



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCIPLINE AREA

**A GLANCE AT THE U.S FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH
THE LENSES OF AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE**

BUSE KESKIN

SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. DR. DIMITRIOS TRIANTAPHYLLOU

MASTER'S THESIS

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the Discipline Area of International Relations under the Program of International Relations.

ISTANBUL, SEPTEMBER, 2018

I, BUSE KESKIN;

Hereby declare that this Master's Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources.

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ABSTRACT

KESKIN, BUSE. *A GLANCE AT THE U.S FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH THE LENSES OF AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE*, MASTER'S THESIS, Istanbul, 2018.

The research on the relationship between foreign policy and culture can be regarded as a contemporary phenomenon. Many studies in International Relations field takes the culture as an important agent in the foreign policy analysis. In that sense, this research focuses on the same tie between culture and foreign policy by sub-heading the culture event under art and literature. On this path, the issue corresponds to the American case by starting from the early republic, roughly the end of the 18th century and the beginning 19th century, the expansionist path in 19th century and lastly 21st century in frame of retreat to the isolationism preceded by unilateral action. In this way, the prominent foreign policy ideologies in the corresponding periods analyzed with paintings and literary work's significant effects on these ideologies by shaping an ideational spirit for these policies. The research will be conducted with the qualitative method and it will be studied with an embracement of constructivist ontology. The literary texts and the paintings will be crossed under a qualitative analysis in some parts of the research.

Keywords: U.S foreign policy, American culture, American Art, American Literature, culture and foreign policy, isolationism, expansionism

ÖZET

KESKİN, BUSE. *A GLANCE AT THE U.S FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH THE LENSES OF AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE*, YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2018.

Dış politika ve kültür ilişkisi üzerine olan araştırmalar, güncel bir fenomen olarak adlandırılabilir. Uluslararası İlişkiler alanındaki çoğu araştırma da aynı şekilde kültürü dış politika analizinde önemli bir etken olarak görür. Bu bağlamda, araştırma da dış politika ve kültür ilişkisine odaklanır ve kültür konseptini sanat ve edebiyat altında çerçevelendirir. Bu yolda, konu Amerikan vakasını üç zaman periyodu içerisinde inceler: Kabaca 18. yüzyıl sonu ve 19. yüzyılın başlangıcındaki erken Cumhuriyet dönemi, 19. yüzyıldaki yayılmacı dış politika ve 21.yüzyılda tek yönlü dış politika hareketlerinin öncülük ettiği isolationisme dönüş. Böylelikle, bahsedilen dönemlerdeki baskın dış politika ideolojileri, bu dönemlerin tablolarıyla ve edebiyatlarıyla incelenmiştir çünkü düşünülür ki bu etkenler dış politikalara düşünsel çerçevede bir güç verir. Araştırma niteliksel özellikte olup, yapılandırmacı ontolojiyle yürütülecektir. Aynı zamanda tablolar ve edebi eserler de araştırmanın kimi yerlerinde niteliksel analizle açıklanacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Amerikan dış politikası, Amerikan kültürü, Amerikan sanatı, Amerikan edebiyatı, dış politika ve kültür, izolasyonizm, ekspansiyonizm

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
US	United States



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INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy and its dynamics, foreign policy analysis, foreign policy behaviors, decisions and many foreign policy subsections like these, are might be the most revisited subjects in the International Relations field. The historical start of decolonization, world's shift from "old" European culture to the new cultures gave a new impulse to the foreign policy enquiry and brought foreign policy a phenomenon compounded to the cultural event. Emanation of culture from the center of anthropology, presents an aim of investigation of culture and foreign policy together as culture became an inclusionary and substantial motive of foreign policy with the theory of Constructivism. The surfacing of this bond corresponded with Cold War period as the old conventions of conflict seemed redundant and the system gave way to the ideological conflict. At this very point, it was deduced that "Culture shape the domestic motivations and imperatives that now seem as or more important than international balance-of power considerations in foreign policymaking." (Hudson, 2014) The culture sprouted in 1960s and greened 1980s was taken into consideration in foreign policy as an independent variable by reason of:

...might have an effect on cognition (Motokawa, 1989); it might have ramifications for structuration of institutions such as bureaucracies (Sampson, 1987). Conflict resolution techniques might be different for different cultures, as well (Cushman and King, 1985; Pye, 1986; Gaenslen, 1989). Indeed, the very processes of policymaking might be stamped by one's cultural heritage and socialization (Holland, 1984; Etheredge, 1985; Lampton, 1986; Merelman, 1986; Leung, 1987; Voss and Dorsey, 1992; Banerjee, 1991a, 1991b). (Hudson, 2014 p.12)

Especially within these parameters, the analysis of culture and foreign policy concomitantly became more popular and worked through. It is because the diversity of each nation's foreign policy process, enforced the claims of its being a consequence of diversity of cultures. Undoubtedly, one of the fundamental works is Samuel P. Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* published in 1996 builds on the solid basis of Post-Cold War world's "conflict" incentives to the clash of different cultures. (Huntington, 1996) He manifested his claim by emphasizing the binary oppositions between West and

Islamic axis and asserted that the nations would have a say in the international system by way of these differences. (Huntington, 1996) Meanwhile, *Cultural Norms and National Security* by Peter J. Katzenstein in 1996 and of the same date *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* by Yosef Lapid and Friedrich V. Kratochwil are the works that constituted the theoretical backgrounds in context of culture within foreign policy analysis. (Hudson, 2014)

When it was set off in the light of these cognizance and curiosities, the research question of the study deals with the issue of how culture influence the dynamics of U.S foreign policy in terms of decisions, choices and representations of a nation. Specifically, the research will be focusing on the American case by elaborating three periods of time: 1786-1800s with the emphasis on the early republic and “Isolationism”, 1865-1914 the contested west with “Expansionism” and ultimately tumultuous 2001-2018 and in frame of retreat to “Isolationism” proceeded by unilateral action. The culture that will be explained thoroughly in the next chapter, will be comprised of American Art and Literature. It is because art converges the image and cultural frame and it has a strong influence on delivering conscious messages to the society while literature has the power to concretize the undreamed, its productivity and its convincing feature is vital since it was defined as “Literature also relies on cognitive and rational processes, including the mere act of literacy itself, which may well be fundamental to the most elementary acts of thought”. (Rowe, 2010 p.31) In a nutshell, each artwork or a literary work “sets up to create an effect” so the works that will be talked about serve for an impression on the reader. (McLuhan, 1977) With the designation of three time periods’ deliberately rather than casualness, shows parallelism with the transformation of American culture and foreign policy collinearly. Also, past and present in company could give an insight about how this bridge was laid then and now. Still, certain works’ emanation date can interfere with the dividedness of the time periods, yet as the research pursues mostly thematic matters, it should not originate a mismatch in that sense. In that vein, the claim will be revolving around that cultural foundations assisted for the foreign policy and were cooperated in the international arena to publicize the United States’ interests in the

evolving conditions of politics. It is because “Culture provides a shared system of meaning and patterns in foreign policy and foreign policymaking by differing the nation from the other nations in values and preferences.” (Wallace, 1971, p.33)

The literature on the issue of foreign policy and culture reveals the following conclusions. Primarily, foreign policy’s denomination and definition as such “Radically integrative theoretical enterprise, which is its fourth hallmark, for it integrates a variety of information across levels of analysis and spans numerous disciplines of human knowledge.” (Hudson, 2014, p.6) laid the groundwork of this multi/-interdisciplinary work as the stress is on foreign policy phenomenon’s inclusiveness. On the other hand, Gabriel A. Almond (1977) introduces that foreign policy decisions should be analyzed and requires a thorough understanding of “psychic, social and political structures and processes” which are based upon the “social terrain”. (Almond, 1977) It is because the construction of international systems’ parameters by human, gives an objective to investigate the elements pertaining to humans. Marijke Breuning (2016, p.13) emphasizes the culture perspective in foreign policy analysis: “At this level of analysis, the emphasis is on how factors internal to the state influence the behavior of that state on the global stage. (Breuning, 2016, p.128) Similarly Breuning (2016) stresses the magnitude of culture within the foreign policy: “These values and beliefs [culture] provide a “guiding constraint” on problem representation, as well as other aspects of thought and the use of information in foreign policy decision making.” [emphasis added] (Vertzberger, 1990, 128) Again, Breuning likewise explains the relationship between culture and foreign policy:

Culture assert its influence on a state’s foreign policy: it provides both the domestic audience and decision makers with a specific window on the world. Put another way, culture affects the role that decision makers can conceive for their country to play in international affairs. [emphasis added] (Breuning, 2016, p.133)

Therefore, culture provides a logical consistency in the foreign policy actions and makes sense of the actions and choices, gives the chance to observe and verbalize those choices and actions within behavioral patterns related to nations’ own cultures. As the cultures differ within time and space, each nation’s difference of choices in foreign policy shows

a parallelism. In that vein, Andrea Grove (2010) expresses the bridge between this relation thus:

Culture can be a means of foreign policy by serving as a pretext that aims at foreign or domestic support. It can have a real impact on the means of foreign policy by biasing the perceptions of leaders and by promoting or retarding economic development. Culture can affect the ends of foreign policy by making leaders the prisoners of their own cultural rhetoric and by genuinely inspiring them to make the resources of the state serve religious and ethnic concerns. (Grove, 2010, p.27)

For Grove, the cultural motives can affect the foreign policy decisions or its decision-making process at the very beginning. Also, John Ikenberry (2004) states that "... power and interests do not tell us everything about what states want or do." (Ikenberry, 2004, p.1) Instead, Ikenberry defends the opinion that the cultural elements-collective ideas and ideals, regime principles, political values, national identities, and historical traditions and experiences-sprang in the foreign policy. (Ikenberry, 2004) Once again, Wiarda Howard attract the notice of importance of culture in foreign policy because otherwise: "It means we are throwing away one of the key explanations of why different countries and cultures behave the way they do. It means we are basing our own foreign policy on an incomplete understanding of other nations." (Howard, 2013, p.11)

Over the course of explanations, there is another dimension of foreign policy and culture affinity. The culture is influent in both decisionmaker's cognitive structures and shaping the social institutions as well as bureaucratic. (Bayar, 2018) Analogously, Hudson (2014) touches on an important matter:

The mind of a foreign policymaker is not a tabula rasa: it contains complex and intricately related information and patterns, such as beliefs, attitudes values, experiences, emotions, traits, style, memory, and national and self-conceptions. Each decisionmaker's mind is a microcosm of the variety possible in a given society. (Hudson, 2014, p.22)

Hence, the individual can be under the influence of culture that she/he possesses in the process of political decision mechanism. The cultural values of nations and leaders who dominate the foreign policy, legitimizes the applied decisions and gains recognition by a large segment of the society. (Bayar, 2018) For this reason, the personal characteristics

of the decision maker/s cannot be thought separately or independently. Peculiarly, from the perception of the current situation in the decision-making process to the implementation of decision is thrilled by the decisionmaker's cognitive filter of his/her own culture.

