

THE LUDWIG VON MISES INSTITUTE PRESENTS

CRISIS & LIBERTY

*The Expansion of Government
Power in American History*

A Seminar with Robert Higgs

Bibliography for “Crisis and Liberty”

Assembled by Robert Higgs

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War, Peace, and the State

An Extended Bibliography by Joseph R. Stromberg

I. Introduction

This essay lists essential historical readings on wars (and related matters) which have involved or affected the United States, starting in 1776. The framework is a Rothbardian one, in which wars are not sealed off from domestic politics, the ambitions of state bureaucrats, economic life and motives, and ideological currents. The perspective chosen is broadly “revisionist,” although general works are included which will add to the reader’s overall knowledge of the subject. I begin with a chronological listing of works dealing with America’s wars—hot and cold—and go on to a thematic listing of works on statism and war, propaganda, and unconventional war. The goal is to present, in one place, a broad bibliography of works which go against conformist “liberal-internationalist”—and now one would have to add “neo-conservative”—readings of the history of U.S. foreign relations.

“Revisionism” is, simply put, part of an ongoing improvement of our historical knowledge. Any new interpretation, right or wrong, amounts to a revision of some previously accepted view. In the case of foreign affairs, revisionism is of critical importance. Each official reading of a war becomes an honored precedent to be referred to when debating any new situation which could give rise to war. Thus, U.S. policy-makers typically believe, or pretend to believe, that any new crisis comes down to a case of Fort Sumter, 1861, or Munich, 1938. It follows, then, that whatever was done at such times provides valuable guidance. Anyone who doubts this is invited to note the many references to World War II, Pearl Harbor, Lincoln, and so on, which have filled the press since September 11, 2001.

Official readings can even be arranged into a seamless series exhibiting the same causes and, therefore, demanding the same or analogous responses. Thus is created a sort of “myth of the eternal return” with respect to U.S. foreign relations. In this mythical world, the United States bumbles along amiably—and in utter conformity with international law and high-minded principles—for years at a time, when it is “suddenly and deliberately attacked” out of the blue, for no discernible reason, by forces of total evil. If the seamless web of U.S. innocent-bystanderhood is broken, however, things take on a far different look. This is all to the good, as it makes possible a genuine understanding of our situation and, at the same time, makes it possible to think of alternatives to officially offered policy options, which are usually limited to sanctions, bombing, more bombing, or invasion.

The late Murray Rothbard made a useful distinction between “narrow” and “broad” revisionism as regards U.S. foreign relations. Those of the former school concerned themselves with the causes of the two world wars. Without a broader

framework such writers fell prey to the Cold War, or any other cause or crusade, provided only that it was unconnected with European affairs from 1914–1945. Broad revisionists, by contrast, concerned themselves with wars and the causes of wars, generally, and were thus led to question much conventional wisdom about states, international relations, and the formation of public opinion.

Thus, it is no accident that libertarians—with their critical view of states and state behavior—should be among those interested in war and imperialism, both of which represent a widening of state power—first abroad, and then at home. War and empire, whatever immediate benefits they confer on those in position to enjoy such benefits, multiply the opportunities for a state to extend its power over its “own” citizens and their wealth. Libertarians and classical liberals have not had this field all to themselves, however. Old-line Progressives like Charles A. Beard and Harry Elmer Barnes, for example, became great critics of the drive to intervention in 1939–1941, and found themselves allied with right-wing Republicans with whom they previously had little in common.

Similarly, Leftists and Marxists sometimes ask very good questions about the interest and motivation of political actors and states and do very useful research on the basis of such questions. We may profit from their work, while disagreeing with their ultimate values. Here, we are interested in useful books and essays which shed light on war and peace. There is not enough space to analyze or quarrel with the politics of each item listed. The discerning reader will have to make allowance for such things.

The net has been cast fairly wide here, in the direction of the broadest possible revisionism. Useful “mainstream” works are also cited from time to time. No pretense is made of providing “balance”: the Court Intellectuals and the kept media dominate the discussion and finding their works is no hardship for readers unsympathetic with our purposes. The end product is, I hope, a politically varied but thematically focused list of readings on war, peace, and states.

