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# **Book Reviews**

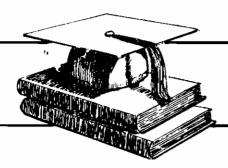
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# PROFESSIONAL READING

Bauer, K. Jack, Surfboats and Horse Marines. Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1969. 279p.

K. Jack Bauer, Associate Professor of History at Rensselaer Polyteehnic Institute, is an authority on U.S. military history and well acquainted with the naval service from his previous positions as Head of the Operational History Section in the Department of the Navy and as Historian for the U.S. Marine Corps. His work, Surfboats and Horse Marines, is an attempt to present in one volume a detailed history of the naval operations that occurred during the Mexican War (1846-1848). He has organized his work in two separate partsthe first deals with the war in the east, the Gulf of Mexico, and the second with the western war, the Pacific Ocean. This method of presentation appears quite suitable since the simultaneous actions in both theaters were unrelated, and no attempt was made to coordinate the operations of the Home Squadron in the Gulf with those of the Pacific Squadron.

The author's easy style, thorough research, and extensive knowledge of naval matters ensure interesting reading. Of particular importance are the comprehensive discussions of future Civil War naval leaders, of fleet logistical support, and the development of an amphibious hody within the U.S. Navy. Although scant attention has been paid to the naval operations of the Mexican War, it was here that the character and career of such men as David G. Farragut, David D. Porter, Samuel F. DuPont, and Raphael Semmes were molded for

the next war. Here too the naval commanders and the Department of the Navy were tested in their ability to adequately plan for and maintain logistical support for squadrons at sea during hostilities. Both were found to be completely unprepared for the task. In the Home Squadron, Commodore Connor introduced specially constructed surfboats, a self-contained Naval Brigade, and detailed procedures for landing General Scott's force at Veracruz. This excellent opportunity for the development of an amphibious doctrine within the Navy was soon lost to history.

In his eonelusions the author quotes Alfred T. Mahan's statement on the prime objective of a navy, "that overbearing power on the sea which drives the enemy's flag from it,... and which,... eloses the highways by which commerce moves to and from the enemy's shores." Bauer maintains that if Mahan's definition of the Navy's role is correct, then the U.S. Navy was eminently successful in performing its mission in the Mexican War.

This naval history is interesting and informative, but there are a few minor observations, both pro and con, that are relative to the book as a historical work. The author's selection of a title is very misleading; it implies a thorough study of hoth naval and marine actions. In his preface he states that his narrative "deals only with naval operations" and these operations received the thrust of his lahor. The marine actions take the form of an appendix to the shipboard events. For those interested in the

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record of marine participation in these engagements, see Clyde H. Metcalf's A History of the United States Marine Corps, New York: Putnam's, 1939; or R.D. Heinl's Soldiers of the Sea, Annapolis, Md.: U.S. Naval Institute, 1962.

Although some historians may find fault with the author's lack of footnotes, his documentation in the bibliographic notes and the valuable material contained in the appendices more than compensate for this slight omission. The only additional comment that might be made about the material presented by Professor Bauer concerns the quality of the maps included in the text. This may be a personal preference, but more detailed maps would help the reader to better understand the operational situations that confronted the squadron commanders.

Surfboats and Horse Marines is an impressive research into the little publicized naval operations of the Mexican War and should prove useful to the student of naval history in the areas of management, logistics, and amphibious warfare. In addition, this publication supplies excellent reading for the armchair sailor or casual reader who enjoys sagas of the sea.

W.S. PULLAR, JR. Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps

Beiehman, Arnold. The "Other" State Department. New York: Basic Books, 1968. 221p.

