the Great War, and the Rise of the Messianic Nation*](#). ISI Books, 2003.

+ BOOK CHAPTER

Gamble, Richard. "Woodrow Wilson's Revolution Within the Form." [*Reassessing the Presidency: The Rise of the Executive State and the Decline of Freedom*](#). Mises, 2001.

Victor Davis Hanson

+ COMMENTARY

Hanson, Victor Davis. "[A Funny Sort of Empire](#)." *National Review* 27 Nov. 2002.

[MORE COMMENTARY BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON](#)

+ BOOKS

Hanson, Victor Davis. [*Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*](#). Random House, 2002.
----- [*Ripples of Battle: How Wars of the Past Still Determine How We Fight, How We Live, and How We Think*](#). Bantam Doubleday, 2004.

+ BOOK CHAPTER

Hanson, Victor Davis. "What Empire?" [*The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire*](#). Dee, Ivan, 2003.

[MORE BOOKS BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON](#)

David Hendrickson

+ JOURNAL ARTICLES

Hendrickson, David C. and Robert W. Tucker "[The Freedom Crusade](#)." *The National Interest* Fall (2005).
Hendrickson, David C. "[The Curious Case of American Hegemony: Imperial Aspirations and National Decline](#)." *World Policy Journal* Summer (2005).
Hendrickson, David C. "[Toward Universal Empire: The Dangerous Quest for Absolute Security](#)." *World Policy Journal* Fall (2002).

+ BOOKS

Hendrickson, David C. [*Peace Pact: The Lost World of America's Founding*](#). UP of Kansas, 2003.
----- and Robert W. Tucker. [*Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson*](#). Oxford University Press, 1992.
----- [*Imperial Temptation: The New World Order and America's Purpose*](#). Council on Foreign Relations, 1994.

[MORE BOOKS BY DAVID HENDRICKSON](#)

Arianna Huffington

+ COMMENTARY

Huffington, Arianna. "[Why the Anti-War Movement Was Right](#)." *Arianna Online* 16 Apr. 2003.

[MORE COMMENTARY BY ARIANNA HUFFINGTON](#)

+ BOOKS

Huffington, Arianna. [*Fanatics and Fools: The Game Plan for Winning Back America*](#). Miramax, 2004.
----- [*Pigs at the Trough: How Corporate Greed and Political Corruption Are Undermining America*](#). Crown, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY ARIANNA HUFFINGTON](#)

Peter Onuf

+ BOOKS

Gould, Eliga H. and Peter S. Onuf. [*Empire and Nation: The American Revolution and the Atlantic World*](#). Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Onuf, Peter S. [*Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*](#). University of Virginia Press, 2001.

[MORE BOOKS BY PETER ONUF](#)

Michael Scheuer

+ BOOKS

Scheuer, Michael. [*Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on Terror*](#). Potomac Books, 2004.

----- [*Through Our Enemies Eyes: Osama Bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America*](#). Brassey's, 2003.

Karl-Friedrich Walling

+ BOOKS

Walling, Karl-Friedrich. [*Republican Empire: Alexander Hamilton on War and Free Government*](#). University of Kansas Press, 1999.

+ JOURNAL ARTICLE

Walling, Karl-Friedrich. ["Our Interest Guided By Our Justice."](#) *The Claremont Review of Books* Winter (2004).

Richard Bruce Winders

+ BOOKS

Winders, Richard Bruce. [*Crisis in the Southwest: The United States, Mexico, and the Struggle for Texas*](#). Scholarly Resources, 2002.

----- [*Mr. Polk's Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War*](#). College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997.

[MORE BOOKS BY RICHARD BRUCE WINDERS](#)

More Scholars on War and Empire

Andrew Bacevich

+ COMMENTARY

Bacevich, Andrew. ["Unsafe for Democracy."](#) *The Los Angeles Times* 8 Nov. 2004.

----- ["We Have the Power. Now, How Do We Use It?"](#) *The Washington Post* 20 Apr. 2003.

----- ["Does Empire Pay?"](#) *Historically Speaking* April (2003).

+ JOURNAL ARTICLES

Bacevich, Andrew. ["Culture, Globalization, and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Review Essay."](#) *World Policy Journal* Fall (2002).