II. General Histories and Diplomatic Histories

Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974) and Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971) are mainstream works.

More critical are William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973) and *The Shaping of American Diplomacy*, 2 volumes (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1956), *From Colony to Empire: Essays in the History of American Foreign Relations*, William Appleman Williams, ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972), and Walter

LaFeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad Since 1750* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989). *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States*, 2 volumes, Philip S. Foner and Richard C. Winchester, eds. (New York: Homes and Meier, 1984) is a useful collection of documents.

See also, Arthur A. Ekirch Jr., *The Decline of American Liberalism* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), *The Civilian and the Military: A History of the American Antimilitarist Tradition* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1972), and *Ideas, Ideals, and American Diplomacy* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966).

III. The American Revolution, 1776–1783

For the American Revolution, see William F. Marina, “Militia, Standing Armies and the Second Amendment,” *Law and Liberty* 2, no. 4 (Spring 1976): 1–4, and “Revolution and Social Change: The American Revolution As a People’s War,” *Literature of Liberty* 1, no. 2 (April–June 1978): 5–39, which stress the role of partisan warfare in the struggle.

IV. The War for Southern Independence, 1861–1865

For the complex ideological, political, and economic causes of the “Civil” War, see Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, *Emancipating Slaves, Enslaving Free Men: A History of the American Civil War* (Chicago: Open Court, 1996), Joseph R. Stromberg, “The War for Southern Independence: A Radical Libertarian Perspective,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1979): 31–53, and John S. Rosenberg, “Toward A New Civil War Revisionism” in Gerald N. Grob and George Athan Biliias, eds., *Interpretations of American History* (New York: The Free Press, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 459–79.

The essays in *Secession, State and Liberty*, David Gordon, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1998) are very useful, in particular Murray N. Rothbard, “Nations by Consent: Decomposing the Nation-State,” pp. 79–88.

See, as well, Richard Gamble, “Rethinking Lincoln,” pp. 135–44, Thomas Fleming, “Did the South Have to Fight?,” pp. 145–54, and Clyde Wilson, “War, Reconstruction and the End of the Old Republic,” pp. 155–67, all in *The Costs of War*, John V. Denson, ed., 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1999).

Finally, Charles Adams puts revenue issues on center stage in *When in the Course of Human Events: Arguing the Case for Southern Secession* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

For military aspects of the war, see R. Kerby, “Why the Confederacy Lost the Civil War,” *Review of Politics* 35, no. 3 (July 1973): 326–45, Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil*

War (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), and Virgil Carrington Jones, *Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), James J. Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: Ralph B. Kenyon, [1896] 1982).

For the war's impact on civil and economic liberty, see Henry Clay Dean, *Crimes of the Civil War and Curse of the Funding System* (Wiggins, Miss.: Crown Rights Book Co., [1868] 1998), Dean Sprague, *Freedom Under Lincoln: Federal Power and Personal Liberty Under the Strain of Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), John A. Marshall, *American Bastille: A History of the Illegal Arrests and Imprisonments During the Late Civil War* (Philadelphia: T.W. Hartley, 1875), and Ekirch, *The Decline of American Liberalism*, chapters 8 and 9 (pp. 116–46).

Rise of Total War

Total warriors regard the enemy's entire society as a legitimate target. For the practice's origins in the 1860s, consult John Bennett Walters, "General William T. Sherman and Total War," *Journal of Southern History* 14, no. 4 (November 1948), pp. 447–80, Lance Janda, "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: The American Origins of Total War, 1860–1880," *Journal of Military History* 59, no. 1 (January 1995): 7–26, Daniel E. Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War," *Journal of Military History* 56, no. 4 (October 1992): 567–86, and James M. McPherson, *Drawn With the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), chapter 5, "From Limited to Total War," pp. 66–86.

An interesting comparative symposium on total war is Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler, *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861–1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See, as well, Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1977).

V. Rounding Out the Continental Empire

Robert Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building* (New York: New American Library, 1980) and Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963) see 20th-century U.S. empire as a continuation of forcible 19th-century expansion over land.

