



--fall 2005, given a FRAC grant for fall semester 2006 to complete my book *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise* (book published 2007)

--2003-04, voted Scholar of the Year by a Tufts University Faculty Committee

--Fulbright to Guatemala, 2000; member of Fulbright Senior Advisory Committee, 2001 to 2005 when the committee was discontinued.

--Whitney Shepardson Fellow, the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, 1997-1998 (for book published 2000)

--Fellow, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1996-1997 (for book published 2000)

--the Twentieth Century Fund (1989-93) for a study of the US and democracy worldwide since 1898 (published in 1994)

--the Lehrman Institute, New York City (1975-6); the German Marshall Fund (1976); the Rockefeller Institute (1978) for a comparative book on imperialism (published in 1981)

--the Center for European Studies, Harvard University (1972) to change my dissertation into a book (published in 1978)

### Professional Activity

In 2011: keynote in Sfax, Tunisia at a Conference on Deviation(s), "Democracy as a Deviation," April 6; keynote at a conference on American democracy promotion, organized by Sciences politique and Paris III, October 15, "Democracy Promotion, Wilson to Obama." In each case my presentation occurred with submission of a paper to be published.

In 2010: Two panels at the International Studies Association annual meeting, February 17 and 20, one on Wilson and democracy promotion, the other on democratic peace theory. April 28, keynote address to a conference at London University (England) on U.S. foreign policy; July 28, a talk on US democracy promotion at the University of Aberyswyth (Wales).

Talk at the Fletcher School in its Global Issues Seminar intended for high school history teachers, "Democracy Promotion in Iraq: A Fool's Errand" February 27.

March: contribution to H-Diplo (a highly respected professional electronic site) on objectivity in political science, a series of essays directed by Robert Jervis

In 2009: Talks, "Divergence and Convergence of Diasporas and U.S. Foreign Policy," at a SSRC-USIP meeting in Washington, DC, April 2009

"Race, Religion, and the American Empire," keynote address to British scholars focusing on U.S. foreign policy, Manchester, England, June 2009

"Walt and Mearsheimer and the Israel Lobby at 2," American Political Science Association panel directed by Michael Desch, September 2009

"State building in Iraq and Afghanistan," Harvard Institute for Learning in Retirement, October 2009

"U.S. Foreign Policy Today," to a group of Basque mid-career civil servants visiting Harvard, November 2009

In 2008: Talks, "Wilsonianism in Crisis?" at MIT/Wilson Center Conference on the future of Wilsonianism, January 2008

"Vietnam as Iraq?" panel at APSA directed by Andrew Bacevich, August, 2008

"Obama vs. McCain in Foreign Policy," Harvard University Institute for Learning in Retirement, October 2008

Remarks in Fez, Morocco on multiculturalism in the United States at the "Forum de Fes sur l'Alliance des Civilisation et la Diversite Culturelle," invited by Professor Abdelhak Azzouzi, President of the Centre Marocain Interdisciplinaire des Etudes Strategiques et Internationale, November 2008

"The Israel Lobby One Year Later," conference on diasporas and foreign policy hosted by the University of Caen, France, November 2008

In 2007: Talk on my book *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise* at the New America Foundation, under the auspices of Michael Lind, March 2007; at Sciences Politiques, Paris under the auspices of Justin Vaisse June, 2007, and Pierre Melandri June, 2007; at l'Institut Francais des Relations Internationales under the auspices of Dominique Moisi, 2007; at Nanterre sponsored by Pierre

Guerlin, October 1007; in Athens at the Hellenic American Center, and in Thessalonikki at the University, both October 2007. A Talk on "ethnic groups and American foreign policy" at the Berlin Dialogues sponsored by Harvard University, Abby Collins director, July 9, 2007

In 2006: Talk on the Bush Doctrine at the Weatherhead Center, Harvard University; talk on the future of liberal internationalism at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; talk on the Bush Doctrine at Paris III.

January 2007: talk at a conference in Paris organized by Pierre Melandri on ethnic groups and US foreign policy, to be repeated at Harvard's Berlin Dialogues (essay to be published spring 2008 by Melandri in France); organizer of a proposed Roundtable for APSA convention 2007 on the future of liberal internationalism after Iraq.