The last dimension that needs to be remarked apropos to the relevance of culture and foreign policy is that culture carries symbolic elements stretching from nation's history to its myths. These are also manifesting in the foreign policy decisions as Hudson refers "...with history and legend, heroes and enemies, successes and failures, God and luck, form much of the basic architecture of political belief systems." (Hudson, 2014, p103) Think of *Iliad* or *Odyssey's* construction of the notion of politics pertaining to the understanding of a state, the nature of war or foreign relations in Greek society at the very beginning. In that sense, the art and literary works that will be mentioned within the subdivision of culture phenomenon would be beneficial in decoding the nation's resident myths. It is because art and literature externalize the symbolic elements of the culture by creating the traditional order that persists over the years. On the other hand, Hudson continues:

Nations may choose actions more in line with their heroic history than with more dispassionate norms of strategy and rational choice. There may also be times when a nation is more confused about what "we" do than about who "we" are. Perhaps that is the lot of the United States in foreign policy now, given the polarizing debate over the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. In such cases, it may not only be our heroic history that is called upon to help guide our actions, but our notable failures as well. (Hudson, 2014, p105)

As the global system is now overflowing with the variedness of cultures, rational foreign policy decision can differ in various states depending upon the different cultures. Wallace exemplifies this system as: "What is rational behavior for an American in a given situation may, therefore, not be rational for a Chinese or a Vietnamese." (Wallace, 1971, p.34) Thus, taking the culture phenomenon into consideration in the foreign policy analysis could pay the way for a further understanding of the state behavior.

In this way, even though literature open a way to formulate for the further research in the field, their numbers are limited. The "traditional" foreign policy analyses pass over the fact of cultural influence in the foreign policy analysis. The ones that theorize a bridge

between culture and foreign policy on the other hand, do not include America within the frame of its literary and artistic activity. In that vein, the inclusion of these two courses would enhance to “trace the discourse between power nodes.” (Hudson, 2014) It is because each policy preference contains credentials to a cultural myth or representation. Mostly in the works, the relationship between the U.S foreign policy and American culture is revolving around the conventional ideas that had been studied over the years. Literary themes always take place in the works of literary critics and partially historians. That is why, the literature review about the most likely connection of the two concepts will pave the way for a starting point for the researcher as we can categorize art and literature under the subsection of the culture concept, but the rest will be comprised of a synthesis of the observations and information.

This research’s aim, not to mention the motivation of curiosity, arises from the need of exploration in the field. As it said before, the relationship has been studied, still there is no direct reference especially to the American Art and Literature. Finally, the research is expected to be an interesting grouping as it will be multidisciplinary. The concepts of nation, national interest, foreign policy process will be mostly taken from political theory, while literary concepts will be taken from literary and cultural theory even the psychological sense of belonging to an organized unit will be benefited from critical theory and analytical psychology.

The research question is offering a qualitative method in which the results will be traced. The research’s backbone, that will be studied with an embracement of constructivist ontology, would be the collection and qualitative analysis of texts and documents. As in some parts of the research will be dependent upon the qualitative analysis of the literary texts which are novels, poems or short stories and paintings to treat them within the culture category. Still, the study and inference of these cultural pointing can create some obstacles in means of subjectivity. On the other hand, the gap in the field especially art and literary works’ integration to the foreign policy analysis, hardens the difficulties of finding relevant data.

The main manner in filtering the data will be mainly depended upon the secondary sources. These secondary sources include diaries, annals, novels, short stories, poems, reviews of research, academic articles and books. The qualitative data will be gathered from the sources which will be mainly revolving around the most known social science databases of JSTOR, Sage and Taylor & Francis.



CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 FROM WHAT IS NATION TO WHAT IS CULTURE

“Gods die. And when they truly die, they are unmourned and unremembered. Ideas are more difficult to kill than people, but they can be killed, in the end.”

— Neil Gaiman, *American Gods*

There is one thing certain that nations take and will take place on the world stage. As the first nation formation is undesignated, still it is thought that the first appearance coincides with Catholic Europe in the Middle Ages. The “first” claims in the field are so redundant that it is very hard to determine. Peter Burke (2013) claims that the word “nation” was always there as Dante mentioned about Florentine nation, Machiavelli about Ghibelline nation and Edmund Spenser referred nation of birds.

Can each community united around the race be named as a nation or is common geography or language enough to entitle it as a nation? So, what is a nation? This question is maybe the most enquired question of 18th and 19th century and still the answer remains unprevailed within the certain theoretical framework. Still, the history puts forward the claim that this question has many different answers and political science reveals very scattered viewpoints to discover this contested question. The intellectual origins of the nation conception traces back to Jean Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant’s thoughts. For Rousseau, *esprit de corps* is a determinant term if selfish will yield to the general will and nation is expedient political association if it is protecting the one from other’s capriciousness. So, for Rousseau, this concept is nothing but the acceptance of indulgence to the citizens’ own creation of political authority. On the other hand, Kant took free will and virtue concept as a one definition and thought that each person should obey the moral values which is contained in each and so that self-determination principle is the ideal method for the political system.

Later, Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte took nation concept enthusiastically with the rise of German Romanticism and they brought forward the concept of *Volksgeist*. Even though this event was not called with the name of “culture”, it emerged at this very point dependently to the nation concept. Andrea Grove (2010, p.28) states that: “Concept of culture was tied to the idea of the nation”. Similarly, Breuning validates this assertion: “Culture is closely associated with national history: culture denotes the set of values that is transmitted through the teaching of national history.” Breuning (2016, p.128) Therefore, it will be truer to define the boundaries of nation concept before the definition of culture. It is because *Volksgeist* for Herder is a phenomenon which emphasizes the difference, celebrates the difference and disagrees to the Enlightenment ideas.

The celebration issued from differences will be seen materially in the concept of culture. Another issue in Herder and Fichte’s formulation is that nations for them are the constructions of historical growth and accumulation, so they came to existence naturally. However, Ernest Renan’s (1882) formulation of a nation looms large. For Renan, looking back is the speculative contingent for a nation. Lot’s wife turned into a pillar of salt as she looked back to Sodom, Orpheus was punished as he looked back to Eurydice’s face either. That is why, Renan’s main ideas for the nation formation leans upon the forgetting. The nation for him is to have manifold in common but at the same time to forget many. That is why what describes nation in the first place is the agitation of its settler. Especially their judgments in “present” and the wish to live together are the most important patterns in their creation. (Renan, 1882)

When we follow right this way, the adaption of modernist view in the explanation of nation will be optimal. Ernest Gellner (1983) quotes a very crucial theme from Adelbert von Chamisso, which is a man who lost his shadow is a man without a nation. For Gellner, nations are essential, and they are artefacts of men’s convictions, loyalties and solidarities. Also, Gellner states that “Two men are of the same nation if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.” (Gellner, 1983, p.7) That is why, the sentiment of nationalism is the ultimate wish of unification and the wish to live together. In that vein, Eric Hobsbawm (1990) embraces the same definition of nation that of Gellner’s. For

Hobsbawm nations are not primary nor unchanging and they are artefacts, inventions and social engineering. because for Hobsbawm, official ideologies do not represent the whole and they can change and shift in time. In this context, it can be fathomed out that as nations, the cultures that give meaning to them are manmade creations as well. In the process of creation, there is always a reference to the historical past and there is an effort to create a continuity with past. Still, this continuity is mostly synthetic. That is why the claim of nations' being artificial creations, exhibits that its composing elements are inauthentic either. On the other hand, Benedict Anderson (1983) starts his argument with his conclusion that "...no scientific definition of the nation can be devised yet the phenomena have existed and exists." (Anderson, 1983, p.49) For him a nation, as his predecessors "...not with self-consciously held political ideologies but with large cultural systems that preceded it." (Anderson, 1983, p.49) As they are imaginary, these nations are to be vanished in which they are imagined.

1.2 THEORIZATION OF CULTURE

Then, the culture phenomenon in the modernist paradigm of nation description needs a bordered standpoint because the concept with accommodating cacophonous groups of meaning, it has the feature of being a dead end. Yet, it is encountered in its many descriptions, culture "creates new objects, ideas and meanings" (Jenks, 2001, p.28) On the other hand, William A. Haviland's (2008) description of culture: "holism, dynamism and figurativeness" is more universal, and it is happened in almost each definition of culture. When it is contemplated about culture's historical formation, it is recognized that culture was always there, but it was concretized thanks to the 19th century industry's threat to the society. Especially German *Kultur* notion categorized it under art and literature by emphasizing the utmost human achievement. However, in the coming years, culture was eluded from its understanding comprised of only aesthetic but became a structure that includes moral philosophy and serves to the collective consciousness. Especially, John Locke's (1870) mention of the bond between human consciousness and collective knowledge, even though he did not coin it as culture, is a great example for this. On the

other hand, Italian philosopher Giovanni Batista Vico emphasizes on culture's "symbolic creations" which is an important point in the phenomenon that will be tackled. (Jenks, 2001) Still, the eventual definition of culture starts with English Romantic Samuel T. Coleridge (1772–1834). For Coleridge, individual transforms the lethargy brought by industrial pressure by "cultivating" it. This transformation as in Locke's (1870) formulation serves to a collective consciousness and it does not define individualism whatsoever. The individual, right in the middle of conflict between internal and external world, rather than mundaneness of daily life, cultivates his/her own history. Then, to humanize conflict between the destruction of industry and pure nature is a culture.

While sociologist Emile Durkheim (1970) was mentioning social structures, he spoke of the culture that transformed individualism to the mass. Hence, primarily Chris Jenks' identification will be assisting to comprehend the culture: "The cultural, then, is supposed to be redolent with shared beliefs, interests and ideologies which serve to legitimate the social order.... but rather as what people collectively 'do' in their different ways, in different places and at different times." (Jenks, 2001, p.28) That is to say, the "culture" phenomenon's that has been mentioned up to this time and will be mentioned throughout the study first and identificatory feature is that it appeals to a collective consciousness and forms people around once again with a new idea. American anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1917) was likeminded on culture's connective feature by departing from the idea that where civilization starts individualism ends. The formation of the theory in the field starts with Kroeber's taking a step further contrarily to his predecessors. He defines culture as such:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action. (Kroeber, 1917, 47)

"Symbols" that takes place in Kroeber's quotation, will be second determinant in understanding the culture because it is thought that culture comprises of ideas or expressive symbols that are rigid and representing the tradition. That is why, during the

research, it is believed that the art and literature that take place in the culture are the most important elements of expressive symbols.

It can be wondered or speculated that why a relationship is established between culture and foreign policy. This utterly grows out of the bond between ideological hegemony and Gramscian superstructure from Marxist literature because for Antonio Gramsci¹, the whole institutions stretching from education to religion, with Louis Althusser's term Ideological State Apparatuses², are pointed to the creation and alteration of political structures through the culture. Not but what, Michel Foucault underlines the need of suspicion in the cultural system's analysis and exhibits the tie between "exercise of power" and culture. It is because this hegemonic power consisted of complex system addresses to a target mass. (Jenks, 2001) In that vein, culture can be likely a medium of rulers rather than the ruled. For this reason, Paulo Freire's words worth to mention at this very point:

Cultural conquest leads to the cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards and the goals of the invaders. . . . For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. . . . Cultural invasion is on the one hand an instrument of domination, and on the other, the result of domination. Thus, cultural action of a dominating character, in addition to being deliberate and planned, is in another sense simply a product of oppressive reality. (Freire, 1972, p.122-3)

If so, the manipulation of the culture should not be disregarded. Thus, the attention should be directed to the elite as they are functional and crucial in foreign policy choice. The environment and the perception of the culture of elite is variable in that sense. Especially, the art and literary works that will be analyzed throughout the research can be observed as the products of a particular class, even this class can be a representation of a "white" and "educated" patriarchal tone in United States as Karl Marx stated that "art preferences differ according to the class and position." (Chalmers, 1973, p.250) Still, the choice of the works is nothing but the mere fact that this very same class was prominent in

¹ Italian Marxist philosopher.