The frontier theme is taken further by Lloyd E. Ambrosius, "Turner's Frontier Thesis and the Modern American Empire: A Review Essay," *Civil War History* XVII, no. 4 (December 1971): 332–39, and Wilbur R. Jacobs, "National Frontiers, Great World Frontiers, and the Shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner," *International History Review* VII, no. 2 (May 1985): 261–70. Ernest N. Paolino, *The Foundations of the American Empire: William Henry Seward and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973) emphasizes the neo-mercantilist, economic side of things.

VI. 1898 and U.S. Empire

William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: Dell, 1962), *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (New York: Random House, 1969), and *The Contours of American History*, Thomas McCormick, *The China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893–1901* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967), Lloyd C. Gardner, *A Different Frontier: Selected Readings in the Foundations of American Economic Expansion* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1966), and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), and “The World and the United States,” *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1015–33, all view U.S. imperialism as centering on neo-mercantilist economic objectives.

The birth of the U.S. overseas empire is treated in Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895–1898*, 2 volumes (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972), Joseph R. Stromberg, “The Spanish-American War as Trial Run, or Empire Its Own Justification,” in *The Costs of War*, Denson, ed., pp. 169–201, Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit* (Boston: Literary Guild of America, 1931), and Walter Karp, *The Politics of War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968) and William F. Marina, “Opponents of Empire: An Interpretation of American Anti-Imperialism” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Denver, 1968) treat the opponents of U.S. imperialism, one of whom was William Graham Sumner; *Sumner's War and Other Essays* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1914) remains very useful.

Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism,” *Journal of American History* 66, no. 4 (March 1980): pp. 810–31, and John W. Rollins, “The Anti-Imperialists and Twentieth Century American Foreign Policy,” *Studies on the Left* III, no. 1 (1962): 9–24, with comments by Harold Baron (pp. 24–27) and Thomas J. McCormick (pp. 28–33), deal with various aspects and outcomes of the 1898 war.

On late 19th and early 20th-century European and U.S. imperialism, see such classic studies as John A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, [1904] 1965), Scott Nearing, *The Twilight of Empire* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1930), Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy: A Study in American Imperialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, [1925] 1966), and Parker Thomas Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1930).

VII. World War I and U.S. Intervention

Sidney Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, 2 volumes (New York: Macmillan, [1928] 1948) and Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929) and *In Quest of Truth and Justice: De-Bunking the War Guilt Myth* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, [1928] 1972) deal with the origins of the great disaster.

More recent studies include L.F.C. Turner, *Origins of the First World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), Joachim Remak, *The Origins of World War I, 1871–1914* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), A.J.P. Taylor, *A History of the First World War* (New York: Berkley Publishing, 1966), Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), and James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (New York: Longman, 1992). Niall Ferguson, in *The Pity of War* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), is especially skeptical about British intervention in the continental conflict.

C. Hartley Grattan, *Why We Fought* (New York: Vanguard, 1929, reprint New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1969), Walter Millis, *The Road to War, America 1914–1917* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), Charles C. Tansill, *America Goes to War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938), Walter Karp, *The Politics of War* (see section VI above), Ralph Raico “World War I: The Turning Point” in *The Costs of War*, Denson, ed., pp. 203–47, and the classic H.C. Engelbrecht and F.C. Hanighen, *Merchants of Death: A Study of the International Armament Industry* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1934), examine why the United States entered World War I. Tansill’s *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932) looks at a neglected case of a big power intimidating a little power.

Carroll Quigley’s *The Anglo-American Establishment* (New York: Books in Focus, 1981) discusses U.S. Anglophiles, while Robert Lansing’s *War Memoirs* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1935) proves the point. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) and Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Doubleday, 1989) explore literary and cultural sides of the catastrophe. In Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), discusses World War I as the first “cubist war” (pp. 287–12).

Finally, Arno Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin: Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917–1918* (New York: Meridian Books, 1964) and N. Gordon Levin, *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America’s Response to War and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) show how ambitious U.S. leaders sought to deal—this early—with their potential communist rivals for world power. For more on the ideological fallout of Wilson’s policies, see Paul Gottfried, “Wilsonianism: The Legacy That Won’t Die,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 117–26. For a study of clerical opinion, see

Richard M. Gamble, “War for Righteousness: The Progressive Clergy and the Great War” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1995).