In 2005: three talks on American foreign policy in Berlin: two at Harvard's Berlin Dialogues, one at the American Academy (May and November); five talks in France at Paris II (May and June); one talk in Washington, D.C. (November) at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

Prior to 2005-06, I have given papers subject to formal discussion at, among others, Harvard (over 20 times), M.I.T. (2 times), B.U. (5 times), Yale (two times), Princeton, Stanford (3 times), The Fletcher School (2 times), Columbia, Brandeis, Amherst, Bard (2 times), Purdue, Ohio State University, the University of Missouri, U.S.C. (2 times), the University of Texas, Northeastern, U.C.--San Diego, U.C.--Santa Cruz, Salve Regina, Mount Holyoke, and annual conferences of the American Political Science Association, the International Studies Association, and the American Historical Association; at the German Historians of the United States, the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, the Lehrman Institute (4 times), the World Affairs Council (Boston), the Council on Foreign Relations (6 times--New York and Washington), the Council of the Americas (New York), the Carnegie Council (2 times), the Woodrow Wilson Center at the Smithsonian (4 times), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Cambridge), the Center for the Study of Jewish History (New York), Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (2 times--Paris), the Centre d'Etudes et Recherches Internationales affiliated with Sciences Politiques (Paris, 5 times), the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Sciences Politiques, University of Lille, University of Aix-en-Provence, the American Academy (Berlin), the Wissenschaftszentrum (2 times-Berlin), and Ritsumeikan

University(Kyoto). I have also talked (usually about US foreign policy) to university audiences in France, Japan, Algeria, Morocco, Mexico, Germany, Guatemala, India, Japan, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Ghana (in French and in Spanish as well as in English). And I have been an instructor in an intensive three week course for fifth year students on US Foreign Policy and human rights at Paris II (the law faculty, rue d'Assas), May 2004.

#### BOOKS

Forthcoming, spring 2012, new edition (with new Introduction, Epilogue, and two chapters) of *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy*, Princeton University Press. Text sent in July 2011.

*The Crisis in American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton University Press, 2009. With John Ikenberry, Thomas Knock, and Anne-Marie Slaughter.

*A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise*. Routledge, Taylor, Francis, 2007.

*Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy*, Harvard University Press, 2000.

Co-edited, *Democracy, Revolution and History: Essays in Honor of Barrington Moore, Jr.* (with Theda Skocpol et al.). Cornell University Press, 1998.

*America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton University Press, 1994.

*Thinking Like A Communist: State and Legitimacy in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba*. W.W. Norton, 1987.

*The Pattern of Imperialism: The United States, Great Britain, and the Late-Industrializing World since 1815*. Cambridge University Press, 1981. Translated into Spanish by the Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City, 1985.

*The French Stake in Algeria, 1945-1962*. Cornell University Press, 1978.

edited, *The End of European Empire: Decolonization After World War II* (anthology, with Introduction, essay, bibliography, and translations by the editor), D.C. Heath, 1975.

#### ARTICLES

Forthcoming, late 2012, "Democracy as a Deviation," Proceedings of a conference of April 2011, Faculty of Letters and Humanities of Sfax, Tunisia, and the research unit in Discourse Analysis (GRAD) under the title of "Deviation(s)".

Forthcoming spring 2012, "American Democracy Promotion: From Wilson to Obama," in Michael Cox, editor, Great Britain, name of book and publisher not known at this point.

"From 'Fortunate Vagueness' to 'Democratic Globalism': American Democracy Promotion as Imperialism," in Christopher Hobson and Milja Kurki eds., *The Conceptual Politics of Democracy Promotion*, Routledge, 2011.

"From Woodrow Wilson in 1902 to the Bush Doctrine in 2002: Democracy Promotion as Imperialism," in *International Relations* [Britain] 48, March-May 2011.

Forthcoming, "Divergence and Convergence in Diasporic-Government Relations in American Foreign Policy," in a book sponsored by the SSRC-USIP, title unknown, edited by Steven Heydemann and Joshua Dewind, late 2011. [8/2011: I have once again been assured by Dewind that the volume will appear.]

