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The Soviet Union and Northern Waters

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however, a book for the serious student of the Soviet military, with a significant background in this field of study. It is a useful authoritative reference tool of doctrinal analysis, from primarily Soviet sources, that discusses the various methods by which Soviet doctrine is disseminated, and includes useful tables of information such as the military officers on the Central Committee, members of the Politburo, military holidays, official military books, officer's library, Frunze Prize winners, etc.

It is unfortunate that this book was released prior to President Gorbachev's initiatives in the military field; these pronouncements, coupled with unilateral reductions and the restructuring of Soviet forces, are not analyzed. Still, with "new thinking" and "reasonable sufficiency" in fashion, it is valuable for us all to understand the basis from which the doctrinal changes suggested by Gorbachev will be taken, as well as the framework in which doctrine is developed in the Soviet Union.

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Archer, Clive, ed. *The Soviet Union and Northern Waters*. London: Routledge, 1988. 261pp. \$35

In 1979 the Northern Waters Study Group was organized by the Scottish branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. As a result

of its 1980 International Colloquium on Northern Waters at the University of Aberdeen, editors Clive Archer and David Scrivener produced *Northern Waters: Security and Resource Issues*, 1986. A second colloquium was convened in 1985 to examine the obvious Soviet interest and expanded activity in the Arctic, as well as the response by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization members, individually and collectively. *The Soviet Union and Northern Waters* originated from that meeting. For this discussion, "northern waters" comprise the area between 80°N and 60°N latitude and from longitude 90°W to 40°E.

The ten contributors to this 261-page volume are from the United Kingdom, Norway, The Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States. Although the topic is the Soviet presence in northern waters, no Soviet authors are included. There are, however, frequent references to Soviet official statements, negotiating the record on boundaries and resources, and naval doctrine in text and footnote locations throughout the book.

This very useful collection has something in it for nearly everyone: questions of jurisdictional boundaries, resource access and management, maritime policies and interpretations, and possible conflict scenarios. Most of the chapters continue through 1987, but there is an unevenness found in a compilation of this kind. For example, Douglas Norton, in "Responding to the Soviet Presence in Northern

Waters—An American View,” tells us that by 1986 Canada and Norway had agreed on full CAST Brigade training in Norway, but it is in Clive Archer’s chapter on “The Nordic Response to Soviet Presence,” that we find mention of the 1987 Canadian White Paper canceling the CAST commitment.

Finn Sollie, Robin Churchill and Uwe Jenisch discuss the issue of the Svalbard Archipelago. They show that the previous long-term Nordic (specifically Norwegian) attempts to ensure a stable, low-tension area in the European Arctic are now evolving in the direction of a “mixed policy” toward growing Soviet activity evidenced by military as well as resource-extractive measures. The Svalbard debate exemplifies the complexities of existing treaty provisions overlaid by intra-Nordic disputes (fisheries protection zones and exclusive economic zones) and diverse interpretations of the continental shelf and “boundary establishment” concepts within Nato.

In light of then-General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev’s speech in Murmansk on 1 October 1987, that emphasized a “radical lowering of the level of military confrontation in the region,” followed by the sinking of the Soviet “Mike” attack submarine in international waters between North Norway and Bear Island on 7 April 1989, *Northern Waters* is indeed timely.

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Rubinstein, Alvin Z. *Moscow’s Third World Strategy*. New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1988. 311pp. \$29.95

This book surprised me. I had not realized that my understanding of Moscow’s Third World strategy was so limited and deficient. I suspect, unfortunately, that many others within the defense and policy communities are similarly unenlightened.

Rubinstein demonstrates convincingly that a discernible pattern with seven distinct characteristics has evolved in Soviet dealings with the Third World since the Second World War. First, Soviet intervention has been in response to existing regional tensions; the U.S.S.R. has not “manufactured” targets for the purpose of exploitation, except in the case of Afghanistan. Second, the Third World countries have determined the level and character of intervention—the Soviet Union has seldom bullied its clients. Third, in general, the Soviet Union has proven itself to be a reliable and effective patron-protector.

Fourth, forces that Moscow has committed have been relevant to the challenges faced by its clients, showing sensitivity to regional and global political considerations. The Soviet Union has found that military and security assistance are of greater value than economic assistance to its clients. Fifth, the most prominent thread running through the fabric of Soviet interventions has been the anti-American bent of the clients’ outlooks or policies, and Moscow’s acceptance of this significant diver-