² A term propounded by Louis Althusser to explain education, media, family etc. carry ideologies of state even though they are not in state control.

American foreign policy process. That is why these works are favored as they represent “white men” canon rather than their relative value. Even, Australian feminist writer Dale Spender’s (2001) thesis under the name of “manmade language” utters that the cultural performances reflect a total male domination. Thus, as foreign policy process, the culture likely goes out of man’s possession. In the light of the depictions mentioned above, the culture term’s consideration will be based on these. As culture is not a closed system, it is also dynamic and variable. So, the culture is a fact that serves to a collective consciousness, it is created and shared. All elements of this fact consist of symbolic ideas, beliefs and rhetoric. In that vein, the original acts which are the products of culture like music or art are expressive symbols. For this reason, the art and literature that will be mentioned within the frame of research will be the ultimate mediums of reflecting culture’s semiotic system.

Having said those, the art and literature’s place and importance in cultural definition should be stated. In that vein, if the trailhead is considered as Sigmund Freud’s “all human activity as purposive” statement, then it would be helpful to make sense of art and literature which are defined as “expressive symbols” within this context as they are considered man-made structures. (Chalmers, 1973) In that case, art and literature is defined as an event revolving around the words of knowledge, consciousness and cognition. (Metscher and Ryan, 1979) Also, they contribute to the social and historical process of a nation within the cultural frame. It is because art and literature are an objectification of the historical process and nature of the nation *per se* with the motive of “emotive moments”. (Metscher and Ryan, 1979) Both two zones in culture strive to convey a certain message over a creation; art visualizes the consciousness and literature reflects an event, idea, feeling and imagination aesthetically via language. Then fiction, in other words novel, as Joseph S. Nye stated “take different things from different people and combine them into characters so that they become composites of experiences that are drawn from several different people” by emphasizing the common experiences of different individuals. (Nye and YoungSmith, 2005, p.22) For this reason, the reflection mentioned beforehand represents a common consciousness even though the workpiece go out of a single individual’s possession. It is because writer or painter who reflect a reality, capture the recipient who lives within the very same reality in for the sake of

creating a particular consciousness and this consciousness is nothing but the social experience of certain culture. For instance, Metscher states that: “Interpretation of the text [also art] through the context of its time, the interpretive “reconstruction” of its sociocultural genesis.” [emphasis added] (Metscher and Ryan, 1979, p.22) In this way, it can be said that while literature and art allow to investigate a particular nation’s particular period through the symbolic representations, it also creates an area in which period’s political atmosphere can be decoded, it is because art and literature is a field reflect political process either. In that sense, it would not be untrue to ground on the art and literature in explaining American foreign policy within the particular time periods.

1.3 THEORIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

In a condition where culture and foreign policy analyzed together, as in the culture phenomenon, the foreign policy may need to be crisscrossed. Christopher Hill (2016), firstly, defines this term rather than restricting it to the movements in foreign axis of a nation but a “huge variety of activity in terms of bilateral, multilateral and transnational.” On the other hand, in the direction of the word “foreign” as it nestles in its own name, it can be claimed that it is the fullest extent of relationship with “foreigners”. In the mention of culture, the emphasis on “what people collectively ‘do’ in their different ways, in different places and at different times” took place. (Jenks, 2001, p.29) Likewise, foreign policy can be named as particular decision mechanism of particular nation within the variation of external world as international system continues its existence with association of “different” rather than a homogenous community. At the same time, each nation is conscious of the obligation of choosing the positive-sum options and actualizing the main objectives but also each nation is in the ambition of shaping the external world that exists independently. Right at this point, with the invention of Constructivist turn in IR, “us versus them” discourse comes into existence in foreign policy processes. It is because foreign policy is also an introduction of a nation itself as contrary to the outside world. (Hill, 2016, p.200)

So, among the main three theories of IR, it should be corresponded that which theory gives embracement to the relevance of foreign policy and culture. In line with historical process, the primary theory, Liberalism, refuses culture completely in the context of foreign policy. It is because for Liberalism puts its main highlight to the “cooperation” among nations and economic and security interests should be protected in any time and in any condition. For this reason, Liberalism sees culture as an obstacle restraining to the rational choices. On the other hand, Realism embraces culture at the least. Still, the main accent in the foreign policy is survival of the state and rational choice through *raison d'état*. The state and its existence are vital for Realism. Last, and the one that will be put account of throughout the study is Constructivism. As Constructivism, “...argues that all human activity, including, politics, is best understood by the meaning that people give to their world and that such meaning is intersubjectively constructed.” (Fischer,2006, p.29) exhibits its ideology in this manner, lays the groundwork of benefiting constructivism as the research question desires to subtract foreign policy analysis from ongoing rational framework, in other words the aim of investigate activities concerning “human” over the values of “human”. It is because Constructivism strives to emphasize the difference between on the material and ideational agent in the analysis. (Fischer, 2006) Still, the theory is sometimes accused by “presentism” as its area of investigation’s being extensive and because of the methods that it uses. That’s why Constructivism’s borders should be stated within the frame of the research. (Sterling-Folker, 2002) For instance Ronen Palan arrays the whole scientific areas that Constructivism touches on: “Weberian interpretative sociology, Symbolic Interactionism, variants of Marxism, Veblenian institutionalism, post-structuralism(s) and hermeneutics” (Palan, 2000, p.576) As in the sorting of Palan, the research either will mostly be benefiting from those areas in the relation between American foreign policy and art and literature because the “linguistic turn” in literature and “symbolic function” in art serve to the constructivist structure. (Palan, 2000) Alexander Wendt (1992) puts the human features to the center of foreign policy as “Only human beings can create identities, only human beings can change identities, only human beings can act on the basis of identity. Only humans can be socialized or socialize others. Only humans are agents in international relations.” (Hudson, 2014, p.10) At this very point, the

designation of constructivist theory is by reason of its including culture phenomenon as an actor in the nations' politics and its opposition to the material forces in the analysis of interests of the nations. By going a step further, with Friedrich Kratochwil, Nicholas Onuf and Rey Koslowski take constructivism from "soft" to "hard" spectrum by claiming the whole elements of the nations are socially constructed. (Palan, 2000) In that sense, the theory seems to nurture the research in many ways as it was claimed that the art and literary works are created intentionally to serve a purpose and they are used as the tools in the foreign policy. Correspondingly, it is thought that nations act accordingly to the value judgement rather than materialistic interests. For this reason, in the point of material structures' gaining meaning with the social sphere, constructivism theory is significant. It is because without human agent in the analysis we are left with a machine which does not act spontaneously but diversely and changing in conditions. This does not give an insight for the understanding of how this machine works and operates. Therefore, Constructivism constitutes a theoretical background for the culture and foreign policy analysis in company.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST STRING OF THE U.S FOREIGN POLICY: ISOLATIONISM

“God helps to those who help themselves”

Algernon Sydney- *Discourses Concerning Government*

The isolationism trend that is identified with U.S existence from the beginning of the construction of the nation, constitutes the main fundamentals of the U.S foreign policy. Of course, within historical process, this foreign policy did not travel in the same direction, but it was shaped according to the shift of balances of power and the U. S’s being under “threat” in the face of different conditions which generated the interventionist tendencies as Walter Lippmann (1952) states:

In the enjoyment of their too many blessings [new land for chosen people], which they never seem to weary of boasting about, they became soft and timid-until they were stung into action first by the Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz, and then by Hitler and the Japanese [emphasis added].

Still the power that dominates the U.S foreign policy from the very beginning is the isolationism. It is important to unfold that the individuals’, who originate the American nation, perceiving it as a passiveness or withdrawing is unfeasible. (Lippmann, 1952) Contrarily, it was opted against the weariness brought by imperial order under England. In this way, while the deficiencies and hitches were tolerated to become much worse in the Old World, New World grabs the chance that had been created for itself for its betterment and growth.

In this regard, the process that has been associated with the isolationism in the U.S foreign policy accounts for George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, James Madison and James Monroe who are the master builders of first foreign policy constructions. Preemptively, while American nation’s first president George Washington leaving his office years behind, his words from Farewell Address (2000) was echoed in the American history:

[N]othing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and

amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. (p,120)

Then, any tie, except the commerce, is a component which hinders the rational decisions in foreign policy. Washington stood clear that political commitments and alliances were not rational because the nation was young and feeble to be involved in the foreign wars. (Renehan, 2007) Even though unilateralism had not been coined throughout the address, the vital need of liberal action in foreign affairs is mostly referred but this unilateralism cannot be generalized only to the foreign policy dimension but also to a unilateral culture was the point as its formation glossed over minority voice during the early republic.

Still, Washington's descriptions and caveats were not as far invoking and austere as Monroe Doctrine which was issued in 2nd of December 1823. Isolationism appears as a result of a desire to isolate the Western Hemisphere and the United States from the European powers and conflicts. The previous issue in 1822, the U.S recognizes Chile, Colombia, Peru and Mexico as separated governments from Spain as France was engaging with suppression of a liberal rebellion in Spain. This engagement made the U.S anxious about the returning of a new colonial rule in Latin America. In that vein, the doctrine remarks candidly in the very first paragraph "...not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers..." (Monroe, 1823) Even though this message seemed to address to the anxieties about Latin America, it was also an embodiment of the paranoia about Alaska and California in which Russian expansion could enlarge. In that vein, the wish in the doctrine is mainly non-intervention by Europe and noninterference by United States clearly stating: "...we have not interfered and shall not interfere." (Monroe, 1823) Even though the doctrine consisted of the few words, it sparked the philosophy of the U.S foreign policy behaviors which exists almost to the present day and operated in each "foreign policies of every president since" (Renehan, 2007)

The information that has been mentioned so far reflects isolationism's historical and political process. Still there is a question which perplexes the minds frequently: Why does

America favor to become isolated and adapt this isolation to its foreign policy process easily? Principally American continent's geography and this geography's distance to the external powers is one of the biggest reasons for these. The other one, as research has already purported, the cultural phenomenon like art and literature has an effect in a respectable amount. The "city upon a hill" idea originated in John Winthrop³'s Arbella journey to the New World, is actually associated with Puritan's colony's being a microcosm and the perception of the wilderness surrounding this colony as sinister and evil. Similarly, it can be said that the "sinister" external powers enclose the American continent with their conflicts or wars. For this reason, the foreign policy makers of the Early Republic gave a great importance to the "self-reliance" and they did not want a nation which creates and lives in its own microcosm to be disrupted by foreign forces. (Kane, 2006, p.123) In the light of this line, 19th century American Art and Literature confine with the same themes. It is because American nation severed all ties with England yet, established a new republic and created an authentic and unique "American" Art and Literature.

In this context, there are some intersections between American Art & Literature and foreign policy. Primarily, the 1765 Stamp Act by England hindered the American Art and Literature's evolvement in politics. The later actualization of American nation gave a way to the independent art and literature. Concordantly, the denotation of literature as "American" aspired to create a unique culture. Having said that, while literature promotes a new formation perpetually, it puts flesh on the bones of "Europe vs. America" dichotomy in frame of "us vs. them". This puts forward the American newness and distinctness by rationalizing the isolationist acts.