"Democratic Peace Theory: From Promising Theory to Dangerous Practice," Roundtable organized and edited by Christopher Hobson, London: *International Relations*, 25:2 (June 2011).

"The New Anti-Semitism and the New Illiberalism," in *La politique exterieure des Etats-Unis au XXe siecle: le poids des determinants interieurs*, Pierre Melandri and Serge Ricard, eds., Paris: Harmattan, 2008.

"Wilsonianism," in Thomas Benjamin, ed., *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450*, Macmillan/Gale, 2007.

"Wilsonianism in Crisis," *The Wilson Review*, 33, 2, fall 2006.

"The Domestic Sources of American Policies on the Middle East Conflict," in *German-American Issues*, American Institute for Contemporary Germany Studies, 2006.

"American Liberalism and Soviet 'New Thinking,'" in Pierre Melandri, ed., *Les Etats-Unis et la fin de la guerre froide*. Paris: Harmattan, 2005.

"Wilsonianism in American Foreign Policy," in Alexander DeConde et al., *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed., Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002.

"Wilson, Woodrow" in the *Encyclopedia of American Studies*, Grolier, 2002.

"Globalization," in Howard Wiarda, *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, 2001.

"Good, Smart, or Bad Samaritan: A Case for U.S. Military Intervention for Democracy and Human Rights," in H. W. Brands, ed., *The Use of Force After the Cold War*, Texas A&M Press, 2000.

"Third World Nationalism and the Great Powers," in Paul Kennedy and William I. Hitchcock eds., *From War to Peace: Altered Strategic Landscapes in the Twentieth Century*: Yale University Press, 2000.

"New Bottles for New Wine: A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History*, Fall 2000.

"The Rationale of U.S. Democracy Promotion," in Michael Cox et al., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Imports*, Oxford University Press, 2000.

"Morality and the Use of Force in a Unipolar World: A "Wilsonian Moment?" *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 14, 2000.

"American Liberal Democratic Nationalism in Retrospect," roundtable edition of *Diplomatic History* on "The American Century," Michael Hogan ed., Spring 1999; reprinted in Hogan, *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the "American Century"*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

"International Origins of Democracy: the Case of Japan and Germany," in Theda Skocpol et al., *Democracy, Revolution and History: Essays in Honor of Barrington Moore, Jr.* Cornell University Press, 1998.

"The American National Identity and Foreign Policy," in Knud Krakau, ed., *The American National-National Identity-Nationalism*,

Studies in North American History, Politics and Society, (Lit Verlag, 1997).

"France and the Rwandan Genocide," in *French Politics and Society*, 14, 3, Summer 1996.

"A Wilsonian World," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1995.

"In Defense of Intervention," *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 1994.

"Winning the Peace: Postwar Thinking and the Defeated Confederacy," *World Policy Journal*, 11, 2, Summer 1994.

"Woodrow Wilson in Latin America," in Linda B. Miller and Michael P. Smith, eds., *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann* (Westview Press, 1993).

"Making the World Safe for Democracy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Fall 1993.

"Decolonization" and "Political Development" in Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, Oxford University Press, 1993, updated for second edition, 2001.

"The Alliance for Progress" in Abraham Lowenthal, ed., *The United States and the Export of Democracy to Latin America*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

"Democracy Resurgent," in Nicholas X. Rixopoulos, ed., *Sea-Changes: American Foreign Policy in a World Transformed* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990).

"The Spirit of the Sierra Maestra: Five Observations on Writing on Cuban Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, October, 1988.

"Commemoration Manquee: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Algerian Independence in France," *French Politics and Society*, January 1988.

"Perspectives Americaines sur la Cooperation Politique Europeenne," in Jacques Bourrinet, ed., *Les Relations Commuante Europeenne-Etats Unis*, Economica, 1987.

"Requiem or New Agenda for Third World Studies?" *World Politics*, July 1985; reprinted several times including Ikuo Kabashima and

Lynn T. White III, *Political System and Change*, Princeton University Press, 1986.

"American Imperialism is Anti-Communism," in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jurgen Osterhammel, eds., *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities*, Allen and Unwin, 1985.

"Dependencia," in Howard Wiarda, ed., *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, 1985, 1989 (2 eds).

"De Gaulle et le 25 septembre 1959," *French Politics and Society*, December 1984.

