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## The Soviet Concepts of Peace, Peaceful Coexistence and D tente

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phenomena such as earthquakes—are such to tempt determined violators. Since the Soviet Union remains a closed society, especially in the realm of weapon development, the possibility of “cheating” is largely one-sided. If one party continues to modernize its arsenal while the other eschews testing, the eventual outcome is a destabilizing advantage that would make aggressive action more likely. Van Cleave and Cohen cite reports indicating that the Soviets may have already violated the 150-kiloton limit of the current Threshold Test Ban Treaty, an unratified yet presumably mutually observed agreement. Even an organized on-site inspection program would have difficulty detecting a well-planned series of tests.

While Van Cleave and Cohen conclude with the same pessimism of the Douglass study, they recognize the power of arms control euphoria to ignore the likelihood of violation. They also recognize the role of skeptical counsel as a lonely one.

Summing the ideological objectives identified by Douglass with the technical objections elucidated by Van Cleave and Cohen, the open-minded reader may be converted to caution. Converted or not, readers of both books will come away with a greater understanding of the complexity of arms control: a complexity that dispels the euphoria of a momentary success.

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Nelson, Ronald R., and Schweizer, Peter. *The Soviet Concepts of Peace, Peaceful Coexistence and Détente*. Lanham, Md.: Univ. Press of America, 1988. 193pp. \$14.50

What do Soviet leaders *really* want? Beneath the protective veneer of censorship and propaganda, what long-term goals explain Soviet behavior in world affairs?

Ronald R. Nelson and Peter Schweizer answer such questions by letting the Soviets speak for themselves through representative quotations from over 350 articles and books by Soviet spokesmen, from 1972 to early 1987. They reject the view that the Soviets are mere cynics, proceeding instead on the assumption that some hard, ideological core of shared beliefs must give shape and substance to Muscovite public statements.

Again and again, Nelson and Schweizer document the Soviet assertion that the expansion of socialism brings peace, while the defense of capitalism causes war. Thus, “peace requires the extinction of capitalism and the class system on which it is based.” Soviet authorities attribute détente between these two rival systems to the rising might of the Soviet bloc—rather than to Western goodwill or a mutual desire for peace—and they proclaim that a major goal of “peaceful coexistence” is to assist the national liberation movement and all other forms of the world revolutionary process.

Nelson and Schweizer do cite a few cases in which especially anti-

Western themes have disappeared or diminished since Gorbachev's rise to power. They see such changes as more stylistic than substantive, however. They assert that there is no reason for the Soviets to modify or scrap their concept of peaceful coexistence, since it "has, after all, served them very well."

Some Soviet citizens would disagree. They would cite the sorry state of the Soviet economy and the heavy burden of Soviet-funded wars in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Kampuchea, let alone the protracted combat in Afghanistan. Indeed, strikers and demonstrators from the Baltic to the Caucasus are making demands and dredging up painful memories that discredit Soviet policy all the way back to Stalin and Lenin. Very strange things are being said in the Soviet Union these days, thanks to Gorbachev's relaxation of censorship. The impact of such grumblings on Soviet foreign policy is far from clear, of course, and Gorbachev's "reforms" are subject to all sorts of limitations, revisions, and reversals. Even so, this reviewer suspects that the unanimity of opinion documented by this study may deteriorate over the next few years.

Nelson and Schweizer address the right subjects at the right time. They examine foreign policy during an era when Western public attention is riveted on Soviet domestic policy. They stress issues on which they find broad, long-term agreement among Soviet elite groups, while our media focus on narrow, short-term

disagreements. Perhaps most importantly, they find evidence of bitter hostility toward the West, which contrasts sharply with current Soviet smiles and assurances of good will.

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Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Fate of Nations*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988. 415pp. Hardcover \$39.50; softcover, \$13.95

*The Fate of Nations* is an analytical study based on six cases and designed to present the basic varieties of security policies that are possible in the state system. Mandelbaum analyzes first what he calls the "managed" balance of power system of the nineteenth century (starring Great Britain), proceeds to France (1919-40), then to the United States after World War II, and to China, Israel, and Japan for roughly the same period.

The author explains that he has chosen these six states to illustrate the different degrees of national power and the different problems in national security. For example, he argues that Britain benefited without undue effort from the collective security system then in effect, much the same as Japan benefits from today's international economic system. For China, he examines the "strategies of weakness" and for Israel the "hard choices of the security dilemma." French policy is