2.1 NEW NATION AND THE NEW LITERATURE

The intellectual elite who are aware of that religion's "unmeaning" place within the intellectual atmosphere deflected the literature's main subject from religion to the politics. So that they thought a new form of power would raise by their hands by infusing the nationalist sentiments. They thought that what Alexander Pope did in London with his

³ The first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony

workmates were possible to implement to the American soil. (Elliott, 2010) That way, the Early Republic's literature was shaped around male canonical voices like Charles Brockden Brown, Washington Irving and Nathaniel Hawthorne emphasizing the national sentiments and glorifying the American birth. On the other hand, "distinctive" nation's "distinctive" poetry by Philip Freneau, also called as revolutionary poet, is an influential variable. "The Wild Honeysuckle" poem that published in 1786, is an address to a nation rather than a flower. The poem metaphorically depicts the American nation's coming into leaf by way of vegetation of a flower, also gives signs of the isolationist foreign policy:

Fair flower, that dost so comely grow,
Hid in this silent, dull retreat,
Untouched thy honied blossoms blow,
Unseen thy little branches greet:
No roving foot shall crush thee here,
No busy hand provoke a tear. (Freneau, 1786)

The first stanza of the poem is a case in point. The elegant flower vegetating recently has a quite isolated environment: "hid in this silent, dull retreat". The perception of Puritan conceiving the realm independent from his/her as pernicious, is also reechoed in the poem as the honeysuckle is guarded from the outer world. This sheltered terrane is such a place that the honeysuckle encounters with no menace as it is "untouched" and "unseen". On the other hand, this very terrane resembles almost an infant growing up in a sheltered environment which gives the reader a symbolic signal of the existence of "young" American nation which necessitates a preservation. In that vein, the internal focalization of the honeysuckle in the poem invokes American nation identically blossoms like Freneau's honeysuckle by means of constituting "isolationist" foreign policy by centering upon the internal dynamics and, in a way, standing clear from the "misfortunes" of the outer world.

Alongside Freneau, Washington Irving who is a prominent figure with his short stories afterwards, creates the first "original" American myths. *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* originally published in 1820 depicts a small town, known with its settlers' belief to

superstitions, haunted by a Headless Horseman whose head was shot by a cannonball in the Revolutionary War, also mirrors the isolationist tendencies in foreign policy via symbolic verbalism in parallel with American distinctness and readiness to become distant born out of this distinctness. When the short story was published, the republic was in its prime, just like the young daughter Katrina of Van Tassel family: “She was a blooming lass of fresh eighteen; plump as a partridge; ripe and melting and rosy cheeked as one of her father’s peaches, and universally famed, not merely for her beauty, but her vast expectations.” (Irving, 2001) In this very context, Van Tassel family and their farm is a symbolic representation of American nation. This land is so abundant and so opulent that, it provokes admiration accompanying with desire: “... spell-bound region roasting-pig running about with a pudding in his belly, and an apple in his mouth.” (Irving, 2001) Irving specifically drags land descriptions out which even can be named as “extravagant” because all these descriptions are the promotions of new land in Captain John Smithian⁴ manner. Van Tassel farm which can be seen as a microcosm is captained by Baltus Van Tassel and he is depicted thus: “was a perfect picture of a thriving, contented, liberal hearted farmer. He seldom, it is true, sent either his eyes or his thoughts beyond the boundaries of his own farm; but within those everything was snug, happy and well-conditioned.” (Irving, 2001) In this characterization, the Baltus Van Tassel’s not having a roving eye is not coincidental but rather it is a reverberation of isolationist foreign policy and American nation’s becoming self-sufficient. Also, George Washington’s consideration of nation as “too young” and emphasis on domestic development almost overlaps with these identifications. On the other hand, the setting, which is an integral part of the story, Sleepy Hollow is fairly notable. It is because the American Literature detached from England’s landscape, graphs an incomparable and authentic terrain along Hudson River. That is why, most of the works in 19th century American Literature provides a frame to the foreign policy acts, influences the acts and gains a rational statement to these acts by supporting new American identity which is defined quite the reverse of Europe.

⁴ British soldier founded English Colony of Jamestown in 1600s.

2.2 ISOLATED LANDSCAPE IN ART, ISOLATED NATION IN FOREIGN POLICY

As in American Literature's phase after the foundation of American nation, American Art went through the same process. The artistic style firstly followed the English technique and models. Still, towards the end of 18th century, American Art seemed to break its connection with the Old World and ushered a new age by centering the American self within an individualist frame. In that sense, the art that will be mentioned under the subsection of culture is thought to have cogent impact on isolationist foreign policy. It is because art's gaining independence and authenticity, gives chance to the creation of new symbolic meanings brought by the nationalist sentiments and again gives chance to art to express them in definite representational illustrations. The perception and construction of Puritan about wilderness, for instance, and nation's apprehension of Europe as "wilderness" correspondingly is one of the recurring issues in the art. Thus, some of the paintings of the era include symbolic images concerning the nation's reclusion in foreign policy. In that vein, it would not be untrue to make mention of George Henry Boughton in frame of this notion. Boughton's paintings who was born in England, but his family emigrated to U.S after two years of his birth, centers upon mostly the American colonial period. His works almost real as making Nathaniel Hawthorne⁵'s novel pages come true, his *Pilgrims Going to Church* (**Image 2.1**) painting drawn in 1867 gives a good deal of hints about the mentioned connecting. The painting intensified with the grayscale, offers a fairly dark image to the spectator. The two men carrying muskets at the beginning of the group guide the followers for them to arrive to the church alive and well. Still, the group gives the feeling to the spectator that they are in an immediate danger because the faces look strained and anxious.

⁵ American novelist widely known with his Dark Romantic and Gothic genres.



Image 2.1 Boughton, George. (1867). Pilgrims Going to Church. [Oil on canvas] New York City: New-York Historical Society.

Also, this hesitant group, is confined with a blackening wood and this darkness is nothing but the fear of the wilderness' existence. The transformation of space in American art that will be seen also in the upcoming chapters goes hand in hand because depending to the isolation, the environment depicted seems parochial but with coming of the expansionist foreign policy the scene is enlarged in paintings. The painting, as American nation typify a group that condensed their own work and walking on their own path as in Early Republic's foreign policy actions. The way that group isolated from the outer environment is a great symbol because there is no dynamic but the dangerous wilderness, they only walk skeptically against any sudden threat. That is why, even though the painting depicts a moment pertaining to the Colonial Period, it symbolically narrates the nation's standpoint on foreign policy through the Puritan perception of wilderness

Winslow Homer who is another preeminent figure in American Art in the same period and known with his landscape paintings is also spoke of. Homer educated in National Academy of Design and his *Breezing Up* work is hanging on the walls of Washington D. C's National Gallery. Also, his "Boys in a Pasture" painting was brought a commemorative stamp in 1962.



Image 2.2 Homer, Winslow. (1879). *Girl Reading Under an Oak Tree*. [Oil on canvas] Private Collection.

This influential figure fleshes out the story of “American Isolationism” with his 1879 dated *Girl Reading Under an Oak Tree* (**Image 2.2**) painting. On the contrary of Boughton’s depiction of wilderness, in Homer’s view the forest’s being illuminated with lighter colors, evokes a peaceful atmosphere and this peace presumably brought by isolationism to the internal dynamic of the nation. There is an orangish shawl behind of fashionably dressed woman and this shawl keeps away the leaves and other distractions. Even, this woman is so concentrated to her book that nothing around divert her attention away. The same determination can also be seen in Boughton’s Puritans. On the other hand, the woman’s leaning on to the oak tree is not random because oak symbolically stands for power and wisdom. That way, reflection of oak tree establishes a connection with the U.S policies’ correction on what they do as the isolationist foreign policy depended upon self-reliance, manifests in paintings with these effects on its characters. Also, American distinctiveness and so-called greatness in this distinctiveness is depicted through a woman relating her to the American nation. The portrait of the American nation as a woman was uncommon on the period even though in the process of the discovery of the new land mostly metaphorized over a virgin waiting to be explored, still the

intellectuality and appeal of the “city upon a hill” projected by basing upon a woman delicacy.



CHAPTER 3

FOREIGN POLICY IN THE QUEST OF AN EMPIRE: EXPANSIONISM

“What so truly suits with the honor and honesty as the discovering things unknown: erecting towns, peopling countries, informing ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtues: and find employment for those that are idle because they do not know what to do...”

Captain John Smith- *Description of New England*

By the 1870s, European powers were already starting to allocate Africa and Asia. Suez Canal, the British Trans-Indian railroad and the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway shifted the world's political geography and the survival of the fittest was the main discourse of European politics in 1850 likewise in the United States with Republican Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's claims that the great nations were seeking the “waste areas of the world” and U.S should keep pace with the transformations. (Lodge, 1903) Especially at the beginning of the 19th century, foreign policy carried a great importance for the nation and the expansionist motives mostly revolved around the claims for a better contribution to the nation's domestic dynamic. Still, the expansionist dreams of leaders who took the control of America's expansionist foreign policy, was not only consisted of territorial possession of the new lands but a trade of goods, ships, people, American ideas and American dollars. The necessity of isolationist axis' shift pursued from the beginning of the republic was stated by Cassius Marcellus Clay who was appointed as the United States minister to Russia during Civil War:

Since steam can throw, in twelve days or less, the entire navies of Europe on our country, it is useless to deceive ourselves with the idea that we can isolate ourselves from European interventions. We must make and keep a navy equal to any other nation. This we can well do, without jeopardizing our liberties, and will ever be, loyal to the Union: and incapable of domestic tyranny. Here has been the secret of English liberty – a small army and a large navy. Let us go and do likewise. (Kane, 2006, p.59)

Hereby, it be can said that depending on the change of world politics, American defense was based on a navy construction, so that American borders and trade security would be

guaranteed. Just like Clay, Alfred Thayer Mahan, who is a prominent figure by theorizing his arguments, envisages the system that has been endeavored in land in frame of protection from foreign powers should be maintained in the waters. With these claims, the U.S found a good reason for progress and they saw no obstacle in adjusting the “Expansionism” ideology to the foreign policy. It is because the Puritan who found the wilderness ill-fated, set to a gallantly work to “civilize” it.

Within the frame of expansionist foreign policy, a good deal of conducts were operationalized. Primarily, the expansionist policies started with the nearest frontier. 1898 marks the annexation of Hawai’i, for its prosperous sugar industry and Venezuelan dispute over the border between Venezuela and British Guiana which is full of rich gold deposits gave American to fulfill their expansionist dreams by quoting Monroe Doctrine. The other important event is Open Door Policy of John Hay who is William McKinley’s Secretary of State, because 1900 Boxer Rebellion spread the terror of the U.S’ losing its spheres of influences over the regions of China and foreign power’s eliminating the U.S in the regions by colonizing. This policy was a touchstone in the U.S diplomacy that it helped the U.S to be active in the international trade until 1900s in which the U.S becomes the world trader. After McKinley’s successful maneuvers on the expansionist path, Theodore Roosevelt took the foreign policy a step further. Having embraced the superiority of Protestant Anglo-Saxon, he carried the spirit of a cowboy intertwined with frontier myth, Roosevelt’s world was consisted of ideals revolving around making the U.S a great power.

