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America and the Persian Gulf: The Third Party Dimension in World Politics

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planning, allocation of resources, price controls, and so on, did not continue after the war's end. In time of peace, those wartime controls would be unconstitutional infringements upon public freedoms, especially upon the conduct of private enterprise.

The Dismal Battlefield: Mobilizing for Economic Conflict is not, therefore, recommended for the student of international affairs. A notable body of literature already exists on the subject of economic conflict, economic sanctions, economic warfare, and other related topics. See, for example: *Economic Warfare or Detente: An Assessment of East-West Economic Relations in the 1980s*, edited by Reinhard Rode and Hanns D. Jacobsen (Westview, 1985); Jagdish Bhagwati, *Protectionism* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988); Ravi Batra, *The Myth of Free Trade: A Plan for America's Economic Revival* (Scribners, 1990); William J. Gill, *Trade Wars against America: A History of United States Trade and Monetary Policy* (Praeger, 1990); George Friedman and Meredith Lebard, *The Coming War with Japan* (St. Martin's, 1991); John G. Clark, *The Political Economy of World Energy: A Twentieth Century Perspective* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1990); and Michael Silva and Bertil Sjogren, *Europe 1992 and the New World Power Game* (Wiley and Sons, 1990).

SAVERIO DE RUGGIERO
Naval War College

Yetiv, Steve A. *America and the Persian Gulf: The Third Party Dimension in World Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995. 192pp. \$49.95

In the study of the Middle East, perhaps more than any other area of the world, the gaps between policy makers, international relations theorists, and area specialists tend to be very large. This book is, in part, an attempt to bridge these gaps, and happily, the attempt is successful; hence this book will be of interest to anyone in these various fields. Steve Yetiv, a political scientist at Old Dominion University (and a contributor to the *Naval War College Review*), brings both his detailed knowledge of the Middle East and his deep understanding of international relations theory to bear on the role of the United States in the Persian Gulf.

One of the distinctive features of Yetiv's approach is his emphasis on the role of "third parties" in international politics. What is especially remarkable about his use of this concept is his reversal of the way in which third parties are often viewed. Much of the literature, for example, focuses on their roles as mediators or otherwise decisive forces affecting international conflicts. Yetiv makes the interesting twist of arguing that it is not only that the United States has had great effects on Persian Gulf politics but that the reverse is also true, and to a profound degree. The author uses a case study approach, examining a series of major events in the Gulf (the Iranian revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, and the 1991 Gulf war) to show how each affected and changed the strategic position of even so powerful a third party as the United States. Among other things, he also makes the provocative argument that these events actually enhanced the strategic position of the United States while lessening that of the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons this book has special appeal is that it combines major theoretical

perspectives with a full empirical study of the Persian Gulf. The first chapter outlines the concepts guiding the analysis—essentially the ideas of realism and the balance of power. But those less interested in theory and more in actual strategic behavior and its resultant security implications will find this a highly user-friendly book. The theoretical discussion at the outset is brief, allowing some readers to charge on to the case studies. (For those more interested in the theoretical or methodological implications of this excellent study, the author has provided a detailed discussion in an appendix.) In the studies themselves, Yativ does a good job of clearly tying the events together, noting how each affected those that followed and stressing the implications for U.S. national security policy. The author's research is well documented and includes extensive use of official government documents, as well as secondary source material.

Among his major conclusions, the author argues that the detached and distanced relationship of a third party to regional politics has actually reinforced the U.S. security position and that therefore it is imperative that the United States not relinquish this role. Furthermore, Yativ argues, the current American policy of "dual containment" of Iran and Iraq, with an overt commitment to topple both regimes, carries with it the great dangers of a far too direct, engaged, and confrontational policy. Standing by the ideas of balance-of-power theory, Yativ calls instead for a more nuanced approach in which the United States would remain vigorous against both Iran and Iraq in thwarting the development of weapons of mass destruction but would take a step back in conventional

terms, allowing Baghdad and Tehran themselves to bear the high costs of balancing against one another. In short, he suggests that both political history and theory demonstrate the value of third-party status and that the United States would be well advised to recall these lessons. Readers will find this book a valuable contribution to the literatures on U.S. foreign policy, strategic interaction in the Persian Gulf, and international relations theory.

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Kemp, Geoffrey, and Janice Gross Stein, eds. *Powder Keg in the Middle East: The Struggle for Gulf Security*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995. 306pp. \$42.50

If you are a little fuzzy on what U.S. interests are in the Persian Gulf and why it has forces committed to the area, then this book is for you. Geoffrey Kemp and Janice Gross Stein have assembled a series of essays from three workshops sponsored by the Program on Science and International Security of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, essays that address ethnic conflict and state-building in the Arab world; weapons of mass destruction in the region; the future of Iraq and regional security; alternative futures for Iran; security concerns of the Gulf Cooperation Council states, Turkey, and the Middle East; the Kurdish issue; the water factor; and U.S. policy in the Gulf.

We are treated to well reasoned analytic insights from such U.S. foreign policy experts as William B. Quandt, Shaul Bakhash, Richard K. Herrmann, and Thomas L. McNaugher, as well as Geoffrey Kemp