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## Mesmerized by the Bear

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directly, the Western security posture of 'strategic denial' is now close to collapse, and there are signs that a more accommodating fallback position is being developed." Such a change will concede, he thinks, the policy of a general Pacific economic interaction that Gorbachev espoused at Vladivostok.

Robyn Lim thinks that Gorbachev's reference to "confidence-building measures and the non-use of force" in the Asian-Pacific region is certain to attract increasing attention among the ASEAN nations, which have begun a serious discussion of a regional arms control agreement known as the South East Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. She believes that "while the ASEAN countries are prepared to concede Soviet claims to 'legitimacy' as an Asian-Pacific power, they will be reluctant to devise a regional arms control regime which threatens American strategic mobility in the region." Lim observes that although growing antiforeign military bases sentiment will put pressure on the Philippine government to terminate the bases agreement with the United States, for the foreseeable future the ASEAN countries "will continue to value the 'over the horizon' American presence afforded by the Pentagon's access to bases in the Philippines."

In sum, this book challenges some conventional thinking in Washington about the U.S. ability to remain an unchallenged power in the Pacific. It suggests that President Bush will need to reexamine U.S.

security policy in East Asia in order to deal effectively with a new Soviet political challenge that is having a noticeable effect on the nations of the area.

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Sleeper, Raymond S., ed. *Mesmerized by the Bear*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1987. 371pp. \$22.95

The great bear is the symbol of one of the most powerful nations on earth. Is it deceiving the Western world in its every move and deed? This book attempts to put forth historical examples and current theories to provide a creditable basis for a positive answer to this question.

This work is a compilation of 19 articles, from as many authors, ranging from general condemnation of the Soviet Union and its political being to specific examples of how the Soviets have used the art of deception to overthrow governments, sway Western public opinion in the Soviets' favor, infiltrate world organizations, and achieve treaties that further their cause of world communism.

A common theme that runs throughout the book is aptly expressed in the first chapter, "The Empire of Lies," by Dr. Michael Voslensky, a former Soviet citizen and scholar. The Soviet government lies to its people, to its allies, and to the world. The reverse side of the

dissemination of lies is the concealing of truth. Here too, the Soviet state has excelled. What other country in the world has been able to keep its own wars secret from its citizens for as long as the Soviets did with Afghanistan? Even the majority of the countryside is cloaked in a state of secrecy from foreign eyes. According to Dr. Voslensky, only the major cities and some specially prepared areas are open for international tourism. These lies and deceptions are used as political weapons and tactics to achieve the state's ultimate goals.

A major theme of the book is the Soviets' use of deception in arms control and nuclear disarmament. David Sullivan, a legislative assistant for military affairs and arms control and former CIA agent, lays out the long path of Soviet arms control treaty violations. These include violations of the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement on Cuba of 1962, SALT I, SALT II, biological and chemical warfare bans, and the nuclear test ban treaty. He makes the case that the Soviets have either violated, evaded, or circumvented virtually every international security treaty they have signed since the revolution in 1917.

Sam Cohen, an authority on nuclear weapons issues, continues this idea with questions about the recently approved INF treaty. The major force behind the treaty was deployment by the Soviets of the SS-20 missile in the mid-1970s, which was countered by NATO's deployment of the Pershing II and

Ground Launched Cruise Missiles. The West knows very little about the SS-20. In fact, we know only what the Soviets have been kind enough to tell us. This includes not only its capabilities but also the number of missiles they have built. America has entered into a treaty based on information provided to us solely by the Soviets: a treaty that the Soviets desperately wanted in order to remove the Pershing II threat to their homeland. With the Soviet's history of treaty violations, how can the United States enter into such an agreement? The answer lies in the next section of the book.

The Soviets have been able to achieve success in their international efforts through the use of deception on a grand scale. They have established an entire organization to conduct operations, both internally and abroad, to sway international public opinion and actions to their cause. This has been accomplished by supporting various front organizations. Other methods have included enlisting the support of legitimate organizations in single-cause crusades while simultaneously infiltrating the organizations' infrastructures. Their most notable success has been in various peace movements.

The real message of this book is that the target of Soviet deception is the citizens of the nations around the world, especially those of the United States. The Soviets are using the age-old principle, put forth by Sun Tzu, of using all forces and means to destroy your enemy without a direct

military confrontation. If they can achieve their goals by reducing the West's capability and will to resist, they have made one more step towards achieving their goal of world communism.

While this book may lean too far to the political right for some, I highly recommend it for those who want another perspective on East-West relations. Americans have always been a generous, naive people. Maybe it is time we woke up and faced the real world. This book is a step in that direction.

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Ninkovich, Frank A. *Germany and the United States: The Transformation of the German Question Since 1945*. Boston, Mass.: Twayne Publishers, 1988. 201pp. \$24.95

This engaging work traces the evolution of modern Germany, stressing the political processes that shaped events and institutions. It is a social, cultural, and diplomatic history. While academically sound, it is highly interpretive and explores the personalities and motives behind the consequences.

Beginning with a solid foundation laid in the ruins of the two World Wars, *Germany and the United States* carefully analyzes the complex relationship that has developed between the two countries. In its examination of the German side of the equation, the book stresses German culture, Germany's tradi-

tional ties with other nations, and its enduring strategic significance.

A detailed account of the occupation after World War II is particularly useful in understanding the motives of the men, both German and American, who shaped our unique bilateral relationship. The legacy of that harsh, abnormal environment is a love-hate relationship that has profoundly affected dealings between the two nations ever since.

Author Frank Ninkovich painstakingly traces the reconstruction process through the forties and fifties. He highlights the forces and mechanisms that laid the groundwork for the modern German system of government. The reader comes away with a clearer appreciation of German domestic and international politics.

One of the book's greatest strengths is its analysis of the obstacles which prevented the reunification of the two Germanies. This balanced account examines the "German Problem" in its broadest context at several milestones on the road to the status quo. It portrays the disparate policy goals, not only of the East and West, but within the Western bloc itself, that doomed reunification plans over the years. Both scholars and statesmen could benefit from this "past as prologue" to the Federal Republic's evolving international policy.

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