Roosevelt’s foreign policy theory consists of “globalization”, “civilization” and the role and responsibilities of the U.S in the world. Revolving around this theory, he proposes a shell change of isolationist foreign policy of Early Republic because for him the world system was erratic than it used to be. His words in 1897 is an embodiment of his thoughts:

As our modern life goes on, ever accelerating in rapidity, and the nations are drawn together for good and for evil and this nation grows in comparison with friends and rivals, it is impossible to adhere to the policy of isolation. We cannot avoid responsibilities, and we must meet them in a noble or ignoble manner, hoping to escape them or shirk them, or by meeting them manfully, as our fathers did. We cannot avoid, as a nation, the fact that on the east and west we look across the waters at Europe and Asia. (Kane, 2006, p.70)

At that rate, in Roosevelt's world, America should fulfill the responsibilities which are destined for because for him being a destined nation also requires to acquiesce the disadvantages brought by this situation. That way, Roosevelt draws apart from the founding fathers by adopting the undesirable burden to succeed in the intended objectives. His main focus in this effort, was the construction of a canal through Panama by linking Pacific and Atlantic Ocean. In this process, Colombian government proved unwillingness to accept American dominion, American agency struggled for a new sovereign Panama to find an acceptor. His corollary issued in 1904 was a direct word for Latin America to settle its political and economic condition or else U.S would intervene by assuming the role of "international police".

This "bold" manner that was going hand in hand with the progressive spirit took shape in foreign policy, already initiated in American Art and Literature. The frontier, mostly associated with west, gave a way to a new myth that heartens to daringly move beyond the frontier and "civilize" there. The border that was dreaded, full of darkness and evil, transformed into a peaceful place that gives serenity to its explorer almost with a union with God because now he/she follows out the decree commanded by God to the American nation. This freshly created myth was a figuration of expansionist foreign policy's flesh out the story and it unrolled the actualization process of these policies started with a progressive individual. Even this myth threw the idiom of "Go west young man" which revisited many times in the American culture.

3.1 EXPANDING OF THE FRONTIER IN LITERATURE

While nation was discovering new places in the foreign policy, American Literature publicized these new grounds via the myth of American West. Even, it is known that the U.S had the highest literate population at that time, thus the literary works were in demand. With the widening of the frontier, a new broad land came to existence to discover and nurtured its characters from this broadness. American writers as well produced their

works being aware of this new trend as the major issue of the period's literature was westward expansion and frontier life. Both national and external expansionism took form around a heroic tale. Within this context, frontier literature directs the expansionist foreign policy by forming a conventional narrative. Walt Whitman's 1865 dated *Pioneers! O Pioneers!* poem for example is a call and emboldening for those to set off to a more fulfilling life: "COME, my tan-faced children/ Follow well in order, get your weapons ready; /Have you your pistols? have you your sharp-edged axes? Pioneers! O pioneers!"(Whitman, 2004)

The dynamic pioneer with guns is prepared to trace beyond the frontier. "Weapons, pistols, sharp edged axes" (Whitman, 2004) besides being a sign of already possessed civilization, it is also an indicator of pioneer's destruction of vast wilderness by giving a way to a new site. For this reason, this spirit that Whitman mentions of totally exhorts the foreign policy. Also, Whitman associates the path from isolationism to expansionism with manifest destiny: "Have the elder races halted? /Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied, over there beyond the seas? /We take up the task eternal, and the burden, and the lesson, Pioneers! O pioneers." (Whitman, 2004)

In this way, he attributes the U. S' lively and dynamic soul to its new conditions because "elder races", in other words Europe beyond the Atlantic, cannot afford enough power and strength henceforth. On the other hand, the depiction of the U.S as one nation capable of this newness and dynamism "task eternal", in other words manifest destiny, introduces a considerably courageous soul for expansionist foreign policy. As Roosevelt's embracement of the "burden" brought by elected nation status also appears in Whitman's poem. Whitman continues: "We detachments steady throwing, / Down the edges, through the passes, up the mountains steep, /Conquering, holding, daring, venturing, as we go, the unknown ways, Pioneers! O pioneers!" (Whitman, 2004)

For that manner, the pioneers with their "sharp edged axes" are awaited to "conquer". The legitimization of conquering in the poem on the expansionist path also provided a readily legitimization in foreign policy either. The clear-cut epitome of this is the Roosevelt's policies in Latin America. In his corollary issued in 1904, gave straight out signals for an intervention in the region as long as the political and economic conditions

do not get better. Or, again, Roosevelt directly pointed out the mission to “civilize”, relatively, necessary spaces in most of his speeches.

On the other hand, Owen Wister’s 1902 dated novel *The Virginian* can be referred within the context as the novel strived to construct the cowboy myth and keep frontier myth alive. Besides, this novel was dedicated to Roosevelt whom Wister’s acquainted and friend from Harvard years. Accordingly, it can be uttered that the novel was effective in affecting the expansionism’s main ideological dynamics. Even after its publication, it sold two million copies within fifty years, so its impact on the public either is in respectable amount. Firstly, the fearless character as Whitman depicts as “pioneer” and Wister as “cowboy” takes its strength from progressive objectives and failure for “him” is not an acceptable event: “And his view was simple enough: you must die brave. Failure is a sort of treason to the brotherhood and forfeits pity.” (Wister, 2005, p.50) In that vein, cowboy’s property is his natural gift born with an intelligence. On the other hand, Wister’s remarks on democracy and aristocracy, demonstrates the belief on superiority of Anglo-Saxon and theorization of this under the name of Social Darwinism. It is because for Wister, frontier’s achievement in progress is also dependent to “his” social class which takes us directly to the “white” and “male” policy maker’s privileged class:

It was through the Declaration of Independence that we Americans acknowledged the eternal inequality of man. For by it we abolished a cut-and-dried aristocracy. We had seen little men artificially held up in high places, and great men artificially held down in low places, and our own justice-loving hearts abhorred this violence to human nature. Therefore, we decreed that every man should thenceforth have equal liberty to find his own level. By this very decree we acknowledged and gave freedom to true aristocracy, saying, “Let the best man win, whoever he is.” Let the best man win! That is America’s word. That is true democracy. And true democracy and true aristocracy are one and the same thing. (Wister, 2014, p.60)

Concordantly, Wister’s belief on class distinction and Anglo-Saxon superiority within the frame of Manifest Destiny is considerably in elitist form. Moreover, Wister legitimizes the actions of foreign policy makers because for him the class groups called as “high” should not misdoubt of their righteousness in their works as it excuses from their acts and it is a natural gift. Hence, the superiority notion stressed throughout the novel vindicates

the “civilize” cries in the expansionist path. For Wister, this is the true aristocracy, the formation of civilization by the right hands for the right places from the by the people, for the people. In parallel with this the true democracy contains an equality depicted in a different sense. *The Virginian* mostly evokes these racist notions throughout the novel and this arises from the creation and maintenance of expansionist foreign policy in frame of fueled imperial dreams by monopoly of “white” and “male” Anglo-Saxon. As it mentioned before, this novel dedicated to Roosevelt, spiritually nourishes the period’s foreign policy along with the bold, unafraid and entrepreneurial myth created by literature.

3.2 EXPANDING OF THE AMERICAN SPACE IN ART

The historical process on the expansionist path manifested itself in the American Art with the frontier myth. The spirit of progress gradually found its place in the art even though the isolationist impacts were slightly existent. The Puritan that lives in the village with the fear of wilderness that is full of evil and witchy power, 19th century American seems to enlarge its vision with the imperial dreams of the U.S nation. The appearance of mid-19th century Hudson River School, American Art movement reflects the great synthesis of Manifest Destiny with the frontier spirit. The art changed its context by idealizing the westward expansion, the life of the frontier and its supreme value by almost showing Indians as martyrs in “white man’s burden.”⁶ Art of the period also widened and perpetuated the existent myth alongside creating it. It is because now the art belonged totally to the “American identity” thus took its matter from American landscape and especially Hudson River School presented sceneries in which the nature and man in harmony by using realist, detailed and idealized forms. Drawing a wide range of geographical curiosities from Catskill Mountains to Hudson River, the places were romanticized to create a west perception in the American nation. The movement holds patrons such as Thomas Cole, Asher Brown Durand, Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Edwin Church.

⁶ The poem written by English novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling for the U.S.

Albert Bierstadt's paintings are symbolic related with the meaning of the claim. In his paintings, Eden-like West or frontier is depicted such a space that waiting to be transformed with the light of civilization, the sublime. His 1867 dated painting *Emigrants Crossing the Plains* is a painting reflexing entirely the mentioned spirit. When Boughton's *Pilgrims Going to Church* from the first chapter were juxtaposed with this painting, it displays how the symbolic meanings in American Art and Literature show an alteration and correspondingly their influence on foreign policy.



Image 3.1 Bierstadt, Albert. (1869). Emigrants Crossing the Plains. [Oil on canvas]. Oklahoma City: National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum.

As it mentioned before, Puritan is who afraid to cross the frontier, now finds himself/herself in a vast area waiting to be explored and brightened with so called “illumination”. The transformation of this space is seen clearly between the transformation of isolationism to expansionism in foreign policy. There is a dynamic motion in the painting from east to west with a consort of light which in the symbolic language God is content of this course. At the same time, as in Whitman's poem,

“pioneers” like their axes depart with horses and wagons reflect their already existing civilization. The illumination of painting from left to right and spread of clouds in the depth of the sky is an encouraging trace. In their divine mission, nature is a kind companion to them and God shows his delightfulness through his sublime light by convincing them what they are doing is right. In this way, spectator gets a chance to recognize these places and enforce his/her claims of discovery through illustrated symbolism.

John Gast’s popular painting 1872 *American Progress* is also Manifest Destiny’s coming into existence in frame of expansionism. The painting is excessively allegorical in that sense. The illumination difference between left side (dark) and right side (light) of the painting is a precursor of coming of the civilization, the whole dynamism of the painting shuttles between left and right anyway. The dark side is depicted dark because it is claimed to be deficient from civilization and its practices while white dark symbolizes the development. Firstly, right side draws an onshore direction emblemizing the sailing of the newcomers and this part seems devised as it incorporates steamboats and bridges. On the other hand, the movement from right to left reveals a discontent by coming of the “white man” and their construction of railroad as the buffalo herd get loose with terror and the Indians bustling.



Image 3.2 Gast, John. (1872). *American Progress*. Chromolithograph published by George A, Crofutt. Source: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The tremendous angel adjusted right into the middle of the painting assistive in pioneer's mission to explore as they are coming with the wagons, walking with their digging tools and cultivating the soil. She carries a book that can be read with an observantly look: Holy Bible. This depiction is nothing but the promotion of U.S' elected status, as God's will is with them, an angel is escorting to the pioneers. The angel also holds telegraph wire's continuation in her hand, as if she physically actualizes the progress of the nation in the new lands. As there is no female among the pioneers, this reflects the male dominant nature of this expansionism, but it is extraordinary that divine power's manifestation as a female figure creates the insight of correlation between mother nature. As in Bierstadt's painting, the nature brings to pass no entanglements keeping pioneer away from the course. In a nutshell, all physical and spiritual powers are providing convenience for the American expansionism. In that sense, representative paintings related with the new trends of progressivism paves the way for theoretical basis of exceptionalism in foreign policy. In this way, the foreign policymakers and the public found their decisions as justified and essential sentiments in this path.