This work is a study of the United States Mission to the United Nations (USUN) and its relationship to the State Department and to the United Nations organization. On the organizational wiring diagram, USUN is at the same level as other diplomatic missions throughout the world and, like them, presnmably receives policy guidance and orders from the Secretary of State. Such policy guidance is the particular concern of the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs under

an Assistant Secretary. However, the Assistant Secretary is, of course, hardly in a position to do much guiding beeause the man he wishes to guid has Cabinet rank and is therefore on a level with the Assistant Secretary's own boss two cchelons above. The main thrust of Mr. Beichman's well-reasoned and documented thesis is that the USUN is in a unique and powerful position and is not necessarily responsive to the wishes of the Secretary of State and his departmental officials. Many instances are eited where the policy pursued hy the USUN has been openly conflicting with that of the State Department. One of the major reasons for this state of affairs, the author feels, is that the USUN Chief has always been a man of national eminence, with his own politieal eonstituency. He has never been a career Foreign Service Officer-that is, until now. One might eonjecture that in his appointment of eareer diplomat Charles Yost as Ambassador to the UN, President Nixon has taken heed of Mr. Beiehman's argument.

> G.H. WINSLOW Commander, U.S. Navy

Drueker, Peter F. The Age of Discontinuity. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. 394p.

Professor Drucker, in this very interesting and readable book, has attempted to identify and discuss the discontinuities which are likely to mold and shape the near future, the closing decades of the 20th century. He claims no gift of prophecy, however, only forecasting the prohable changes that today's trends indicate.

The author discusses the major discontinuities in four areas: new technologies, major changes in the world's economy, the concentration of power in organizations, and the universe of learning and knowledge. In the first area—technologies—Mr. Drucker claims that the three major fields of activity that

powered the tremendous growth of Western (and Japanese) industry in the last 20 years-agriculture, steel, and auto.vobiles-are mature, if not stagnant. They may continue to prosper, hut they will not provide the impetus for continued economic development. In their place, the author sees four new mushrooming spheres: the information industry, with the computer as its core; the oceans; materials; and megalopolis, or the technologies of providing services for metropolitan areas. The shift from an international to a truly world economy is the subject of this hook's second part. The awareness of most of the peoples of the world of the "good things of life" has led to the establishment of one common set of economic values and preferences, regardless of cconomic condition or political status. The author devotes considerable discussion to the impact that this change in standard of values is having, and will have, on existing economic institutions and policies. The growth of "institutions" (government, husiness, social, and church), their current and future influence on society, and recent disenchantment and revolt against them are the concern of part Three of this treatise. The fourth, and-by account-most important, change is the growth of knowledge and the ascendancy of knowledge as the central "factor of production" in America's advanced, developing economy. The knowledge industrics, which now account for one-third of the U.S. gross national product, will within 10 years account for one-half of a much larger GNP. The changing educational standards that have been a part of this knowledge explosion are explained and criticized in detail by Professor Drucker.

This is a highly informative and interesting book, with the author drawing some strong and controversial conclusions. Most of these conclusions are hacked by persuasive argument, if not by fact, and in this respect the reader

will be forced to do some serious thinking about what he has read. The book is highly recommended to anyone who is interested in how the changes of today may affect life tomorrow.

> D.J. KERSHAW Commander, U.S. Navy

Fall, Bernard B. Anatomy of a Crisis. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969. 283p.

The full title of the book by Mr. Fall is Anatomy of a Crisis; the Laotian Crisis of 1960-61. In the process of dissecting the Laotian crisis, the author has left a very bloody eadaver that this reader found a bit unsightly. Some portions of the cadaver are easily recognizable, having only a few clean wounds; such areas, unfortunately, are few. Most of the remains are eruelly crossed with a mass of ugly gashes made with tools of all degrees of sharpness and size and made for unfathomable reasons. The author begins his autopsy in the French colonial period and traces political misfortunes of Laos through the second Geneva Accord of 1961. As he wields his scalpel, knife, and axe, he seems anything but consistent to the reviewer. In their dealings with the French and the North Vietnamese and at the conference tables of Geneva in 1954, Mr. Fall invests the Laotians with acumen and diplomatic skills, hut from that point on all Laotian diplomats appear as graft-ridden power grabbers, with only the narrowest of viewpoints. The Laotian fighting man, according to the author, fought hravely and with valor against the Japanese of World War II and against the North Victnamese in the 1950's. After this time, without "good leadership" (presumably French leadership) he has never again attained the same levels of bravery or dedication. The most easily identifiable portion of the cadaver is the theme of American failure in Laos. Here his strokes are deep and elear. To say

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that he is not enamored of Mr. John Foster Dulles is the kindest possible assessment of his treatment of President Eisenhower's Sceretary of State. The author strives to make it clear that he feels the U.S. Laotian policy in the 1954-1961 years, besides wasting millions, redounded to the detriment of Laos.

