

1962

## Conquest without War

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### Recommended Citation

Khrushchev, Nikita S.; Mager, Nathan H.; and Katel, Jacques (1962) "Conquest without War," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 15 : No. 1 , Article 8.

Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol15/iss1/8>

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and statements of important officials and agencies throughout the world, as expressed during 1960.

Bull, Hedley. *The Control of the Arms Race*. New York: Praeger, 1961. 215 p.

In an area of increasing public concern such as disarmament, fraught with violent opinions and emotionalism, Hedley Bull perhaps has come as close as one can in preparing an objective and constructive analysis. His text lays great emphasis upon the difficulties of each and every method of achieving a mutually agreed-upon reduction in the armed strengths of major nation-states. It is not a plea for disarmament, or against it, or for any particular military policy.

Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Conquest without War*. Compiled and edited by Nathan H. Mager and Jacques Katel. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961. 545 p.

"*Conquest without War*," states the preface thereof, "was designed as a mosaic of the words and ideas of the new force that threatens to change the way of life on this planet . . . . [The] words are those of Nikita Sergeyeveitch Khrushchev and his ghost writers [principally Andrei Shevchenko and G.T. Shuisky, to whose unsolicited assistance the editors make acknowledgment]." Assembled by the compilers and editors, Nathan H. Mager and Jacques Katel, into what the dust jacket refers to as "meaningful categories," this record of Khrushchev's spoken and written words—expounded to different groups in different places over an extended period—is intended, say the editors, to "spell out clearly the objectives and techniques of Soviet imperialism," to distill the "essence of Mr. Khrushchev's ideas" and to "form a clear statement of the intentions and policies of a man who claims he is the most powerful figure in the modern world." Combined with the speeches, interviews, and remarks of Khrushchev and his ghost writers

in this analytical anthology, are commentaries selected from his ideological forebears (Lenin, Stalin and others) and remarks by the editors which provide a context for the Khrushchev statements and, frequently, a devastating refutation of them. The two chapters of the first part set the scene and present a summary of Khrushchev's career to date. The chapters in the other two parts—relating to objectives and methods—indicate the direction of his leadership of the Soviet colonial empire. Under "The Objectives," the chapters cover such topics as conquest without war, peaceful coexistence, Berlin, Asia, neutralizing the underdeveloped countries and absorbing the satellites. Under "Methods," they consider, among other things, the power, diplomatic and propaganda fronts, subversion, proxy wars and disarmament. The book closes with a discussion of contradictions in communism and a summary which includes a reminder of what disadvantages Khrushchev must conceal or overcome.

Though the text consists less of original writings than of quotations, the task of Messrs. Mager and Kätel was still a formidable one. From the millions of Khrushchev's words bearing on major world issues, the aim was to produce representative, balanced, categorized samplings. As the editors note, Khrushchev's endless repetition of the same themes in almost the same words added to the onus; and, as they also note: "The late French socialist leader Leon Blum is reported to have said, 'A politician has no alternative other than to repeat himself or to contradict himself.' Mr. Khrushchev succeeds on both scores." The editors have assembled a wealth of material, combined with related ideological commentary and editorial remarks, which should be very helpful in furnishing background for others writing in the field. Notes in the back of the book document the quotations, but there is no subject index, which would have increased the usability of the volume as a reference work. It would require an encyclopedic knowledge of Khrushchev's outpourings readily to point out

significant lapses and imbalance of coverage by the editors. They may be criticized for not revealing enough of the puckish, homely and (since less repelling) equally dangerous side of Khrushchev's image; and they are perhaps overzealous in endeavoring to refute all of Khrushchev's points, some of which may contain incidental truths as to defects in the world. In the main, however, the book goes such a long way in living up to the claim in the advertisements for it, that it makes possible the discovery of what Khrushchev *means* by examining what he *says* against a background of reliable facts.