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The Next Phase in Foreign Policy

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private school of their choice. The benefits of such a program are those one might expect in any functioning economic market: better educational offerings induced by the competition among schools for students, more opportunity to choose the best educational offering for parents in all income classes, a reduction in the link between where a person lives and the quality of education his children get, more equal per pupil expenditures, et cetera. This proposal, while quite different from our current methods of financing and providing education, has enough meritorious aspects to warrant serious consideration.

A second general emphasis of the proposals is on the elimination or reform of governmental programs that have demonstrably failed to achieve their objectives. Many of the manpower training programs and housing and community development programs appear to fall into this category: program performance falls far short of the program objectives. The agricultural subsidy programs, however, provide the most obvious example of the need to reform an ineffective program. The price and income support programs were instituted with quite reasonable objectives: easing the transition out of farming for those displaced by technological progress and raising the income level of farm families nearer to that of the national norm. The authors document serious shortfalls of current programs in meeting these objectives (e.g., 59.3 percent of all payments go to the largest 8.6 percent of all farms) and suggest additional negative impacts on society as a whole that result from these programs (e.g., higher food prices, inefficient methods of farming). The case for a reexamination of our agricultural support policies is again quite reasonable.

Many of the ideas suggested in the book are not new: voucher systems are actually being tried experimentally in some California school systems, and the

problems associated with farm price supports have almost become standard fare in introductory economics textbooks. (Veteran's educational benefits are, incidentally, a longstanding example of a voucher system.) The reason many of them remain proposals rather than policies is largely bureaucratic and political rather than logical. *Public Claims*, unfortunately, devotes little attention to developing a process by which such changes may be implemented. Nonetheless, the book remains a useful and provocative summary of the policy options before us. The alternatives suggested by the authors are certainly ones deserving of consideration in future planning. As a collection of serious proposals on issues affecting the progress of our society, I recommend this book as worthy reading.

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Owen, Henry, ed. *The Next Phase in Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1973. 345p.

This book addresses an American foreign policy clearly in transition and asks where it is heading. Moreover, it asks that question at a time when the world itself is moving rapidly into a new and somewhat different focus. Considering the difficulty of achieving a perspective with all parts simultaneously in movement, the book does a creditable job.

Like all collaborations, this one is uneven, the pieces varying much in style. Different readers will each find some parts more appealing than the rest. Especially good, from this reviewer's viewpoint, is Robert E. Hunter on the Middle East and Leslie H. Gelb's essay on domestic change and public opinion. Henry Owen's introductory essay is also excellent for focusing the issues. Owen's final essay does a workmanlike job of bringing the book together and pointing out the themes which run through it.

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Organized in 14 chapters, the book is divided into an introduction and 4 parts. Part One describes regional trends, with contributions on Japan from Morton H. Halperin, Western Europe by John Newhouse, East Asia by Ralph N. Clough, Latin America by Peter T. Knight and John N. Plank, Soviet relations by Zbigniew Brzezinski, China by Doak Barnett (and the Middle East selection already mentioned).

Part Two looks at "functional areas": foreign economic policy (Edward R. Fried), general purpose forces (Leslie H. Gelb and Arnold M. Kuzmack), and strategic armaments (Jerome H. Kahan). Part Three, "the wider focus," begins with Gelb's article on domestic change and moves to "new forces in world politics" (Seyom Brown). Part Four is the "summing up."

The book should prove highly useful for those who are looking for a perspective in this time of rapid change. Although the authors retained individual responsibility for their remarks, it is interesting to note a pronounced consensus—as Henry Owen points out in his conclusion.

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Sharp, Gene. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. 928p.

Whatever may be your convictions about the viability of nonviolent politics, Gene Sharp's extraordinary book will unquestionably challenge them. This landmark study, certain to become a classic, has assembled and interpreted a vast amount of historical data regarding the employment of nonviolent activities. With this data, Professor Sharp illustrates 198 specific methods of nonviolent action and adroitly explains *how*, *when*, and *why* it succeeds or fails. The result of this pioneering effort is a coolly reasoned, well documented case for nonviolence as a prac-

tical alternative to domestic violence and war which demands the most serious consideration of any individual who would be a student of political behavior.

The impetus for nonviolent action is simple: some conflicts, because of the fundamental principles or issues involved, do not yield to compromise and can be resolved only through struggle. Most people believe that, in such cases, only two choices are available: submission or violence, and that victory requires violence. Professor Sharp argues that this rigid dichotomy is nonsense: "Throughout history, under a variety of political systems, people in every part of the world have waged conflict and wielded undeniable power by using a very different technique of struggle—one which does not kill and destroy. That technique is nonviolent action." (p. 4)

It is a sure bet that this book will surprise both the convinced and the skeptical. Sharp's outspoken, incisively written analysis will disturb, even dismay, starry-eyed moralists and hard-headed critics alike. And this challenge *most assuredly* extends to military officers who may believe that nonviolent politics need not involve them. (He argues, not unconvincingly, that the American Revolutionary War might well have been unnecessary.) Those pacifists who have long viewed nonviolence only in a moral context, which stressed the brotherhood of man, will be annoyed with Sharp's nonmoralistic definition of nonviolent politics. They will be outraged by this intruder who argues that "moral injunctions against violence and exhortations in favor of love and nonviolence have made little or no contribution to ending war and major political violence." (pp. v-vi) But it is unlikely that they will be able to disprove his basic contention. While Sharp agrees that nonviolent politics probably functions better in a situation where hatred is absent, he emphasizes that it is frequently very difficult to love one's