

1966

Beginnings of the Cold War

R. McClintock

Martin F. Herz

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A somewhat pessimistic tone pervades the book, although one must agree that the author is not unreasonably so. He feels that American concern with other parts of the world has permitted French (i.e., De Gaulle's) animosity to dangerously weaken the alliance. This disintegration will continue, he believes until the United States reasserts her leadership and realizes that conditions have changed in Europe since the 1950's.

The Atlantic Community is soundly reasoned and presents both sides of the problem. The author continually returns to his central theme that this alliance is vital to the West and that the United States must take the lead in modifying it to fit the current situation. This is very worthwhile reading for the student of international affairs, and is of particular significance to War College officers.

D. A. WEBB
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Herz, Martin F. *Beginnings of the Cold War*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966.

With an easy mastery of an immense body of source material, Mr. Herz, a professional Foreign Service officer, has at every page brought new light to his massive subject. He traces the origin of the cold war from the Stalin-Hopkins conversation through the agony of Poland (which provoked the start of World War II); the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences; and the moot question of spheres of influence indignantly decried by Secretary of State Hull as a matter of principle, covertly winked at by Roosevelt, and between Churchill and Stalin in Moscow in 1944 reduced to a simple mechanical equation: Rumania—Russia 90 percent, United Kingdom 10 percent; Greece—Russia 10 percent, United Kingdom 90 percent; Yugoslavia—Hungary 50 percent each, and Bulgaria—Russia 75 percent, United Kingdom 25 percent.

Instead of writing a chapter of formal conclusions, the author resorts to the Socratic method of questions and answers in drawing together the impact of his narrative. Some of the answers to the questions are indeed startling, beginning with the first question which is whether or not the United States was at war when the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed. The answer is negative. It is likewise interesting to note such a historical oddity as that the term "Iron Curtain" was fathered by Goebbels in February 1945. As for the fundamental question of when did the cold war

begin, the author's answer is, "In the period between Yalta and Potsdam, when the division of Europe was in effect determined by the relationship of military power as it existed at the time, and when the United States failed to throw into the balance its economic power, which was later to play such an important role in the conduct of the Cold War." This brief and brilliant book is essential reading for both the soldiers and the diplomats, for the interaction of military events on policy and policy on military events has nowhere been more clearly and strikingly depicted.

THE HONORABLE R. McCLINTOCK
State Department Adviser

Hilsman, Roger and Good, Robert C., eds. *Foreign Policy in the Sixties*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. 299 p.

This book is a collection of 15 essays concerning United States foreign policy in the 1960's. Contributing writers include professors of international politics, political science, government, and history; Foreign Service officers; and prominent staff members to various international relations study groups. The essays are divided into three categories—the contemporary arena, the instrumentalities of foreign policy, and statecraft and moral theory: the perennial issues. Part I comprises several essays describing the contemporary international arena. Selected dynamics and issues of international politics today are examined in some depth. These dynamics and issues include an analysis of the cold war and the changing communist world; an examination of the United States' role in Europe and the future of the Grand Alliance; a discussion of the problems created in the post-colonial states by colonial legacies such as arbitrary boundaries, lack of political development and cohesiveness within each state, and economic instability; an assessment of India's nonalignment policy; and a detailed study of the trends of change within the United Nations, together with an analysis of the meaning of these trends toward the future of the United Nations. Part II consists of 6 essays which discuss selected instrumentalities that would be appropriate for dealing with specific problem areas. The instrumentalities examined include foreign aid policies; United States policies toward the different political developments likely to be encountered within various emerging countries; the role of the intelligence arm in foreign policy decision-making; the use of the United Nations as a foreign policy instrument; and the 1955 Geneva Summit Meeting as a new method of modern diplomacy. The final essay in Part II describes the United States' problem of blending, or orchestrating with exquisite precision, all