----- ["New Rome, New Jerusalem."](#) *The Wilson Quarterly* 26 Summer (2002).

----- ["Steppes to Empire."](#) *The National Interest* 68 Summer (2002).

+ BOOKS

Bacevich, Andrew. [*American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*](#). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

----- [*The New American Militarism*](#). New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

-----, ed. [*The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire*](#). Chicago: Dee, Ivan, 2003.

+ BOOK CHAPTER

Bacevich, Andrew. "Reinhold Niebuhr and the Hazards of Empire. James J. Hentz ed. [*The Obligation of Empire: The United States's Grand Strategy for a New Century*](#). Lexington: Kentucky, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY ANDREW BACEVICH](#)

Max Boot

+ COMMENTARY

Boot, Max. ["Neocons May Get the Last Laugh."](#) *Los Angeles Times* 3 Mar. 2005.

----- ["Bush Must Make American Power More Palatable."](#) *The Independent* 6 Nov. 2004.

----- ["In Modern Imperialism, U.S. Needs to Walk Softly."](#) *Los Angeles Times* 15 July 2004.

----- ["Enlightened Imperialism Could Save Liberia."](#) *USA Today* 28 July 2003.

----- ["U.S. Imperialism: A Force for Good"](#) *National Post* 13 May 2003.

----- ["American Imperialism? No need to run away from label."](#) *USA Today* 5 May 2003.

----- ["What Next? The Foreign Policy Agenda Beyond Iraq."](#) *Weekly Standard* 5 May 2003.

----- ["Imperial Ambitions: How Britain Won and Lost the World."](#) *Weekly Standard* 24 March 2003.

----- ["America's Destiny Is to Police the World."](#) *Financial Times* 19 Feb 2003.

- ["Liberal Imperialism."](#) *American Heritage* June/July (2002).
- ["The Case for American Empire."](#) *The Weekly Standard* 15 Oct. 2001.

[MORE COMMENTARY BY MAX BOOT](#)

+ [JOURNAL ARTICLE](#)

Boot, Max. ["The Struggle to Transform the Military."](#) *Foreign Affairs* March/April (2005).

+ [BOOKS](#)

Boot, Max. ["The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power."](#) Basic Books, 2003.

[MORE BOOKS BY MAX BOOT](#)

Noam Chomsky

+ [COMMENTARY](#)

Chomsky, Noam. ["It's Imperialism, Stupid."](#) *Khaleej Times* 4 July 2005.

----- ["Preventative War 'the Supreme Crime.'"](#) *ZNet* 11 Aug. 2003.

[MORE COMMENTARY BY NOAM CHOMSKY](#)

+ [JOURNAL ARTICLES](#)

Chomsky, Noam. ["Imperial Presidency."](#) *Canadian Dimension* January/February (2005).

----- ["Dominance and its Dilemmas."](#) *Boston Review* October (2003).

+ [BOOKS](#)

Chomsky, Noam. ["Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance."](#) Henry Holt, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY NOAM CHOMSKY](#)

Niall Ferguson

+ [COMMENTARY](#)

Ferguson, Niall. ["The End of Empire."](#) *The Wall Street Journal* 21 June 2004.

----- ["The 'E' Word."](#) *The Wall Street Journal* 7 June 2003.

+ [JOURNAL ARTICLES](#)

Ferguson, Niall. ["A World Without Power."](#) *Foreign Policy* July/August (2004).

----- and Laurence J. Kotlikoff. ["Going Critical: American Power and the Consequences of Fiscal Overstretch."](#) *The National Interest* Fall (2003).

----- ["Hegemony or Empire"](#) *Foreign Affairs* September/October (2003).

----- ["British Imperialism Revisited: The Costs and Benefits of 'Anglobalization.'"](#) *Historically Speaking* April (2003).

----- ["What is Power?"](#) *Hoover Digest* Spring (2003).

+ [BOOKS](#)

Ferguson, Niall. ["Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire."](#) New York: Penguin Books, 2004.

----- ["Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order."](#) Basic Books, 2004.