CHAPTER 4

TUMULTUOUS 2000S: UNILATERAL ACTION AND RETREAT TO ISOLATIONISM

John Mearsheimer's *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* brings up the idea that great powers quest dominance in the international system with the aim of being a hegemon so that they wouldn't be under any threat. (Mearsheimer, 2001) In the same path, the exercise of foreign policy simultaneously in George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump periods as "use of force to alter the balance of power" (Mearsheimer, 2001) reveals the behavioral tendency of being a hegemon. In this way, America's being global power on the international arena is, without no doubt, dependent on its military power as the stereotyped narrative of power of being a great is in direct proportion to projection of power in the wars as Joseph Nye entitled United States "likely to remain most powerful" in 2013. (Nye, 2013) In this context, Bradley Podliska in his *Acting Alone* book asserted a connection between hegemonic power and unilateral force because unilateralism stresses the superior choice which is depended upon superior power as unilateral action perceives multilateralism rather "burden sharing" in foreign policy. (Podliska, 2010) Depending upon this superior choice, unilateral structure in American foreign policy is defined: "So strong that others could not check it, and so self-righteous that it could not check itself." (Ryan, 2008, p.20)

Again, throughout this path, the foreign policy process starting with 9/11⁷ brought into open "isolationist" cries, while it can be named as a unilateralist structure as it does not meet the conventional requirements of isolationism ideology pertaining to the founding fathers: The foreign policy is definitely not non-interventionist and gets involved with permanent alliances too often. (Patrick, 2018) Also, David Skidmore characterizes the process starting with unilateralism as "logical outcome of current unrivaled U.S position in the system" it is because for him, if a nation acts unilaterally, the same nation should be affording that behavior. (Skidmore, 2011) In this connection, again Skidmore, exhibits

⁷ The coordinated four attacks to the World Trade Center and Pentagon by planes hijacked by the people connected to Al-Qaeda.

the formula of “power breeds unilateralism”. (Skidmore, 2011) On the other hand, rather than defining this “new” isolationism as “declining” Nye quoted it as “coping with the rest” and he defined the interventionist actions especially in this period as a balancer not an organizer of the nations’ internal dynamics. (Nye, 2013) That is to say, the rush of “acting on its own” in foreign policy with the unilateral action, the wish to act unaccompanied evolved into the wish of acting alone in foreign policy either. (Sands and Robinson, 2002) Unilateralism⁸ is mostly enucleated within the isolationist framework still, the unilateral action does not verbalize isolationism at all times as John Dumbrell “rescued” post 1945 American foreign policy from denotation of isolationism by stating American foreign policy as: 'unilateralism'; America First and the New Populism'; 'anti-globalization'; and anti-imperialism' Therefore, the impact continuum of culture to the foreign policy after isolationism and expansionism that will be analyzed throughout this chapter, is revolving around the unilateralism and retreat to isolationism fueled by the U.S’ unilateral actions.

It can be fascinating that why the chapter starts with George W. Bush administration rather than Barack Obama administration. The sole purpose of this is to express the breaking point in the foreign policy starting with 9/11 which is mostly perceived as “ill-defined opposition to Western modernism and US power.” and the appearance of unilateral action in foreign policy necessarily in George W. Bush administration. (Ryan, 2008) Charles Krauthammer (2002) ranks this metaphor in his “The Unipolar Moment Revisited” named article: “Without September 11, the giant would surely have slept longer. The world would have been aware of America’s size and potential, but not its ferocity or its full capacities.” (Krauthammer, 2002, p.23) So, the American strength over the world that was cognizant of until then has gained a realization with this incident. By challenging the Westphalian system, George W. Bush compelled for hegemony by creating the main rhetoric of either with us or against us: “Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day onward, any

⁸ Throughout the research, the term will be referred simply acting alone regardless of outside support or reciprocity.

nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.” (Bush, 2001) This assertively created dilemma is actually the beginning of unilateral action because, “them” (Axis of Evil: Iran, Iraq and North Korea) was instinctively trivialized against the “us” and for the advantages of the U.S, it would require a unilateral action in either way. It is because in this very process, the unilateral action’s deemed appropriate emanates from the national security’s being under threat. At the same time, the sense of paranoia over the national security that brought by 9/11, is considered as a chance to designate isolationism to the American foreign policy, in this way the nation could be evaded from its constraints. (Ryan, 2008) Also, Nye portrays this process almost as an escape “it must escape the constraints of the multilateral structure” (Nye, 2003)

Bush’s rhetoric in the U.S foreign policy was a manifestation of his worldview consisted of black and white, no gray zone. Within this period the unilateral actions of the U.S is defined as: “America is now prone to disengage rather than engage the world through international legal mechanisms” (Kelly, 2003) The first epitome of this action is his withdrawal from 1997 Kyoto Protocol by claiming that it would be detrimental to American economy as soon as he came to office even though he uttered several times that climate change was happening. This withdrawal was a decision taken alone and abrupt rather than a simulation to a third party. And again similarly, Bush ordered a withdrawal from Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court signed in the administration of former President Bill Clinton. More than the international treaties, 2003 Iraq invasion within the unilateral policies was the paramount because Bush already ventilated in 2002 that the wish of Iraq’s invasion would be actualized by U.S alone as he would not see neither Congress nor United Nations as an entanglement in this path. Likewise, in 2003 the U.S embarked the mission solitarily and of course Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney’s effects were unignorable as they favored unilateral policies during the administration. For this reason, whole actions actualized within the headline of “self-defense” rationale, even the inclusion of preemptive strikes, recalled unilateralism rather than conventional isolationist mood.

Afterward Bush period, the U.S foreign policy was left with two unresolved wars, the great amounts of federal deficit and economic recession which threatens the global order. By inheriting these problems, Barack Obama's foreign policy behaviors shined out with his doubt to the hard power because for Barack Obama the use of force was an agent needed to be referred as a last resort. However, if it needed to be done necessarily, it would be, quite the reverse of Bush, aimed to possibly be veiled from the public rather than overt rank. Beginning from Obama administration's first days in the office, he always criticized former President Bush's foreign policy actions and defined American role in the world not as a shaper but a fixer. For him, the cooperation that is inclusive of shared interests should destroy the shared values in the "us vs. them" rhetoric. Thus, Obama firstly proposed a multilateral action in foreign policy rather than unilateral. (Kelley, 2012) Still, he sustained Bush legacy of the war on terror sentiment but endeavored the proliferation of nuclear weapons by restoring the American image in the world which looked "arrogant." Also, he came to office with the commitment of a brand-new change. For this reason, Obama's White House experience was consisted of "military restructuring, oversized defense budgets and public war fatigue." (Krieg, 2016) On the other hand, the policies pursued in Middle East was placed into the U.S doctrinal system and it was based upon the idea that not the U.S carrying the burden but also the other nations. Especially Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer's propound "offshore balancing" is important in the foreign policy within this frame because with this strategy, by emphasizing U.S hegemony in Western Hemisphere, pursued the goal of confronting with the possible hegemons in Europe, Northeast Asia and Persia and so that this strategy motivates the others' action in the Middle East region. (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2016) In this way, the first step of the defense consisted of the regional forces and they would provide security in their regions. This step was aimed to minimize the U.S military intervention and construct U.S favored systems with social engineering. In that vein, in the time of 2011 when American troops in Afghanistan were peaked to 97,000 in number, descended into 12,000 and this seemed to deliver on Obama's promises. Still, in 2012 election Obama changed his foreign policy rhetoric and saw unilateralism essential in 21st century foreign policy as New York Times stated: "Once the Republicans gained control

of the House of Representatives in 2011, the Obama administration began acting unilaterally.” (Kelley, 2012, p.150) Besides, the proclamation of Islamic State in 2014, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi’s self-proclaim of caliphate and terminally the public reaction to the American journalists’ beheading video by ISIS gave rise to unilateral action’s coming to light which went down with multilateral discourse till then. In his 2014 dated West point speech, he asserted:

First, let me repeat a principle I put forward at the outset of my presidency: The United States will use military force, unilaterally if necessary, when our core interests demand it -- when our people are threatened, when our livelihoods are at stake, when the security of our allies is in danger...International opinion matters, but America should never ask permission to protect our people, our homeland, or our way of life. (Obama, 2014)

For this reason, in contrast with Bush administration, any preemptive strike was not forespoken, and Obama’s foreign policy was not consisted of white and black lines, still it accentuated unilateral foreign policy by purporting the actions that are needed to be taken for U.S security under any threat did not demanded any “permission” it is because as in Bush period, the threats oriented to the national security in Obama period gave rise to introversion in foreign policy one more step.

In comparison with Obama’s heritage, current President Donald Trump’s spick-and-span heritage exhibits a more disordered and inextricable texture with Afghanistan, ISIS and Yemen. With this inextricable form, Trump period witnesses to foreign policy actions that evokes classical isolationism, which is one more step further than unilateralism, thus, the retreat to isolationism commences in this very administration.(Neely, 2017) He wanted to cast aside the whole Post-Cold War order. Primarily, he stresses the American stance in the world depended upon the American exceptionalism’s manifestation with its exemplary position. America’s special and unique role on the world, its difference from Old World by leaning to democracy and its resistance to the historical banality of imperialism fostered this ideology. As it mentioned beforehand in the Puritan understanding of the world, the exemplary identity is embraced in the period of Early Republic in following the aloof policy with the help of geographical isolation. For instance, John Quincy Adams’s oration in 1821, U.S role in the world “goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy.” parallelly, President Donald Trump’s expound “not go

abroad in search of enemies” situates Adam’s words to 21st century American foreign policy. (Edwards, 2018, p.180kell) It can also be said that he is the first president in American history that depicts the U.S in a dark image within the frame of both the U.S and the world is in a political paralysis. Thus, his administration does not lean on his intellectual skills on the management of a state, but he regards the nation as a large corporation, not as a political unit. Before his term, his foreign policy proposals revolved around particular themes. One of them was the alleviation of the American role in the world by abandoning security alliances, particularly defense treaties with Japan, South Korea and NATO. (Fisher, 2018) At the very first point, his foreign policy evokes the Monroe-like isolationist role in the international arena. Also, he would abandon North American Free Trade (with Trump’s own words it is the “worst trade ever”) and climate change agreement that was held in Paris, either. Also, his emphasis on the isolationist tendency in the frame of security alliances, evokes more nations to acquire nuclear weapons as they could achieve their policies without the help of Washington. (Patrick, 2018) In that vein, the U.S was the favored hegemon again, but this does not imply that the U.S is the only one fighting with the terrorism. This foreign policy behavior conjures up the offshore balancing in Middle East even though there is no “coherent” strategy to be followed in the region. (Walt, 2018) He was not willing to broaden the U.S participation on the issue. Instead, Trump favored the U.S role nothing more than ballistic missiles, he did not see the nation as an ultimate problem solver in the region. Especially, he evoked “local clients” (Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Syrian Kurdish militias) to shoulder responsibility and clashing with the regional opponents. (Walt, 2018) This resembles to Monroe Doctrine’s emphasis on American domestic dynamics that should not be wearied by dissimilar wars because the Middle East disturbance lasted for years infested major harm to the American domestic system and the treasury.

The exemplary identity that came into the world by American exceptionalism, isolated Trump administration’s foreign policy from the other nations perforce, as the so-called discrepancy and superiority of “us”, caused a reflux from scorned “them”. Within this

frame, when the foreign policy actions of President Trump are contemplated chronologically ever since he came to office, his release of Executive Order 13769 in 27th of January by forbidding 7 Muslim populated nations' entrance to the American soil is maybe the first initiative of isolationism. Similarly, the idea of wall during his 2016 campaign, naming Mexican immigrants as "rapist" and correspondingly his effort for stronger borders aiming to minimize immigration and refugees' definition as "chaotic and hostile" and "narrowly, unilaterally, unapologetic force" enforce these claims. (Fisher, 2018) However, the two policies in the path from unilateralism to isolationism loom large in that sense: The withdrawal from Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and defining NATO as "obsolete" by also declining the Article 5 which mentions of the collective action. It is because for him, "The lack of America-first policies was the root of the problem the United States faced in the international community." (Edwards, 2018) Hereby President Trump could again emphasize the American greatness in his policies. In the light of this information, the activeness of the U.S in the global arena is conceived as a determinant which decelerates and weakens the American power. With this thought, President Trump invigorates the conventional isolationism once again.

