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## The Politics of United States Foreign Policy

Donald E. Nuechterlein

Jerel A. Rosati

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American Conventional Forces for the Post-Soviet Era"; and a host of primary and secondary sources describing the 1990–1991 defense review that resulted in the major changes Peters feared would never be made.

*The U.S. Military* is really a book about the United States Army. But in spite of its emphasis on Army matters, Peters does manage to present an objective case and even to gore the ox of the Army Corps of Engineers by suggesting that "such functions may be better performed by the U.S. Department of the Interior or by private enterprise." On the other hand, his original dissertation recommended an Army Contingency Corps of five divisions in the continental United States, which is increased to seven in the book.

Neither book devotes serious attention to offensive or defensive strategic nuclear forces. In Miller's case this is understandable, given the purpose of the original conference presentation. However, in the case of *The U.S. Military*, it exemplifies the separation of nuclear and general strategic planning typical of the armed forces—a bifurcation that this reviewer disagrees with strongly. Neither does either work truly address the Bush administration's redefinition of overseas presence (to include virtually anything) or the implication of the fact that reduction in forces requires host-nation support and alliances or coalitions at the operational level of warfare. It is not surprising, however, that the authors pay serious attention to reconstitution against a "resurgent-emergent global threat."

Both books advocate a particular future rather than deal with the regionally focused defense strategy first defined by George Bush and later modified by former Secretary of Defense Les Aspin. By failing to rework his initial research and address the development of the Bush strategy, Peters lost the opportunity to revise his overly pessimistic view of the strategic planning process. Had he done so, he would have had to conclude that the "system" had devised an "off-line" way to produce a radically new military strategy—one fairly in line with what he recommended.

Both books are valuable contributions to the literature and serve to document the depth of the ongoing debate. Neither is the last word on the subject, but both are welcome.

JAMES J. TRITTEN  
Virginia Beach, Virginia

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Rosati, Jerel A. *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*. Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1993. 621p. (No price given)

This volume by Jerel Rosati, a former research associate in the Congressional Research Service and currently associate professor of government at the University of South Carolina, is an ambitious undertaking. He cites four goals in the preface: "to be comprehensive in topical coverage, to address central themes in U.S. foreign policy, to provide a strong sense for the actual workings of politics, and to be accessible and interesting to the reader." The author succeeds in all but one; he falls

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short on central themes in foreign policy.

The book's strength lies in its comprehensive examination of the numerous institutions and groups that influence the formulation and conduct of American foreign policy and the political struggles that ensue. The reader gains good insight into the power struggles between the president and Congress and between their subordinate agencies and committees as they wrestle with foreign and national security issues. Rosati also looks at the roles of the states, the judiciary, public interest groups, and the media. His stated desire to produce a textbook that gives students a clear understanding of the political dynamics in Washington is fulfilled. In addition, the book's utility is enhanced by essays (short narratives) interspersed throughout the text.

Its shortcomings as a comprehensive textbook on foreign policy lie in the absence of serious discussion of two major issues in U.S. foreign policy. The first is the dispute over which of two guiding principles, idealism or realism, should direct the making of foreign policy—particularly whether considerations of “human rights” or “national interest” have primacy. (An examination of how presidents Carter, Reagan, and Bush handled these concepts would have been helpful.) The second issue is the controversy over whether Ronald Reagan's military buildup and tough anti-Soviet policies caused the Soviet leaders to abandon the Cold War or whether its economic crisis forced Moscow to do so without U.S. pressure. One finds no attempt here to analyze why Reagan was a

radical cold-warrior in his first term but suddenly became a peacemaker in his second.

The subject of “national interest” as a guiding principle in U.S. foreign policy from the beginning of the Republic is dismissed with the statement, “However, the national interest is clearly a subjective concept, for different people define the national interest differently.” For a textbook that concentrates on the policy process and the politics of making foreign policy, this is a rather strange way of dealing with a concept that continues to influence the State Department, Defense Department, and the National Security Council.

A bothersome theme that runs through this lengthy study is what the author refers to as the “constant tension between democracy and national security.” One senses that the author thinks the two are basically incompatible. He elaborates Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist impact on foreign policy in the early 1950s, the CIA excesses in the 1950s and 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson's deceitfulness in the Vietnam War, Nixon's Watergate scandal, and Reagan's Iran-Contra dealings. He suggests that since democracy and considerations of national security are in conflict, a large reduction in the nation's national security structure is imperative in this post-Cold War period.

This reviewer had hoped that a book on foreign policy published in 1993 would have offered some ideas on what role the United States should play in this post-Cold War world. Should

the United States continue in a major world role, or should it concentrate on rebuilding its economy after years of neglect, improving its education system, enacting a national health program, and saving American cities? Instead, the author ends by suggesting twelve questions for the reader to think about as history unfolds. One really expected more on the subject from this ambitious book.

DONALD E. NUECHTERLEIN  
Charlottesville, Virginia

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Grunawalt, Richard J., ed. *The Law of Naval Warfare: Targeting Enemy Merchant Shipping*. International Law Studies, Vol. 65. Newport, R. I.: U.S. Naval War College, 1993. (Available from the Library of Congress Repository)

In this carefully edited and handsomely produced collection of professional papers, Jack Grunawalt has rendered a valuable service to the admiralty lawyers and serious military historians of our time.

The essays and commentary that constitute the basic text of this volume were presented at a symposium on naval warfare in 1990 hosted by the U.S. Naval War College. The authors are the preeminent experts in the law of naval warfare. The quality of their scholarship and the extent of their research in the particular subject of this volume, targeting enemy merchant shipping, is evident throughout.

Each paper examines in its own way the issues involved in targeting enemy shipping, with particular attention to

the validity of a 1936 London Protocol (still on the books) that states, in essence, that a warship may not sink a merchant vessel without having first placed passengers, crew, and ship's papers in a place of safety, considering the existing sea and weather conditions, the proximity of land, or the presence of another vessel which is in a position to take them on board.

Given this focus, the volume could have become a legal copybook exercise on an archaic custom of questionable relevance in today's complex environment of war at sea. Fortunately, it did not. Each paper is developed with a lawyer's logic and supported with historical facts. The essays are so well written and artfully presented that this volume is more than an essential reference work for admiralty law libraries and historians' research shelves. Taken in its entirety, it is a thoroughly readable examination in depth of an element of naval warfare that has recently been brought to the attention of the general public by several popular writers. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Barbara Tuchman, in "The First Salute," pursues the importance of commerce raiding as an element of sea power that was influential in shaping the outcome of the American Revolutionary War. In a less scholarly context, Patrick O'Brian's immensely popular series of historical "Jack Aubrey" novels about the British navy during the Napoleonic Wars deals extensively with the seizure of merchant shipping and the importance of prize money in the Royal Navy.

In general, the essays draw on more recent examples of contemporary