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assertions into questions. Only by asking and answering empirical questions about the unity, motivation, capability, and interconnectedness of various Islamist movements can we avoid the missteps that can change local movements into international ones.

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Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz by *Richard H. Immerman*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2010. 286 pp. \$24.95.

It is always a surprising revelation for political scientists when historians show them that what they view as new is often only a link in a long chain of historical developments. Putting current events and thoughts in historical context is therefore very humbling and sobering, facilitating a much more nuanced political analysis and debate. If only the partisans and sensationalists would agree to listen. The conclusion from Richard Immerman's *Empire for Liberty* is that they should.

Through the story of six important shapers of U.S. foreign policy (Benjamin Franklin, John Quincy Adams, William Henry Seward, Henry Cabot Lodge, John Foster Dulles, and Paul Wolfowitz), Immerman examines the development of American thinking about the connection between empire and liberty. He shows that throughout U.S. history, policymakers believed that America stood for liberty and against empire even while pursuing policies that in fact led to the creation of an American empire. Immerman eloquently tells a story of the internal contradictions between the ideals and the actual policies the U.S. undertook, and the diverse solutions the makers of foreign policy found in their struggle to formulate a response to the cognitive dissonance these tensions produced. Advocates of expanding American territory, influence, and control were often blinded by self-serving ideas about American exceptionalism and its unique role as a promoter of liberty. These ideas justified expansion while providing defense against accusations suggesting disharmonious interests and internal contradictions in the heart of U.S. core beliefs. Policymakers vigorously debated, but usually preferred to explain away, the divergence between truth and ideals. With remarkable success, some resolved the dissonance by arguing that the long-term benefits of U.S. actions sometimes required compromises. At other times they simply dismissed incongruities as anomalies.

Many partisans will probably take offense at Immerman's daring juxtaposition of the adored Benjamin Franklin with the much-reviled Paul Wolfowitz. But it would be a grave mistake to understand Immerman's work as an approval and legitimation for neoconservatives and the policies of President George W. Bush. Immerman does not use the evidence of continuity in U.S.

thought about imperialism to justify moral relativism and discharge overreaching politicians from their responsibility. Instead, the contextualization of the tensions between empire and liberty suggests an intriguing idea, that the neoconservative movement can be seen as the outcome of taking the rationale for expanding U.S. empire to its logical (and as many would agree, ugly) extreme. As the tension is fully exposed, a new and more-coherent grand strategy may emerge.

Indeed, *Empire for Liberty* makes important contributions by demonstrating how U.S. efforts to expand its empire gradually pushed it farther from the East Coast and further from its constituting ideals. As U.S. empire grew in size, the incoherence became more salient and produced greater rifts and conflict. The determination to be different from the “old world” the Pilgrims left behind often conflicted with essentially racist beliefs of American leaders about the ability of others, non-Americans, to “appreciate liberty’s blessings, constructively contribute to and participate in liberal institutions of government” (p. 233). The result was greater expansion but less real liberty, as nations affected by U.S. empire could neither reject it nor hope to be equal participants in it.

Empire for Liberty puts a mirror in front of us, forcing us to accept the complexity of designing a moral foreign policy that still serves a national interest. Immerman introduces us to inherent tensions in the American psychology that push in different and sometimes opposing directions. But throughout the book, the author also reminds us what makes the United States attractive, including its ability to produce corrective forces that seek, even if late, to offset overreaches and are outraged when confronted with their own country’s failure to stand for its proclaimed ideals. In fact, at the end of the book, Immerman brings up the possibility that with the overreaches of the global war on terrorism, Americans may have lost some of their appetite for empire. Above all, it is encouraging that the basic belief in the importance of morality is still central to Americans, and that despite numerous problems, this belief produces and preserves the confidence that the United States can still steer the world in a positive and more-human direction.

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The End of Arrogance: America in the Global Competition of Ideas
by Steven Weber and Bruce W. Jentleson. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010. 210 pp. \$22.95.

This plain-spoken extended essay is haunted by the prospect that the much-vaunted “indispensable nation” is becoming irrelevant. Any renovation of the U.S. position, the authors argue, must start from the premise that “ideas matter” (p. ix). What is ultimately needed is a fresh “world order leadership