The foreign policy line starting from Bush administration to Trump administration, propounds an inversion from unilateral action to isolationism. Albeit, this isolationism cannot be comprehended "utterly" same classical isolationism. The changing political conditions, global structure and the changing U.S role in the world, and most importantly the national security paranoia starting with 9/11 led to isolationism that confers a new trend shaped by 21st century conventions. At the same time, along the process of this inversion, the cultural sequences should be taken into consideration as the research mainly focuses on because in the 21st century, the proliferation of popular culture, the accession to the cultures and spread of cultural dynamics thanks to the technological advancements and the easier penetration of these cultures to the nations are several motives for this relevance.

4.1 LITERATURE OF THE 21st TRAGEDY

While 21st American literature was not stereotyped with any particular movement, it does set forth a “formless form” related with the erratic global system. Especially within the American society that is mostly expounded as multinational, correspondingly the contentious issue of identity perceptions of minorities, the gender identities and the representations of these identities within society, in a nutshell, all the stereotyped apprehension of identities so far were overthrown and authentic, free identities with entirely new expression became an important issue in 21st century American Literature. On the other hand, American history was configured anew through the fictions of the literature and the continuity of symbolic past was ensured. Again, technology’s becoming a foremost medium of the epoch was utilized in the literary themes and the human experience at that rate was subjected to. Also, writer’s going out from his/her own identity with intertextuality became a significative of 21st century literary expression. Among these themes, while certain works take their subjects from political conditions, they carry the feature of affecting the foreign policy in that sense. Of course, this interaction cannot be generalized to whole literary works of the period but there is an appreciable tie between foreign policy and some works.

American poet Galway Kinnell’s works who is on leave of Walt Whitman wholly, mostly tackles with the issues of social and political. Kinnell served as a Poet Laureate of State of Vermont from 1989 to 1993, even considering his awards of Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award, it can be alleged that his poems are influential on American public and administrators. For this reason, the elegy named as “When the Towers Fell” published in *The New Yorker*’s in September 16, 2002 issue is substantial in that sense, as the publication of the poem in *The New Yorker* enforces these claims. In that vein, Michael Dowdy claims:

Marjorie Perloff, who notoriously doubted that poems in *The New Yorker* are capable of political force, once pointed out that W.S. Merwin’s eerie Vietnam poem “The Asians Dying” (1967)...originally appeared “on a glossy page between those gorgeous ads for fur coats and diamonds and resorts in St. Croix (Dowdy, 2007, p.44)

Therefore, the choice of this poem is from the mere value of its substantial impact on foreign policy. On the other hand, this elegy invokes T.S Eliot's⁹ "The Waste Land", the reader who is experiencing the devastating image of London after World War I, encounters with terrific intricacy, dust, smoke and panic of New York city with Kinnel's poem. The first stanza of the poem starts thus: "From our high window we saw the towers / in their bands and blocks of light /brighten against a fading sunset". (Kinnell, 2002) The very initial of the poem's utterance as "our high window" embraces the "us vs them" rhetoric since the part that is described as "us" is the part who experience and witness of this tragedy, the American public. In this way, Kinnel carves out a collective consciousness from the beginning by collecting the victims of this calamity. On the other hand, why does the depiction of "high window" take place necessarily? Similarly, this is nothing but a signal of a particular class: white and cultural elite. (Dowdy, 2007) It is because the speaker's the place that he stands up gives information about the poet, it is also a token of a wealth, maybe this point is one of the expensive penthouses in New York. Having drew the class frame, the audience, in the beginning on the poem which gives an impression that this class refers to the wealthy, white and elite, probably the politicians actively take place in foreign policy, Kinnel continues: "often we didn't see them, and now, /not seeing them, we see them." (Kinnel, 2002) According to the Jean Baudrillard, forgetting a slaughter is another kind of a slaughter. (Baudrillard, 1981) It is because for him forgetting it at the same time equals to the oblivion about the existence of the society. (Baudrillard, 1981) At this point, Kinnel strikes the audience's eyes to the tragedy which is physically existent against the U.S government because now this violence is wholly "visible". For this reason, Kinnel emphasizes the change of the U.S perception in foreign policy, figuratively for him it needs to be done something because the collapse of these towers, dying of people and the terror in its physical form is not "discernable". In this context, the rhetoric created by Bush is taken forward and "us" experience highlighted with the "seeing" verb exhibits the spirit for the foreign policy act in the same direction. On the other hand, Kinnel mentions of the starvations, wars and massacres in the world history as "omen" and he continues:

⁹ America born British poet, playwright and critic, 20th century's prominent figure on literary modernism

Seeing the towers vomit these omens, that the last century dumped
into this one, for us to dispose of, we know
they are our futures, that is the black milk of our species crossing the sky:
wir schaufeln ein Grab in den Lüften da liegt man nicht eng¹⁰ (Kinnell, 2002)

Within this context, this stanza hosts the correlation of Paul Celan's Todesfuge¹¹ poem wrote about Holocaust tragedy, in this way, the poem aims to raise an awareness of 9/11 tragedy in parallel with Holocaust. It is because Nazi Germany's the cruelest slaughter is correlated with 9/11 naming it as the "last century" tragedy. Likewise, while the black milk reference stands for the malnutrition of the Jews in the concentration camps and similarly this Kinnell's black milk is an analogue symbol for American public and foreign policy's malnutrition. Consequently, it cannot be said that Kinnell's poem was the creator of interventionist foreign policy in Bush administration, but the consciousness and the discourse that formed in the poem, highlighted the awareness of the necessary action in foreign policy after 9/11 by framing it as a great event. Besides, considering the dramatic effect of the poem and its publication in *The New Yorker*, it can be asserted that it is forceful within this context.

After Kinnell's political poem, Cormac McCarthy's 2006 dated *The Road*, who creates more figurative works, caters for the ideological nourishments in 21st century's shift from unilateralism to isolationism in foreign policy. The novel mentions a father and a son whose names are never indicated throughout the novel, surviving in a desolated and post-apocalyptic landscape where the civilization is disappeared. Besides, taking Pulitzer Prize in 2007, the novel was praised in magazines like *New York Review of Books* and *Entertainment Weekly* and it was adapted to motion picture in 2009. Therefore, as in the previous works, McCarthy's work dispersed to a wide scope as an influence, it is popular, and this is the biggest motive for the choice of this work. Especially the two main themes in the work within the frame of fueling isolationist foreign policy is the wish of redemption through Christian moral and ethics and the grotesque landscape depiction

¹⁰ Translation: We're digging a grave in the sky there'll be plenty of room to lie down there

¹¹ Translated as Death Fugue in English, the poem by Paul Celan

over Christian Apologetics. In her article, Lydia R. Cooper (2011), entitles *The Road* as a: “response to an immediate and visceral fear of cataclysmic doom in the us after terrorist attacks”. (Cooper,2011, p.220) Thusly, the need of catharsis and arid landscape are the conditions based on the 9/11 attacks. This new space is defined as “Barren, silent, godless”, like so American continent needs a spiritual or moral healing. (McCarthy, 2006, p.2) It is because the collapse of the Twin Towers was comprehended as an event put on par with the destruction of Biblical Towers of Babel, that is why the decadence of these towers is nothing but a sign of “God’s judgement upon the perils”. (Elliott, 2010) For this reason the post-apocalyptic grim atmosphere constructed by McCarthy puts forward a foreshadowing in order to show American public and politicians about the destruction of near future waiting at the door. On the other hand, the redemption theme that has just been brought up coincides with the classical grail legend by associating it to “the son”. Since the grail leads to the healing in the legends, the son possibly is declared as a grail to save the American nation and generally the world. Still, the story particularly appeals to the American nation as it is on the road which is a unique American experience and a prominent issue in American culture in frame of characters’ progress and maturation. (Cooper, 2011) To turn back to the grail argument, the father and the son talk about the fire:

“You have to carry the fire.”

I don't know how to.”

Yes, you do.”

Is the fire real? The fire?”

Yes, it is.”

Where is it? I don't know where it is.”

Yes, you do. It's inside you. It always was there. I can see it.” (McCarthy, 2006, p.145)

This fire descended from father to son, resembles to the inheritance of a mission from older generation to younger, so that the redemption of the world would be derived from the son because the son is thought to be the grail throughout the novel. (Cooper, 2011) In this way, according to the writer, the weight of 9/11 and following foreign policy actions may be corrected by a new administration, herewith the American domestic dynamics would be put first by not tiring it with the foreign powers’ wars and adapting

an isolationist point in order to demolish fear to some extent. This idea is given over the metaphor of the tie between boy and the grail legend and similarly, some parts of the novel show evidence of it:

“He was just hungry, Papa. He's going to die.

He's going to die anyway.

He's so scared, Papa.

...

You're not the one who has to worry about everything.

The boy said something, but he couldn't understand him. What? He said.

He looked up, his wet and grimy face. Yes, I am, he said. I am the one.” (McCarthy, 2006,p.88)

In this scene that depicts the death of a man in their encountering through the travel, the father warns the son about not to “worry about everything”. Still, the son’s espousing the savior role with the reply of “I’m the one” enforces these claims again. Consequently, the hope brought forth via the son is an augur of a salvation and renewal in this godless nation by way of the Christian ethic and moral. It is because the father dies while he symbolizes the past and the past mistakes, the son shows promise with his youth and innocence for a new world and an order, so that humanity would be brightened again. Hence, all of these hopes pertaining to the redemption greened in the novel is not pass the limit of the danger throughout the Bush administration’s foreign policy because it is alluded that instead of American nation consuming its energy in these wars, the correction of internal dynamics should be concentrated as Trump reveals in his 2016 campaign. This indicates the conventional isolationism’s reactivation and adaption in the foreign policy.

On the other hand, it was predicated in the first chapter that foreign policy and space transformation in American Art and Literature went hand in hand with isolationism. Synonymously, McCarthy’s *The Road* put flesh on the bones of isolationism with space transformation. This new American view folded with gray ashes, depicts a tolerably dark image where there are no people who consumed by a nuclear disaster in a post-apocalyptic world. For this reason, the complete annihilation of landscape in this novel erases the past for a new formation. So, this newly emerging area also promotes the new

formation of isolationism because the area's physical view outside of the characters is a picture of an obscure and gloomy place: "Nights dark beyond darkness and the days grayer each one than what had gone before." (McCarthy, 2006, p.2) The dark vision getting darker day by day waits to be brightened because the constructed landscape is feeding on ravage and nothingness. Similarly, the American nation that needs to be renewed by a Christian value is also infertile spiritually in point of faith and materially in point of scarcity: "It's snowing, the boy said. He looked at the sky. A single gray flake sifting down. He caught it in his hand and watched it expire there like the last host of Christendom." (McCarthy, 2006, p.8) The snow's being almost in short supply and being gray, actually coincides with the depicted spirit and the need of enlightenment because with the melting of this snowflake, the last area that Christianity accommodates withers. In that vein, the wilderness perception as baleful in the Early Republic, revives in McCarthy's novel. This probably gave a cause to the isolationist foreign policy in the face of American foreign policy over the world, especially Middle East with the possibly conclusions by visualizing. As Slavoj Žižek associates the mobilization of people by fear after 9/11, McCarthy's *The Road* novel reveals the anxiety and American redemption over religious allegories to deliver a spirit in the path from unilateral action to isolationist foreign policy.