[MORE BOOKS BY NIALL FERGUSON](#)

John Ikenberry

+ [JOURNAL ARTICLES](#)

Ikenberry, G. John. ["America's Imperial Ambition."](#) *Foreign Affairs* September/October (2002).

----- ["Getting Hegemony Right."](#) *National Interest* Spring (2001).

----- ["Illusions of Empire: Defining the New American Order."](#) *Foreign Affairs* (2004).

+ [BOOKS](#)

Ikenberry, G. John. ["After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars."](#) Princeton UP, 2000.

----- ["America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power."](#) Cornell UP, 2002.

Chalmers Johnson

+ [COMMENTARY](#)

Johnson, Chalmers. ["America's Empire of Bases."](#) *Tom Dispatch* 15 Jan. 2004.

----- ["Blowback."](#) *The Nation* 15 Oct. 2001.

----- ["Time to Bring the Troops Home."](#) *The Nation* 14 May 2001.

+ [JOURNAL ARTICLES](#)

Johnson, Chalmers. ["Wake Up! Washington's alarming foreign policy."](#) *In These Times* 31 March 2005.

----- ["Sorrows of Empire."](#) *Foreign Policy in Focus* November (2003).

----- ["The Continuation of the Cold War and the Advent of American Militarism."](#) *JPRI Occasional Paper* April (2002).

+ [BOOKS](#)

Johnson, Chalmers. ["Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire."](#) Henry Holt, 2003.

----- ["Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic."](#) Henry Holt, 2004.

Charles Krauthammer

+ COMMENTARY

- Krauthammer, Charles. "[The march to freedom.](#)" *Town Hall* 4 March 2005.
- "[To go to Liberia or not to go -- that is the question](#)" *Town Hall* 11 July 2003.
- "[No to nation building.](#)" *Town Hall* 18 Dec. 2001.
- "[Its time to change regimes.](#)" *Town Hall* 28 Sep. 2001.

+ JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Krauthammer, Charles. "[Democratic Realism.](#)" *American Enterprise Institute* 10 Feb. 2004.
- "[The Unipolar Moment.](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 1990/91.

+ BOOK

- Krauthammer, Charles. [Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World.](#) American Enterprise Institute, 2004.

+ BOOK CHAPTER

- Krauthammer, Charles. " " Andrew Bacevich (Editor). [The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire.](#) Dec, Ivan, 2003.

Deepak Lal

+ COMMENTARY

- Lal, Deepak. "[The Empire Strikes Back.](#)" *Business Standard* December (2003).
- "[Whither America?](#)" *Business Standard* September (2003).

+ BOOKS

- Lal, Deepak. [In Defense of Empires.](#) American Enterprise Institute, 2004.
- [In Praise of Empires: Globalization and Order.](#) Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

+ JOURNAL ARTICLE

- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur. "[The American Empire? Not So Fast.](#)" *World Policy Journal* Spring (2005).

+ BOOKS

- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur M. [The Imperial Presidency.](#) Houghton Mifflin, 2004.
- [War and the American Presidency.](#) W. W. Norton, 2004.

Gore Vidal

+ BOOKS

- Vidal, Gore. [The Decline and Fall of the American Empire.](#) Odonian, 1992.
- [Imperial America: Reflections on the United States of Amnesia.](#) Avalon, 2004.
- [The Last Empire: Essays 1992-2000.](#) Doubleday, 2001.
- [Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace.](#) Thunder's Mouth, 2002.

Extras

Extended Bibliographies

[Books](#)

[Journal Articles](#)

Related Topics (At Barnesandnoble.com)

[Cold War](#)

[Globalization](#)

[Korean War](#)

[Mexican War](#)

[Military Interventions in Latin America](#)

[Monroe Doctrine](#)

[Iraq Wars](#)

[Spanish-American War](#)

[United States Civil War](#)

[Vietnam War](#)

[War of 1812](#)

[Westward Expansion](#)

[World War I](#)

[World War II](#)

Links

[The American Cause](#)

[The American Empire Project](#)

[Carnegie Council: Empire and Democracy](#)

[Global Policy Forum: Empire?](#)

[Foreign Policy in Focus](#)

[Project for the New American Century](#)

[Wikipedia: American Empire](#)

[Wikipedia: History of United States Imperialism](#)