Why the autopsy? The reviewer has the nagging feeling that the hody of Laos was laid hare to the knife not to find the cause of death, but rather to prove what Mr. Fall has said hefore, that the United States should not be practicing medicine in the Far East. If Mr. Fall did not make his message elear enough, Mr. Roger M. Smith, in his Epilogue, states it thus: "The United States today finds that it is unable to reverse the tragic situation which it helped to create." Mr. Smith eloses the last chapter of the book with, "In countries in which the United States is doggedly persevering in its attempts to crush Communism, it is doing worse than postponing the satisfactory resolution of these problems."

> F.C. GILMORE Captain, U.S. Navy

Friedman, Milton and Heller, Walter W. Monetary vs. Fiscal Policy. New York: Norton, 1969. 95p.

Monetary vs. Fiscal Policy is the result of the seventh annual Arthur K. Salomon lecture at the Graduate School of Business Administration of New York University. Essentially the "Iecture" was a debate pitting the leading exponent of the "new economies," Walter Heller, against the recognized leader of the "monetary school," Milton Friedman.

Heller contends that the "new economies" has always taken monetary problems into account, and the real issue "is not whether money matters—we all grant that—but whether only money matters...." His analysis leads

him to the conclusion "that we s ગોd not take refuge in rigid fiscal r ike. the lock-stop tax euts espor by Barry Goldwater and Milton Fri ......." or make the money supply the sole guide to Federal Reserve policy. The American economy should also take into account interest rates and eredit availability and rely on discretionary policy rather than a rigid formula of a fixed increase in the money supply of "3, 4, or 5 percent a year." He is apparently more willing to suffer some inflation than are the representatives of the money school in return for more employment. Heller points out the weak points of the monetary school of economists, showing that they are not precise in their definition of money; they focus on the money stock exclusively, overlooking other important financial variables; they do not concern themselves enough with velocity of money; they do not show when money matters, for great variation is observable in the lags of monetary change and resultant alterations in employment and production; they do not explain the apparent existence of "permanent income"; they assume a fractionless economy; and, finally, they would jeopardize the U.S. international position by a rigid rule concerning the money supply. Friedman answers Heller in part by saying that he has been misinterpreted and in part hy saying that the evidence supports his position. He also points out that the "new economies" during Heller's time gave only lipservice to money policy, judging by the reports. To Friedman, no fiscal policy is free of monetary policy, and there is no evidence one can accept that the expansion following the tax cut of 1964 was all due to fiscal policy. He points to the failure of the surtax to ehange the direction of the economy in 1968, along with other specific instances of the apparent failure of fiscal measures.

This timely book is noteworthy in that it points up the issues now

bothering the macro-economist. It is the reviewer's opinion that Heller underestimates money hut is right about the need for discretionary policy; Friedman is correct'in saying that the belief in fiscal policy rests on a shaky base unless money is also taken into account.

P.L. GAMBLE
Theodore Roosevelt Chair of Economics

Morgenthau, Hans J. A New Foreign Policy for the United States. New York: Praeger, 1969. 252p.