4.2 REVIVAL OF THE AMERICAN SPACE IN THE FRAME OF ISOLATIONISM

The retaliation of 9/11 terror in the U.S foreign policy, alleged the globalization of violence and war. Thanks to preemptive strike in foreign policy, the military force was regularized, and the universal human rights were put on the shelf. (Artun, 2016) In that vein, the 9/11 and post-violence was precluded to American Art, as well as politics, as an aesthetic value and Ali Artun entitles this art as "aesthetics of wreck"¹². So, the twin towers collapsed were sacralized and became a symbolic place which puts forward iconoclasm in American Art. (Artun, 2016) Still, the eventual point in 21st century American Art is the inclusion of "space" connected to the American space policies in

¹² Originally "Yıkıntı Estetiği"

Cold War period. It is because the foreign policy parallels with the association of landscape transformation with the existing foreign policy ideology. Additionally, “space” takes a large place in American movie sector thematically, it appears as an extension of manifest destiny and the construction of space in 21st century American Art as scary, dark and dangerous is similar to early constructions of Puritan’s wilderness. Within this context, some works in 21st century American Art encapsules the symbolic visions in the rotation of isolationist foreign policy.

For instance, her oil paintings named as “commercial art” by selling them from only via internet and reaching the large masses Texas born artist Teresa Bernard’s 2012 dated *First Man on the Moon (Image 4.1)* painting is the first exemplification within this context. The painting captures the moment of Apollo 11’s departure in 1969, setting foot of Neil Armstrong’s to the moon and planting a U.S flag by the astronauts. The artist composes her work after 4 months of Neil Armstrong’s death in order to freeze and immortalize this great moment in American history. Still, rather than a depiction of a classical “historical recalling”, it contains symbolic visions of American stance and position within the international system as it was demonstrated in the foregoing sequences.



Image 4.1 Bernard, T. (2012) First Man on the Moon [Gallery wrap stretched canvas]

Preemptively, when it is looked to the painting, the depth proportion of the world seems to look appropriate when it is compared to the American flag's greatness. Still, the magnitude of American flag is large intentionally in a respectable amount. Thus, the greatness of American nation on the world is directly proportional with the American flag standing in front of the world. On the other hand, the area that astronaut lays weight on is considerably luminous when it is compared to the rearward darkness. The luminousness of the field identified with American flag recalls the idea of isolationist foreign policy in the early republic as an extension of American exemplary identity. It is because the main wish is to avoid foreign wars unrolls the American distinctiveness because the outer realm seems murky, incomprehensible and absorbing. Also, inclusive of isolationist view, the painting's dynamic spawns an aloofness indisputably. A national flag, an astronaut doing his duty behalf his nation and a physical appearance of the world elucidates the American loneliness in the system over three signifiers.

From the *First Man on the Moon* to the *Last Man on the Moon* (**Image 4.2**) by Alan Bean is another work that will be touched upon within this frame. Bean's who is retired from United States Navy and NASA, 2013 dated painting is influential in that sense because

being an astronaut himself, he is also known as the fourth person that walked on the moon. On the other hand, while examining the painting, the photograph (**Image 4.3**) of Corporal Edward Chin in Baghdad during Iraq War toppling the statue of Saddam Hussein bears a resemblance to Bean's work in frame of the visual message getting to be crossed: In the two apparitions there is an American officer completing the mission by conquering the "foreign" field with an American flag. Accidentally the perspectives of these two visions are the same, in this regard Bush administration's unilateral tendencies and isolationist foreign policy in the Trump period, this photograph is exemplified in order to provide cohesion as the Bush period is considered as the breaking point in American foreign policy and the beginning of the path from unilateralism to isolationism. The last man landing on the moon in Bean's painting is no one but Eugene Cernan who is the commander of Apollo XVII launched in 1972.

Likewise, Teresa Bernard, Bean degrades his painting into three signifiers: The U.S flag, astronaut and the world. Thus, when, again, it is considered the physical depth of the painting the world is small as expected but the American flag and the astronaut's proportion are relatively large which lay emphasis on the greatness of the mission and belonging to the national identity. Similarly, the painting highlights the Bernard's solitude as it can be explained through three signifiers, it is in comparatively unilateral form. The isolationism emphasis of founding fathers that took place in the first part and parallelism of culture as being unilateral, plays the same part in these paintings because in the symbolic representations of the nation there is no another constituent than American tokens, obviously, in the dimension of capability of power U.S is hegemon in both of the paintings.

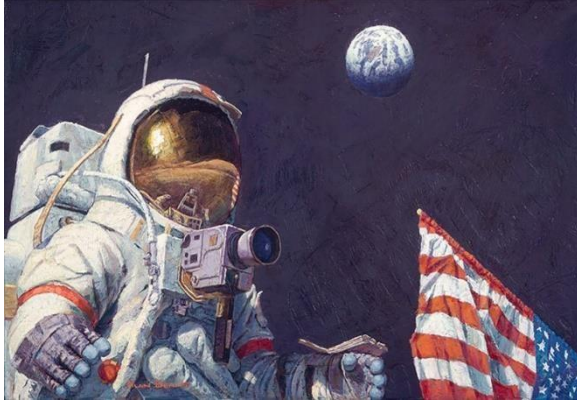


Image 4.2 Bean, A. (2013) *Last Man on the Moon* [Giclee Canvas]



Image 4.3 Daily News (2013). U.S. soldier, Corporal Edward Chin, scaling a statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. [image]

But on the other hand, the juxtaposed darkness behind of the bright astronaut makes a reference to the wilderness-space construction. In the painting, the astronaut does not give the impression of anything disrupts his occupation, he endeavors to fulfill his missions without the disturbance of an outer power. Within this frame, the “space” theme that took a great place in the American movie sector with depiction of deep and dark gives the same feeling to the spectator. Along the same line, the symbolic messages of the paintings over American nation’s tokens, depicts the alienation from foreign powers brought along “exemplary” identity that leans on in President Trump. Eventually, even though George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s foreign policy centers on different policies, they carried out a process in which unilateralist policies evolved into a more isolationist mood.

CONCLUSION

The constructions pertaining to the communities are determined by common thoughts rather than material concerns. These common thoughts also constructed the actors' identities and interests. So, it can be asserted that different socialization processes induce different national behaviors. (Bayar, 2018) In this way, each settler of the community internalizes these common thoughts by sustaining her/his existence through them. In that sense, the research question's main curiosity at the beginning drew attention to this assertion. On the other hand, as it was remarked previously in the research, this study aspired after the relevance between foreign policy and culture in the American case by reducing culture under the headlines of literature art. It is because the interaction of foreign policy and culture which is used vaguely or broadly sometimes, has become unavoidable with Francis Fukuyama's transformation of *End of The History* to the *Clash of Civilizations* with Samuel Huntington and Slavoj Zizek and now the culture is determinant agent in international relations. For this very reason, being thrilled by these trends, the examination of the foreign policy through literary and art works and the examination of these works within this context makes this research's main curiosity important and interesting as it corresponds to the current dynamics of world politics after the start of decolonization. Also, in most of the foreign policy analysis studies within the field do not necessarily prefer to refer to the ideational powers as motivators of the actions, still the research question and the obtained information reveals that culture matters in the foreign policy analysis.

Hereby, the main claim has been tackled through the three time periods in American History: 18th century and the early republic, 19th century and rise of American Imperialism with the expansionist policies and lastly the 21st century in frame of isolationism. These three time periods have been attributed to the relevance between the period's foreign policy and art and literature. In that vein, it is obtained that the isolationist foreign policy in early republic, expansionist foreign policy in 19th century and unilateral action that transformed into to the isolationism in 21st century bear a resemblance to the very same periods' art and literature.

The first chapter of the research demonstrates that, the new American nation formed after the Revolutionary War, mostly adopted isolationist foreign policy. It is because the nation that ruptured from England desired to move away from the things that could wear out its existence. Still, as it is discussed through the research, if it is looked at the canonical literary and art works of the period, the emanation from church asceticism¹³, its transformation to worldly ascetism in the Puritan heritage and the rise of individualism got a foothold in the American culture and this nurtured isolationist foreign policy by praising it with more nationalist sentiments.

Likewise, the second section of the research quarrels the expansionist foreign policy taking nourishment from the period's art and literature as the American nation was expanding its boundaries in 19th century. Especially the foreign policy makers in this very same period aggrandized the White Anglo Saxon Protestant identity continuously and reflected the mission of "civilizing" the "uncivilized" as a divine mission in the canonical art and literary works of the period. Therefore, ensured the conduction and adulation of the expansionist foreign policy.

Terminally, the last chapter contends the American foreign policy's transformation from unilateralism to isolationism under the national security threat with the 9/11. This transformation gained momentum after this threat and this period's art and literary works that is mentioned within the frame of the research embodied this transformation. In that sense, while the artworks depict the physical isolation over the paintings, the literary works signal a retreat to isolationist mood over the redemption of Christian principles as the involvement of American nation in the international arena began

Under the circumstances, it can be seen that the particular works in the particular periods of American History, generates the ideological ailments of the particular periods' foreign policy trends. As the ideational framework generated regarding the consecution of these policies prevail the ideas transforming around the foreign policy, provide continuance and build a discourse. Likewise, it can be conferred that the decisionmakers of the

¹³ Max Weber's claim in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) that Protestantism made all the church sacraments in worship as useless but made individual worship to God in any occasions through the concentration on hard work.

nation's opt to dependently on cultural motivations rather than rational choices. That being said, the decisionmakers also need societal endorsement for their decisions.

The relationship of isolationist foreign policy with culture at the end of 18th century time period, the similarity in 19th century and lastly 21st century introduces that American foreign policy in each century was affected from culture particularly, the art and literature, in a respectable amount. In this historical process of the research, 20th century was not mentioned deliberately as the Cold War was based upon the cultural basis named as soft power and the culture was directly used as a foreign policy instrument as the alleged investments on Modern Art by CIA to promote American democracy is the point in the question. (Saunders, 2018) At the same time, the emergence of postmodernity especially in art and literature in this very same period could harden the association of culture and foreign policy, thus at the point of revealing the tie between culture and foreign policy in 20th century wouldn't exhibit correct results if it is mentioned in the course of the research.

For this reason, it can be claimed that American foreign policy will manage a relationship with culture at all times, but the branches of the culture can shift in time as American nation utilizes the cultural formations from the beginning of the nation both in national and international politics. On the other hand, in a condition when the "medium is the message" paradigm which is still valid, is considered, the effect of literary works in hard copies can yield to the electronic environment's popular programmes in 21st century. (McLuhan, 1977) Still the change of the medium is not a sign of the detachment between American foreign policy and culture but is an indication of this tie's consistent regeneration and continuity.

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WORK EXPERIENCE:

2017-Still Bahçeşehir College, English Teacher

2013 Youthpass Certificate, "Step Up Yourself" EU Youth Project, Brasov/ ROMANIA

2014 Certificate of Honor Ege University School of Foreign Languages

2014 Youthpass Certificate "European Vagabonds" EU Youth Project North Jutland/ DENMARK

2015 International Undergraduate Symposium/ Ege University Certificate of Scholarly Participation with the paper of "Entering Sandra Cisneros' *The House on Mango Street*"

2016 Paces Symposium / Pamukkale University Certificate of Scholarly Participation with the paper of "William Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha as a Microcosm of Mythical South"

2017 America at Home and Abroad Seminar/ Kadir Has University, Certificate of Participation