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America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World

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Hartmann, Frederick H., and Robert L. Wendzel. *America's Foreign Policy in a Changing World*. New York: Harper-Collins, 1994. 503pp. (No price given)

The developmental process and implementation of American foreign policy continue to be the subjects of innumerable texts trying to make sense of a complex and confusing topic.

This book seeks to provide readers a solid foundation for understanding the conduct of U.S. policy from independence to the present. Hartmann and Wendzel provide insights into the formulation and implementation of foreign policy; a brief description of how foreign policy issues are decided upon; analysis of U.S. policy during the Cold War, from 1945 to 1991; and a discussion of present and future foreign policy problems facing the United States. Most importantly, the authors offer a framework for organizing one's thought processes when considering the direction and implications of future foreign policy formulations.

The authors carry impressive credentials. Frederick H. Hartmann, Alfred Thayer Mahan Professor Emeritus at the Naval War College, is a specialist in international relations and the author of numerous books, including *The Conservation of Enemies*, *World in Crisis*, *The Relations of Nations*, and *Defending America's Security* (coauthored with Wendzel). Robert L. Wendzel is the educational advisor at the U.S. Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, and a frequent lecturer on national security matters and foreign policy. He, too, has written extensively on the subject of international relations. His textbooks include *Defending America's Security* and *To Preserve the Republic: United States Foreign Policy* (both coauthored with

Hartmann), *A Policymaker Focus*, and *International Politics: Policymakers and Policy-making*.

This strong academic background is evident throughout the present work. Its focus is tight, the examples chosen support the authors' arguments, and the research and references are both impressive and current. The authors demonstrate a superb knack for introducing and explaining, in simple terms, basic definitions and concepts essential to the study of international relations. Particularly enlightening are the discussions of the historical context that helped shape American foreign policy and still continues to give it its unique flavor; the evolution of the constitutional and legal relationships between the executive and legislative branches; the role of the president and his advisors in the development of foreign policy; the impact of the media, interest groups, and public opinion on the decision-making process; and the complex interrelationship of economics and foreign policy.

Hartmann and Wendzel recognize the myriad of factors that have an impact on foreign policy, and then attempt to provide the reader with a framework for dealing with these considerations. Drawing on past work, they suggest four cardinal principles: past-future linkages, counterbalancing national interests, third-party influences, and "conservation of enemies." These principles, say the authors, form the basis for examining and explaining successes and failures in past American foreign policy decisions.

While these principles prove useful in helping explain selected foreign policy decisions, they undoubtedly oversimplify a process that the authors would admit is extremely complex. Applying a framework to historical events (where hindsight is always 20-20) to explain success and failure is one

thing; using these principles as the basis for formulating future policy is quite another. In a perfect world these considerations could be applied to every situation and a reasoned approach adopted. But the world is not perfect, and frequently foreign policy decisions are made with less than perfect knowledge. Time lines are compressed, and decisions must be made without input from every key actor. This will lead to mistakes. Further, policy alternatives seem to be much more numerous (each with its attendant "pros" and "cons") than the authors would have one believe and it may be argued that the choice rarely boils down to an "either-or" decision.

Despite these drawbacks, Hartmann and Wendzel provide invaluable advice to those interested in American foreign policy. *American Foreign Policy in a Changing World* should be on the shelf of every serious student of international relations.

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Harrison, Selig S., and Masashi Nishihara, eds. *UN Peacekeeping: Japanese and American Perspectives*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 1995. 175pp. (No price given)

While books, monographs, and articles about United Nations peacekeeping proliferate at a rate that suggests faddishness, this book is less about UN peacekeeping than about Japan's possible role in the maintenance of global security. In this collection of brief essays, four American and four Japanese scholars address four distinct topics: what the role of the

UN in peacekeeping is and should be; what the tea leaves say about public opinion in Japan and the United States; what steps in preventive diplomacy the United States and Japan can take for Asia-Pacific security; and in what ways Japan can contribute more to global security. Although the introduction suggests that American and Japanese scholars must necessarily disagree, they in fact do agree on most points, and this is what makes the book both coherent and instructive.

Steven Ratner, who served as a legal advisor at the Paris Conference on Cambodia, begins with a review of crucial, but often confused, distinctions among peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement. The confusion surrounding such terms is not limited to the marginally attentive public but includes the multitude of public officials who influence UN policy and have a great deal to do with reinforcing both public and official perceptions of the usefulness and neutrality of the United Nations.

Masahiko Asada makes Ratner's points clearer. Asada, who was from 1991 to 1993 a legal advisor at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, points out that the UN intervention in Somalia became an alarming departure from precedent when the UN Secretary-General ordered that Somali warlords be disarmed. Asada suggests that the consequences of UN (and U.S.) policy in Somalia reached far beyond the death of eighteen American soldiers and the ignominious withdrawal of U.S. troops: Japan and other nations learned from the episode that a UN mission they have agreed to support can change in mid-course, thereby also changing the risk involved, making it more difficult for them to support missions in the first place.