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# The Dissenter's Guide to Foreign Policy

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*U.S. Navy*

Irving Howe

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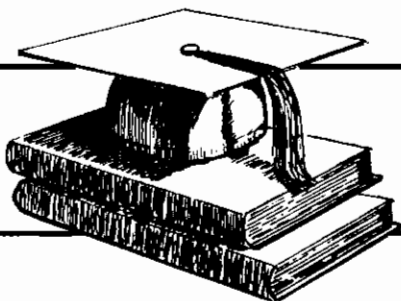
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## PROFESSIONAL READING

The evaluations of recent books listed in this section have been prepared for the use of resident students. Officers in the fleet and elsewhere may find these books of interest in their professional reading.

The inclusion of a book in this section does not necessarily constitute an endorsement by the Naval War College of the facts, opinions or concepts contained therein.

Many of these publications may be found in ship and station libraries. Certain of the books on the list which are not available from these sources may be available from one of the Navy's Auxiliary Library Service Collections. These collections of books are obtainable on loan. Requests from individual officers to borrow books from an Auxiliary Library Service Collection should be addressed to the nearest of the following special loan collections.

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Howe, Irving, ed. *The Dissenter's Guide to Foreign Policy*. New York: Praeger, 1968. 349p.

This book is a collection of articles, many of which have appeared in the magazine *Dissent*, for the purpose of furnishing signposts for the democratic and socialist left in the field of foreign affairs. The editor believes that unlike the left's harmonious point of view in domestic affairs, their position on foreign affairs has been marked by no general agreement or consistent tradition. According to the editor, the current wisdom of the left is an insufficient guide in the struggle for a more "humane, fraternal, and equalitarian society." The articles present all the theories for "What's wrong with American foreign policy?" America's policy-makers have either intervened too much (politically and militarily) or not enough (economically); have not recognized the demise of the cold war; are motivated by economic self-interest and self-aggrandizement; are too anti-Communist; and are too concerned with world stability and the status quo, rather than the creation of a new world to replace the inadequate one in which we now live. The offered solutions are varied: multilateralism; neo-isolationism, with a limited foreign policy and limited objectives; distribution of wealth to the poor nations through international economic planning and an international progressive income tax; modernization of the underdeveloped world by communism or a similar total revolutionary force. The left's aim of a

“humane, fraternal and equalitarian society” is commendable; however, their means are confusing and contradictory. They would like the United States to assume the responsibility for achieving a new millennium, but are suspect of her use of power, her motivations, and her interpretation of the national interest. They are against power blocs, but wouldn’t mind United State collusion with the Soviet Union to maintain world order. They desire modernization in the underdeveloped world, but conclude that democracies would be too soft to achieve it; only communism could accomplish this mission. Pessimistic emotionalism substitutes for analytical thought in too many of the articles.

The reviewer’s conclusions are that many of the signposts are really “detour” signs and that the left still lacks a consistent point of view in the field of foreign affairs. The more thought-provoking articles are those by Arnold S. Kaufman, William Pfaff, Henry M. Pachter, Gunnar Myrdal, Benjamin Schwartz, and George Lichteim.

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Javits, Jacob K., et al. *The Defense Sector and the American Economy*. New York: New York University Press, 1968. 100p.

This small book is based on three “Moskowitz” lectures sponsored by the School of Commerce of New York University to discuss various aspects of President Eisenhower’s farewell message to the nation in which he warned of the danger to liberty of the twin threats of the “military-industrial complex” and the “scientific-technological elite.” The three lecturers are Jacob Javits, Charles J. Hitch, and Arthur F. Burns.

Senator Javits of New York refers to the decision to create a small antiballistic missile defense against a potential Red Chinese nuclear threat to illustrate the fact that more public discussion is

needed before commitment to the decision of the “scientific-technological” elite. He also is concerned over the “narrow world of defense contractor lobbyists.” It is the contention of the Senator that important national policy should not be made by a small group of special interests. Mr. Hitch agrees that the fears of President Eisenhower were reasonable, but he feels that the danger is exaggerated because many limitations constrain the military-industrial complex. Furthermore, the impact of the defense sector on the economy is hard to trace because of the paucity of detailed statistical material. Nevertheless, he tries to trace the major current impacts by industry, by business firm, by region, and by occupation. He also points out that defense spending greatly influences the conduct of research and development because it furnishes the largest source of funds in the United States. While some spillover from defense research can be expected, it does tie up large numbers of our best brains and large amounts of our best scientific research equipment. Mr. Hitch is not very concerned by the effects of a reasonable cutback in defense spending and he does not feel that “social cost” criteria can be applied to procurement by the defense sector. He favors specific, direct, and identified programs to help distressed regions rather than the distribution of defense contracts as the best public policy. Dr. Burns also is not worried about a conspiracy of the military-industrial complex but does see a number of important economic, social, and political impacts of the defense sector. In his opinion the very size of the defense budget could revolutionize financial problems of the American economy. Also he properly indicates that the vast size of the defense economy draws to itself economic resources that could be profitably employed in such areas as education, urban renewal, and conservation. Finally, he shows that defense emphasizes science, mathe-