"The Transfer of Power in Africa: The British and French Experiences," in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *The Transfer of Power in Africa*, Yale University Press, 1983.

"The Pattern of Soviet Imperialism in the Third World Since 1975," *Cahiers d'Analyse Politique Comparee*, June 1981, and in Francis Conte et J.L. Martes, *L'Union Soviet dans les relations internationales*, *Economica*, 1982. An updated version of this paper is to be found in J.L. Martes, ed., *The Soviet Union in International Relations*, Holmes and Meier, 1985.

"The Logic of Dependency Theory Revisited," *International Organization*, Fall 1981.

"The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory," *World Politics*, January 1979. This essay has been frequently reprinted, as in Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, *Comparative Politics*, The Dorsey Press, sixth edition, 1986; and Atul Kohli, ed., *The State and Development in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1986.

"Dependency Theory," in W. Scott Thompson, ed., *The Third World*, Institute of Contemporary Change, 1978.

"A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Winter 1977.

"Changing Configurations of Power in North-South Relations since 1945," *International Organization*, Winter 1977.

"The French Economic Stake in Algeria," *French Historical Studies*, Fall 1976.

"Social Violence and Conservative Social Psychology: The Case of Erik Erikson," *The Journal of Peace Research*, January 1976.

"The Political and Economic Ambitions of Algerian Land Reform" *The Middle East Journal*, Summer 1975.

"The French Colonial Consensus and People's War, 1945-1958," **The Journal of Contemporary History**, October 1974.

"Muslim Impoverishment in Colonial Algeria," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman*, Summer 1974.

"Idealism and People's War: Sartre on Algeria," *Political Theory*, November 1973.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

Forthcoming, January 2012, roundtable review with others of Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Harvard University Press, roundtable organized by the "Mestiere dello Storico", bi-annual journal of the Italian Association of Modern Historians (Sissco: Società Italiana per lo Studio della Storia Contemporanea, [www.sissco.it](http://www.sissco.it)<<http://www.sissco.it>

Stephen Wertheim, "A Solution from Hell: The United States and the rise of humanitarian interventions, 1991-2003," *Journal of Genocide Research*, September-December 2010, in H-Diplom January 2011.

Zbigniew Brzezinski and Brent Scowcroft, *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy*. *Political Science Quarterly* 124, 3, Fall 2009

Response to essays on *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century*, on H-Net, H-Diplo, July 2009. [H-Net, H-Diplo is an electronic site only but of very high quality. The general approach is for four reviewers to discuss a single book with a response from the author.]

Philip Gordon, *Winning the Right War*, H-Net, H-Diplo, February 2008. Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, H-Net, H-Diplo, a very long review by me (25 pages), December 2007.

Response to review of my Book *A Pact with the Devil*, H-Net, H-Diplo, September 2007.

Patrick J. Haney and Walt Vanderbusch, *The Cuban Embargo: The Domestic Politics of an American Foreign Policy*. University of Pittsburg Press, 2005. *The Journal of Cold War Studies*, 9, 4, 2007.

Kimberly Zisk Marten, *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Past, in Perspectives in Politics*, 2006.

John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, *International Journal (Canada)*, Spring 2005.

William Keylor, *A World of Nations*, in *Diplomatic History (internet reviews)*, Fall 2003.

Martin Thomas, *The French North African Crisis: Colonial Breakdown and Anglo-French Relations, 1945-1963*, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 5, 1, 2003.

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars in Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2001.

A. James Gregor, *The Faces of Janus: Marxism and Fascism in the Twentieth Century* in *Political Science Quarterly*, 2001.

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2001.

Ernest W. Lefever. *America's Imperial Burden: Is the Past Prologue?* in *Political Science Quarterly*, 1999.

John G. Ruggie, *Winning the Peace: America and the World Order in the New Era*; and Steven L. Burg, *War or Peace? Nationalism, Democracy, and American Foreign Policy in Post-Communist Europe*, in *the American Political Science Review*, December 1998.

Robert K. Schaeffer, *Power to the People: Democratization Around the World*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1998.

Charles Cogan, *Oldest Allies, Guarded Friends: The United States and France since 1940*, in *French Politics and Society*, Summer 1995.

