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American-Soviet Relations From 1947 to the Nixon-Kissinger Grand Design

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replacement for such works because Halliday's study is more general and popular in nature than they are.

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Caldwell, Dan. *American-Soviet Relations From 1947 to the Nixon-Kissinger Grand Design*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981. 283pp. \$27.50.

Since the close of World War II, the American-Soviet relationship has been a dominant factor in the overall fabric of international relations. Unlike many historical analyses on that important topic, Dan Caldwell's attempts to derive a set of similarities and differences in the superpowers' foreign policy behavior patterns over the three decades following 1945. In focusing on US-Soviet performance in three vital issue areas (crisis management, trade and strategic-military affairs) during the "acute" cold war of 1947-62, the 1963-68 attempts at "limited détente," and the 1969-76 détente period, Caldwell offers an excellent analytical matrix with which to assess the tenor of that relationship at any given time during the 30 years under examination. Caldwell starts by establishing the "regimes," or functional procedures, rules and organizations, that emerged over that period to permit mutual management of US-Soviet conflicts of interest.

A potentially useful policy analysis methodology, the regimes concept was pioneered by Professor Hayward Allen and have been successfully

applied over recent years to studies on US relations with Australia and Canada by the political scientists Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. In that sense, then, Caldwell well may have succeeded in making the first "macro" application of the regimes' methodology with this work. With a close examination of formal US-Soviet treaties and agreements, official statements and observable negotiating behavior, Caldwell provides a broad, yet detailed, overview of that relationship. His portrayal of the post-1969 Nixon-Kissinger "grand design" for a new American foreign policy, which envisioned a triangular power relationship among the United States, the USSR and China, is particularly well done for its resultant implications for Russo-American ties.

The "meat" of Caldwell's work follows that broad overview and focuses on actual foreign policy behavior with a trio of comparative case studies on crisis management, trade matters, and strategic arms control. He contrasts early Soviet-American attempts at arms control talks during the 1955-57 UN Subcommittee on Disarmament talks in London with the initial round of SALT talks on 1969-72. While the London talks proved unproductive, Caldwell notes they did initiate a formalized pattern for arms control discussions that later provided common ground rules for SALT-I in the 1969-72 period. Caldwell's case study on crisis management compares Soviet and American behavior in the October 1962 Cuban Missile

Crisis with another confrontation during the Arab-Israeli conflict exactly eleven years later. If the stakes were much less in October 1973, Caldwell also demonstrates the vastly improved system of operative norms and procedures between the superpowers that were developed in the aftermath of the Cuban crisis. Finally, his treatment of US-Soviet economic relations during the cold war and détente periods reveals an extreme polarity of perspectives. In light of current official interest over technology transfer to the Soviet Union and its allies, Caldwell offers excellent historical background on reaching a meaningful balance between achieving mutually profitable East-West trade and the assured security of militarily critical technologies and strategic materials.

The third and final section of the work examines the major differences and similarities in US and Soviet foreign policy behavior as derived from the author's application of the regimes concept. Caldwell points out that because the grave risk of nuclear war required immediate results, the crisis management regime developed much more rapidly than its arms control and economic counterparts. He also observes that domestic, regional and alliance considerations have served as occasional retardants in the regimes' developmental process. With the prospects of renewed US-Soviet negotiations on the horizon, this volume has much to offer area specialists and general readers alike. Its analytical

application of the regimes concept to this key international issue is quite successful and the author's substantive coverage of the pattern of competition and cooperation implied to US-Soviet relations since 1945 further adds to its value as an authoritative topical work.

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Office of the Assistant
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Public Affairs

Klare, Michael T. and Arnson, Cynthia. *Supplying Repression: U.S. Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1981. 165pp. \$9.95 paper \$4.95

Klare, Michael T. *Beyond the "Vietnam Syndrome": U.S. Interventionism in the 1980s*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1981. 137pp. \$4.95

The Institute for Policy Studies has published two books about US politico-military involvement in the Third World. One discusses how the US government and American corporations supply Third World dictatorships with the means to carry out internal repression, and the other book deals with the possibility of US military intervention in the Third World. While both books are well written, each also contains a number of flaws.

Supplying Repression is a well-documented work detailing both the types and quantities of instruments of repression which are exported from