Hans Morgenthau's newest book is a provocative appraisal of contemporary U.S. foreign policy. Organized in nine ehapters, it first sets forth "the basic issues," looks next at the extreme swings of American policy from isolationism to globalism (with its anti-Communist tone), moves on to consider the "foreign policies of communism," then to the United States and the developing world, to Victnam, to Europe, to China, to nuclear power, and ends with "seven principles" for American foreign policy. For its length it is an ambitious book, but since it is largely analysis and appraisal, rather than history, it does sufficient justice to Mr. Morgenthau's subjects. The author's general approach is well indicated on page 3: "If one should characterize American foreign policy in a sentence, one could say that it has lived during the last decade or so on the intellectual capital accumulated in the . . . spring of 1947 . . . and that this capital has now been nearly exhausted." Those familiar with Morgenthau's writings in general will find his treatment of "the foreign policy of communism" (chapter III) one of the most challenging expansions or additions to his previously published views. His presentation on the nuclear weapons question in chapter VIII will eertainly arouse controversy, including his flat statement (page 242) that "nuelear weapons in the hands of both superpowers are not instruments of national policy; they only provide assurance that national interests can be supported with the conventional diplomatic and military methods." (This is one of his "seven principles.") His argument that "the policy of [United States] peripheral military containment on the Asian mainland ought to be gradually liquidated" is especially well developed. All in all, the book is a solid and useful example of the "new criticism" which seeks to establish guidelines which avoid both the pitfalls of "globalism" and the absurdities of "Fortress America."

F.H. HARTMANN Alfred Thayer Mahan Chair of Maritime Strategy

Ulam, Adam B. Expansion and Coexistence. New York: Praeger, 1968, 775p.

The subject of this work is Soviet foreign policy during the first 50 years of the Communist government, including its forces, personalities, styles, and structures. From Brest-Litovsk to the 6-day Arab-Israeli war, the author spans the many phases of Soviet diplomatic history. Definite threads of continuity are to be found in this monumental tracing of Moseow's foreign relations. For instance, in the 1918-1921 period, in which Soviet leaders were struggling for pure survival of their state and when Germany was their main concern, peaceful eoexistenee in its embryonic state might he said to have been practiced. Says Professor Ulam of this period: "Inherent in this Soviet diplomacy of despair was the elear assumption that there was no nonsense about the sanetity of treaties; once power relations were ehanged, Soviet Russia would claim her own." With exquisite detail, the author moves through the period of 1917-1921, when the Soviet Union was desperately trying to retain the right to exist, and into 1921-1928 wherein a new type of state was created and then through the years of collective security

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prior to the Grand Allianec. Throughout the pages a base of knowledge and understanding into what makes today's Soviet foreign policy is gradually constructed. A very important facet of the U.S.S.R. foreign policy is developed in this work-a view of the international system as seen by the Soviet leaders. Two statements by Ulam illustrate this picture dramatically, Firstly, recognizing that the United States has been the main concern of Soviet foreign policy since 1945, he writes: "the main difficulty with American-Soviet relations has been that for the most part the policies of the two countries moved at different levels and reflected different understandings of the realities of international life." And, secondly, in diseussing the Soviet view of negotiations, the author asserts: "[negotiations] are a means of assessing your opponent's intentions and strengths and, if necessary, of arriving at a bargain." Coupling these two statements, a thread, as well as a Soviet view, can be appreciated.

In the post-World War II era, all the paradoxes within the Soviet system inherent in expansion and eoexistence are treated with remarkable insight by Ulam. One constant reality is the Soviet preoccupation with China in the Khrushchevian era and thereafter. There are sufficient data provided so that many

parallels can be developed from episodes in Sovet expansionist efforts since ' e war: that is, in Korea, Cuba, Vietr 1, and the 6-day war as described by m. In telling of the last, he opines: "! or all its long-standing guile and newly acquired caution, Soviet foreign policy can, hecause of previous commitments and a well-nigh irresistible temptation, become involved in a very risky gamble." Thus, a further threadpragmatism vice principles-comes to the fore. The author is not optimistic regarding the future; he writes: "if the history of the Soviet Union's first fifty years proved anything, it proved that Communism because it puts such an emphasis on political power, enhances rather than diminishes international tension." Professor Ulam, a renowned American authority on the Soviet Union, has contributed a most lucid, analytical work in the field of Soviet diplomatie history. At the same time, though the book is well structured and interesting throughout, it does require both prior historical background of the 20th century and tenacity on the part of the reader to complete the 700-odd pages! It is highly recommended for the student of Soviet affairs.

> B.F. COYE Lieutenant, U.S. Navy



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