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire*, in *the American Historical Review*, April 1993.

P. Vidal-Naquet, *L'Affaire Audin*; J. Planchais, *L'Empire embarase*; J-P. Rioux, *La Guerre D'Algerie et les Francais*; J-F. Lyotard, *La*

guerre des Algeriens, in French Politics and Society, February 1991.

John Darwin, Britain and Decolonization: Retreat from Empire in the Postwar World, in the American Historical Review, October 1990.

Mahfoud Bennoune, The Making of Contemporary Algeria, in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 22, 4, 1989.

"As NATO Nears Forty," a review of David Calleo, Beyond American Hegemony and Josef Joffe, The Limited Partnership, in German Politics and Society, July 1988.

Edward Rice-Maximin, Accommodation and Resistance: The French Left, Indochina, and the Cold War, 1944-1955, in The American Historical Review, March 1988.

Ronald Tiersky, Ordinary Stalinism, and Guy Hermet et. al., Totalitarismes, in French Politics and Society, December 1985.

Anthony Payne, The International Crisis in the Caribbean, in Inter-American Bibliographical Review, The Organization of American States, 1985.

Woodruff Smith, European Imperialism, in The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 12, 3, Spring 1984.

L. Syzmanski, The Logic of Imperialism, in The Journal of Developing Areas, 17, 3, April 1983.

Martin J. Murray, The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Algeria, 1870-1940, in The Journal of Economic History, 1983.

Ferhat Abbas, Autopsie d'une guerre, in the International Journal of African Historical Studies, 16, 3, 1983.

J.C. Hurewitz, The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record, Volume II: British-French Supremacy, 1914-1945 in the International Journal of African Historical Studies, 1981.

John Talbot, The War Without A Name: France in Algeria, in the American Historical Review, June 1981.

George Mutin, *La Mitidja: decolonisation et espace géographique*, in the *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 12, 4, 1980.

M.C. Hutchinson, *Terrorism and Revolution*, in the *American Historical Review*, December 1979.

Emmanuel Sivan, *Communisme et nationalisme en Algérie*, in the *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, October 1977.

#### EDITORIALS and Short Pieces

"Democratic Peace Theory: From Promising Theory to Dangerous Practice," Roundtable organized and edited by Christopher Hobson, *International Relations*, 25:2 (June 2011).  
<http://ire.sagepub.com/content/25/2.toc>

"Obama vs McCain on Foreign Policy," *The American Conservative*, September 22, 2008

"Who Lost Iraq?" *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2007.

"The Democracy Myth," *The National Interest* on line, July 30, 2007.

"It's Uphill for the Democrats," *The Washington Post Sunday* magazine, March 11, 2007, followed by an electronic exchange with readers the following day.

"No Blank Check for Israel," *The New York Times*, March 25, 1988.

"Marketing Marx," *The New Republic*, February 8, 1988.

"War Risk in Central America," *The New York Times*, March 29, 1984.

"Learn to Talk Hawk," *The New York Times*, September 19, 1983.

"The Falklands Crisis," *The New York Times*, April 25, 1982.

#### Brief Essays:

"Wilson, Bush, and the Evolution of Liberal Foreign Policy," *Audit of the Conventional Wisdom*, MIT Center for International Studies, April 2008

"American Democracy Promotion and the War with Iraq," working paper of The Kyoto American Studies Summer Series, 2003, Center for American Studies, Ritsumeikan University.

"Land Reform," Newsweek (international edition, January 2003.

"Ethnic Politics and Immigration Policy," Backgrounder, a "Backgrounder" for the Center for Immigration Studies (Washington, DC), electronic site and hardcopy, February, 2001.

Substantial essays on articles on cultural imperialism and U.S.-German relations for Diplomatic History on their electronic web discussion site, 2000. Also, extended discussions of my book Foreign Attachments on their web site early 2001.

"Comments" on De Gaulle and the United States, in Robert O. Paxton and Nicholas Wahl, eds., De Gaulle and the United States, Berg, 1994.

Consultant: WGBH--public television station: three part series on Charles de Gaulle (released in France in November 1992, in the US in March 1993, Judith Vecchione Director).

Reviewed: books and articles for many journals and presses.