Conditions on the Home Front

For Wilson’s reign of terror and the expansion of government during the war, see H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), Theodore Hornberger, “World War I and the Crisis of American Liberty,” *American Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1964): 104–12, and Ronald Schaffer, *America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

For the role of progressive-statist intellectuals, see Randolph Bourne, *War and the Intellectuals: Collected Essays, 1915–1918*, Carl Resek, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), Clarence Karier, “Making the World Safe for Democracy: An Historical Critique of John Dewey’s Pragmatic Liberal Philosophy in the Warfare State,” *Educational Theory* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1977): 12–47, and Murray N. Rothbard, “World War I as Fulfillment: Power and the Intellectuals,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 9 1 (Winter 1989): 81–125, and “War Collectivism in World War I” in *A New History of Leviathan*, Ronald Radosh and Murray N. Rothbard, eds. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1972), pp. 66–110. For a caustic survey of the same topics, see H.L. Mencken, *The Vintage Mencken* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), especially “Star-Spangled Men” and “The Archangel Woodrow,” pp. 106–20.

Further Progress of Total War

Colin Simpson, *The Lusitania* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972) and Ralph Raico, “The Politics of Hunger: A Review,” *Review of Austrian Economics* 3 (1989): 253–59 deal with aspects of World War I as a total war.

VIII. Interwar Years and the Fight Against Intervention, 1939–1941

Carl P. Parrini, *Heir to Empire: United States Economic Diplomacy, 1916–1923* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), and Stanley Lebergott, “The Returns to U.S. Imperialism, 1890–1929,” *Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 2 (June 1980): 229–52, are useful for the interwar years.

For essential background on the Middle East—soon to become an important U.S. interest—see David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1989) and Harvey O’Connor, *The Empire of Oil* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956). Murray N. Rothbard, “The New Deal and the International Monetary System” in *Watershed of Empire: Essays on New Deal Foreign Policy*, Leonard P. Liggio and James J. Martin, eds. (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1976), pp. 19–64, and Robert Freeman Smith, “American Foreign Relations,

1920–1942” in *Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History*, Barton J. Bernstein, ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1969) are important for the interwar years, especially the former.

William Appleman Williams, “The Legend of Isolationism in the 1920s,” pp. 104–59 of *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, is essential reading. And see, on one important anti-interventionist, Orde S. Pinckney, “William E. Borah: Critic of American Foreign Policy,” *Studies on the Left* 1 (1960): 48–61.

On the “isolationist” movement, see Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth-Century Reaction* (New York: Collier Books, 1961) (hostile) and Wayne Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940–1941* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935–1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), Justus Doenecke, “Power, Markets and Ideology: The Isolationist Response to Roosevelt Policy, 1940–1941” in Liggio and Martin, *Watershed of Empire*, pp. 132–61 (much friendlier), and Manfred Jonas, “Pro-Axis Sentiment and American Isolationism,” *The Historian* 29 (February 1967): 221–37 (who finds very little such sentiment).

Other studies include Leonard P. Liggio, “Isolationism, Old and New—Part I,” *Left and Right* II, no. 1 (Winter 1966): 19–35, Michele Flynn Stenehjelm, *An American First: John T. Flynn and the America First Committee* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1976), A. Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s, 1998), and *In Danger Undaunted: The Anti-Interventionist Movement of 1940–1941 as Revealed in the Papers of the America First Committee*, Justus Doenecke, ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1990).

Contemporary statements by “isolationists” include General Smedley Butler, *War Is a Racket* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Noontide Press, [1935] 1991), Bruce Knight, *How to Run a War* (New York: Arno Press, [1936] 1972), Charles A. Beard, *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels* (New York: Macmillan, 1939) and *A Foreign Policy for America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), Edwin M. Borchard and W.P. Lage, *Neutrality for the United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940), Porter Sargent, *Getting Us Into War* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1941).

William Henry Chamberlin, “War—Shortcut to Fascism,” *American Mercury* 51, no. 204 (December 1940): 391–400, Lawrence Dennis, *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* (New York: Weekly Foreign Letter, 1940), and John T. Flynn, *Country Squire in the White House* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940).

Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939–1944* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s, 1998) deals with foreign agents of influence. For ideological currents of the period, see James J. Martin, *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931–1941*, 2 volumes (New York: Devin Adair, 1964) and Justin Raimondo,

Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement (Burlingame, Calif.: Center for Libertarian Studies, 1993), pp. 11–148.

IX. World War II: Causes and Consequences

General works on World War II include Captain B.H. Liddell-Hart, *History of the Second World War* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970) and *The Origins of the Second World War*, Esmonde M. Robertson, ed. (New York: St. Martin's, 1971), as well as such revisionist works as A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Premier Books [Fawcett World Library], [1961] 1965), and Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932–1940* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1946) and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1948). See also, William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, “The War for the American Frontier,” pp. 160–200.

On the origins of the war in the Pacific, see A. Whitney Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), Charles C. Tansill, *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933–1941* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952), Paul Schroeder, *The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), William L. Neumann, *America Encounters Japan: From Perry to MacArthur* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), Justus Doenecke, “The Debate Over Coercion: The Dilemma of America's Pacifists and the Manchurian Crisis,” *Peace and Change* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 47–52, and Thomas Breslin, “Mystifying the Past: Establishment Historians and the Origins of the Pacific War,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 8, no. 4 (October–December 1976): 18–36.

Pearl Harbor Debate

The growing literature on Pearl Harbor includes George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1947), Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1954), Husband Edward Kimmel, *Admiral Kimmel's Story* (Chicago: Regnery, 1955), Harry Elmer Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953), and “Pearl Harbor After Half a Century,” *Left and Right* 4 (1968): 9–132, reprinted as *Pearl Harbor After Half a Century* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), Ronald Radosh, “Democracy and the Formation of Foreign Policy: The Case of FDR and America's Entrance into World War II,” *Left and Right* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1967): 31–38, Bruce R. Bartlett, *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941–1946* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982), James Rusbridger and Eric Nave, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into World War II* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), Robert Smith Thompson, *A Time for War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor* (New York:

Prentice Hall, 1991), and Robert B. Stinnett, *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* (New York: Free Press, 1999).

William Henry Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), George N. Crocker, *Roosevelt's Road to Russia* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1959), and William L. Neumann, "Roosevelt's Foreign Policy Decisions, 1940–1945," *Modern Age* (Summer 1975): 272–84, are critical assessments of U.S. participation in the war. For arguments that U.S. entry was unnecessary, see Bruce M. Russett, *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the United States' Entry into World War II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) and Patrick J. Buchanan, *A Republic Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1999), pp. 231–98.

John T. Flynn, *As We Go Marching* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1944) and *The Roosevelt Myth* (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, [1948] 1948), Dwight MacDonald, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), and Thomas J. Fleming, *The New Dealers' War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the War Within the War* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), treat some domestic consequences of the war. For a collection of Flynn's antiwar (and other) essays, see Gregory P. Pavlik, *Forgotten Lessons: Selected Essays of John T. Flynn* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Foundation for Economic Education, 1996).

For displacement of the British empire by the U.S., see Gabriel Kolko, *The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–1945* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), John Charmley, *Churchill's Grand Alliance: The Anglo-American Special Relationship, 1940–1957* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1995), and Ralph Raico, "Rethinking Churchill" in *The Costs of War*, Denson, ed., pp. 321–60.

Total War and World War II

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U.S. Wartime Planning Foretells the Cold War Order

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Total War, Nuclear and Cosmic

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XII. Vietnam War and After

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XIII. Soviet Collapse and Renewed Debate

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The essays in *Reassessing the Presidency: The Rise of the Executive State and the Decline of Freedom*, John V. Denson, ed. (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2001) treat critically—for the entire span of U.S. history—the political institution which became the main bulwark of the rising empire. It is the first scholarly collection to treat the office of president as a standing menace to the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the American people.

XVII. Propaganda and Opinion-Management

Control and manipulation of public opinion is a crucial lever for those who wish to launch wars. The following are useful on this subject: Stuart Chase, *The Tyranny of Words* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, [1938] 1966), especially chapter 18, “Stroll With the Statesmen,” pp. 328–49.

Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War* (New York: Peter Smith, 1938), H.C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914–1917* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), William

L. Neumann, “How to Merchandise Foreign Policy: from ERAP to MAP,” *American Perspective* 3 (1949): 183–93, 235–50, Harold M. Hyman, *To Try Men’s Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Viet Nam* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), and Mahl, *Desperate Deception* (already listed).

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XVIII. Unconventional Warfare and Alternate Models of Defense

Attempts to break out of the imperialist world order have fostered irregular forms of warfare. On this see Lin Piao, *Long Live the Victory of People’s War!* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), Vô Nguyen Giap, *People’s War, People’s Army* (New York: Bantam Books, 1962), Michael Collins, *The Path to Freedom* (Boulder, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart, 1996), Ernesto Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Vinatage Books, 1968), Deneys Reitz, *Commando: A Boer Journal of the Boer War* (London: Faber & Faber, [1929] 1975), John Ellis, *A Short History of Guerrilla Warfare* (London: Ian Allan, 1975), Robert B. Asprey, *War in the Shadows: The Guerrilla in History* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), and Joseph P. Kutger, “Irregular Warfare in Transition,” *Military Affairs* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 1960): 113–23.

For libertarian perspectives, see William F. Marina, “Weapons, Technology, and Legitimacy,” in *The Militia in 20th Century America*, Morgan Norval, ed. (Falls Church, Va.: Gun Owners Association, 1985), pp. 185–226, Murray N. Rothbard, “Society Without a State,” *Nomos* 19 (1978): 191–207, and Hans-Hermann Hoppe, “The Private Production of Defense” (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig von Mises Institute, Essays in Political Economy, n.d.) and *Democracy—The God That Failed*, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, “National Goods Versus Public Goods: Defense, Disarmament, and Free Riders,” *Review of Austrian Economics* 4 (1990): 88–122. For a pacifist view, consult Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action: The Methods of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Extending Horizons Books, 1973).

For guerrilla warfare in U.S. history, see Marina, “Militia, Standing Armies and the Second Amendment” and “Revolution and Social Change: The American Revolution As a People’s War,” Kerby, “Why the Confederacy Lost,” Jones, *Gray Ghosts and Rebel Raiders*, and Williamson, *Mosby’s Rangers*, cited in previous sections.

XIX. Just War Theory

For modern restatements of Just War theory, see Robert M. Palter, “The Ethics of Extermination,” *Ethics* 74, no. 3 (April 1964): 208–18, José A. Fernández, “Erasmus on the Just War,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 2 (April–June 1973): 209–26, and C.A.J. Coady, “Deterrent Intentions Revisited,” *Ethics* 99, no. 1 (October 1988): 98–108.

For an argument that traditional Just War theory is too permissive, consult Laurie Calhoun, “Just War? Moral Soldiers?” *Independent Review* IV, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 325–45. See also, Thomas Nagel, “War and Massacre,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1972): 123–44.

XX. Other Bibliographies

Bibliographies consulted include Harry Elmer Barnes, *Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books Dealing with the Two World Wars and Their Aftermath* (Oxnard, Calif.: Oxnard Press Courier, n.d.), and Justus D. Doenecke, “Isolationists of the 1930s and 1940s: An Historiographical Essay,” *West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences* 13 (June 1974): 5–39, and *The Literature of Isolationism: A Guide to Non-Interventionist Scholarship, 1930–1972* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1972). I have also benefited from Ralph Raico, “A Brief Annotated Bibliography of Revisionist Works” (unpublished).

XXI. The Debate over U.S. Empire in the Age of Bush II

The opportunity provided U.S. rulers by the criminal attacks of 9/11/01 has led to an outpouring of new works on the theme of American empire. On the pro-imperial side of the ledger stand those who see the U.S. Empire as a benign, essential upholder of world order on the model of the Athenian, Roman, or British empires. In general, the British example is the one most on offer, for obvious cultural-linguistic reasons.

That so many pro-imperial writers now use the actual E-word is a sign that they think they have won and that there really is no debate needed. On the other hand, the new state of affairs may be an improvement on earlier discussions taking the form of “first there is an empire, then there is no empire, then there is.”

