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The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs

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Union as a superpower (which it is only in the military sense), but to treat it as a great power—nothing more. He also rejects the Soviet notion that it represents the vanguard of history and he would renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine as being invalid. Dr. Pipes advocates nothing less than changing the psychological rules of the game. By so doing, Dr. Pipes argues, the West will be able to formulate an effective policy towards Soviet expansionism, one that builds on the strengths of Western society and will not abandon the psychological field to Soviet propaganda.

Other writers advance the perspectives of their own countries vis-à-vis the Soviet threat. For example, representatives from Japan, Australia, and Malaysia are concerned in similar ways with the Soviet buildup of army and navy forces in their region. Japan, of course, is concerned with her northern islands and with the nuclear situation. Australia and Malaysia are concerned with the Soviet's relationship with Vietnam and with that country's apparent drive for hegemony in Southeast Asia. All are concerned with keeping the vital sea lanes open.

A major conclusion of the conference was that since the Soviets represent a global threat to Western interests and have apparently shifted the strategic center of gravity from Central Europe to the more volatile areas of the Third World, the West will be defeated piecemeal unless it formulates a global, unified Western response. Realizing that a legal global

treaty protecting Western interest would be impossible to negotiate, the conferees focused instead on establishing informal links in functional areas such as intelligence, command and control, collective strategic planning, joint naval operations, joint arms procurement, ASW, strategic mineral procurement, antipropaganda and antiterrorist warfare. All in all this brief volume is a useful appreciation of the Western interests outside Nato that require attention.

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Dallek, Robert. *The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs*. New York: Knopf, 1983. 313pp. \$16.95

There is an increasing tendency in our era to analyze great events by attempting to explicate the subconscious, psychological motives that helped form them. In this ambitious book, Robert Dallek has constructed a study of the diplomatic history of the United States in this century that might be labeled "psychohistory." He is concerned with the "nonrational influences" in American foreign policy, or the "hidden side" of US diplomatic history. By this, the UCLA professor means the underlying emotions and psychological reactions of the American domestic populace as they influenced the major foreign policy events and trends from the turn of the century to the mid-1970s. As Dallek comments in his introduction, "It is a study of undercurrents, of mood, tone, or milieu, of a climate of feeling that

almost imperceptibly insinuates itself into concrete ideas and actions.”

While Dallek clearly admits the importance of the normal forms of economic, military, and political influence on events, his thesis in this work is that one important component that could explain many policy decisions and events is a kind of “cultural political influence” that affects planners and decision-makers. Obviously, quantifying such subliminal influences is challenging, and Dallek comments early that “these matters are not easily pinned down.” Ultimately, the book fails convincingly to set out the case for such influence, at least to the degree implied by the author. Conceptually, it is difficult to quarrel with his basic thesis, but his effort makes clear the difficulty of presenting such influence in a consistent pattern of events.

The methodology in the book is straightforward, consisting of a chronological survey of major events and trends in 20th-century US diplomatic history. Dallek begins by analyzing the post-Spanish-American War debate over imperialism and the acquisition of overseas possessions, and concludes with the Nixon-Kissinger maneuvering at the end of the war in Vietnam. In between, the progressive years of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the inter-war years, the Second World War, and the administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy-Johnson are all briefly examined. In each of these periods, Dallek manages to develop some theories of “cultural politics” impacting on the events of the day. Some are far-fetched, such as

his description of the Kissinger-Nixon policy toward Southeast Asia as an “attempt to provide . . . roots” to a generation of college students by “celebrating the virtues of self-determination and autonomy.” More convincing is his study of the early phenomena of imperialism at the turn of the century as an outgrowth of an American mass psychology of expansion into the world stage after the closing of the frontier. While some of his explanations are more solidly reasoned than others, all are provocative and interesting.

The major flaw in the work is its rather cursory, survey treatment of nearly 80 years of extremely complex diplomatic maneuver that took the United States from a rising force on the world stage to a dominant superpower with truly global concerns and commitments. Much of the book is taken up by briefly outlining the major events, and it often ends up sounding like an average graduate-level text on American diplomatic history. Perhaps Dallek would have been better advised to focus on two or three particularly meaningful events to demonstrate his thesis, rather than trying to cover such a large range of policy and history. This would have allowed him the luxury of more exhaustive study of a few scenarios, rather than skipping through so much territory. It would have been instructive to have included some information on the subliminal influence of other “nonrational” influences, such as the domestic press or organized religion, both of which are glossed over.

Dallek comments that his book is an effort to "encourage discussion and to highlight the need for ongoing investigation into the unilluminated side of the American foreign policy tradition." Fair enough, the impact of "cultural politics" is a part of understanding the formation of policy in this country. *The American Style of Foreign Policy* itself seems more style than substance in the final analysis. It asks important questions and puts forth some imaginative and occasion-

ally facile explanations, but does little to satisfy the reader with solid, innovative scholarship. Perhaps that is the nature of a very slippery beast. *The American Style of Foreign Policy* is an energetic treatment of one aspect of foreign policy formation, but it tends to leave the reader grasping for more solidly grounded conventional explanations for the events of the 20th century.

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George Scheck, Mary Ann Varoutsos and Jane Viti

Arbatov, Georgi A. and Oltmans, Willem. *The Soviet Viewpoint*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1983. 219pp. \$13.95

The views of Georgi A. Arbatov on US-Soviet relations were recorded in this series of interviews conducted in English by Willem Oltmans. Professor Arbatov is the director of the Institute of the United States and Canadian Studies, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a consultant to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. Conceding the limitations of projects such as this, Oltmans still feels that it offers a unique chance for Americans to see how they are perceived by a foremost specialist from the other side. The questions and answers cover the period from 1981 to the first half of the Reagan administration.

Berberoglu, Berch. *Turkey in Crisis: from State Capitalism to Neo-Colonialism*. London: Zed Press, 1982. 149pp. \$21.95

Writing from a leftist standpoint, Berberoglu examines the political economy of Third World countries using Turkey as a case in point. The study focuses on the development of Turkey's economy during the 20th century. Arranged chronologically, it deals with the origins of the Turkish nation, post-Depression economic development, and Turkey's transformation into a "neo-colonial" state after 1945.