Pride of place in pushing the shining example of the British Empire goes, naturally to our cousins across the water. Foremost among these is Niall Ferguson, whose book, *Empire: The Rise and Decline of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), draws the expected lessons.

Paul Johnson, “From the Evil Empire to the Empire for Liberty,” *The New Criterion* 21, no. 10 (June 2003) meditates on sovereignty and is glad it slipped from the hands of the Papacy and ended up where it belongs, with the British, and then the American state. Stanley Kurtz, “Democratic Imperialism: A Blueprint,” *Policy Review* 118 (April 2003), exhorts

Americans to look to the “liberal imperialism” developed at the India Office by such worthies as John Stuart Mill. (For a negative view of liberal imperialism, see Joseph R. Stromberg, “Kantians With Cruise Missiles,” Antiwar.com, December 23, 2003, and “John Stuart Mill and Liberal Imperialism,” Antiwar.com, May 18, 2002.)

Finally, for reason in the service of madness, nothing beats the many books and essays, widely available and too numerous to cite, by Victor Davis Hanson of *National Review*.

Given the sheer size of the Liberal and Conservative—and now Neo-Conservative—interventionist scholarly infrastructure that grew up during the long constitutional and intellectual coma known as the Cold War, there is far too much pro-imperial and “benign hegemonist” literature to discuss here. For a useful overview of the imperial “socialists of the chair,” see the website rightweb.irc-online.org/ind/index.php—a site that is perhaps unique in being able to distinguish libertarians and paleoconservatives from the now largely Neo-Colonized Right Wing.

Poised somewhere between the paladins of empire and the critics of empire, is Michael Ignatieff, “The American Empire: The Burden,” *New York Times Magazine*, January 5, 2003.

We now turn to the critics of the current phase of empire building.

Gore Vidal, *Dreaming War* (New York: Nation Books, 2003), and Norman Mailer, *Why Are We At War?* (New York: Random House, 2003), carry forth a long-running critique of the imperial process.

Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire* (London: Verso, 2003), is a *tour de force* by an Anglo-American sociologist who has long been interested in forms of power in human history. Here he argues that various ideological and structural faults will make the run of the U.S. Empire rather briefer than its advocates think.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2004), is an important critique by a long-established authority on East Asia. See also Johnson’s earlier book, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2000).

Claes Ryn, *America the Virtuous: The Crisis of Democracy and the Quest for Empire* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2003) sees the U.S. imperial thrust as arising from ideological deformations of American democracy traceable to Rousseau. A shorter version of the thesis is found in Claes Ryn, “The Ideology of American Empire,” *Orbis* (Summer 2003).

Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire: Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002). Here he rediscovers the wisdom in the historical vision of Charles A. Beard and William Appleman Williams. Bacevich's doubts about empire may be traced through a series of essays in *First Things* appearing from about 1995 onwards. In addition, *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003), a collection edited by Bacevich, brings together a range of writings on the U.S. Empire—from those of empire-deniers and empire defenders to those of mild and harsh critics of the empire.

Written before the recent excitement, Isabelle Grunberg, “Exploring the ‘myth’ of hegemonic stability,” *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (Autumn 1990): 431–77, usefully debunks, as a form of myth, the claim that a benevolent empire is necessary to an orderly world. Another pre-9/11 piece, Jeffery A. Frieden, “International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation,” *International Organization* 48, no. 4 (Autumn 1994): 559–93, suggests arguing that under certain circumstances a metropolitan power will intervene to secure control of physically immovable resources important to that power's extractive industries. (Oil comes to mind.)

Anatol Lieven, “A Trap of Their Own Making,” *London Review of Books* 25, no. 9 (8 May 2003) is a moderate critique of the U.S. imperial project, and from the Marxist Left, Tariq Ali, “Re-Colonizing Iraq,” *New Left Review* 21 (May–June, 2003).

Several journalists have made hard-hitting contributions to the analysis of imperial doctrine and practice since 9/11, too many to list here; they include Eric Margolis, Robert Fisk, Jim Lobe, Justin Raimondo, Alan Bock, John Pilger, Karen Kwiatkowski (ex-military with an insider's perspective), among others.

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