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# Naval Power in Soviet Policy

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sacrifice of lives by the North Vietnamese politbureau; lack of South Vietnamese leadership and of a cohesive society; an inept U.S. military strategy; and American domestic divisiveness and incoherent war aims.

Lewy devotes the latter half of his book to the moral aspects of the U.S. military conduct of the war. He deals with terrorism, atrocities, prisoners, and aerial bombing. For each subject he systematically presents the case against the U.S. military and reviews the evidence. Many of the accusations were well-publicized, as were the accusers: David Dellinger, Richard Falk, Jane Fonda, Ramsey Clark, etc. Lewy concludes that "charges of officially condoned illegal and grossly immoral conduct are without substance." He states that the American military showed more concern for the safety and property of civilians during the Vietnam war than during World War II or the Korean war. The reader is left with the impression that truth about the American military conduct in Vietnam counted for less than political expediency and news sensationalism.

In sum, Professor Lewy has written a careful, documented, readable capsule military history of the U.S. military effort in Vietnam. It is an excellent professional work.

F. J. WEST  
Naval War College

Murphy, Paul J., ed. *Naval Power in Soviet Policy*. Washington: U.S. Dept. of the Air Force, 1978. 341pp.

This is a balanced, scholarly, and current collection of essays for serious students of the Soviet Navy. The tired "Russians are coming in Tall Ships!" material standard in popularized writing for the past 15 years is absent. This is a lean, tough book written by professionals for other professionals who are not reluctant to let their minds probe ahead of any party line. Its solid con-

tent is comparable to that of the landmark McCwire series at a fraction of their price.

A concise opening chapter, cataloging Admiral Gorshkov's writing by subject, serves as a springboard for discussion of policy and Soviet naval employment. Included is William H. Thomson's essay on the long and continuing internal debate on the role of Russian navies in Russian policy concluding that Gorshkov faces internal Soviet opposition to his vision for the navy and that it is questionable to assume that all of his writings will be translated into naval reality. John J. "Buck" Herzog matches Soviet naval development with unfolding national purposes and makes the best case yet for the existence of an important Soviet pro-SSBN mission—a logical theory gaining belated acceptance in the United States. Concluding the policy/naval employment section, Alva M. Bowen's essay examines the Anglo-German and Soviet-American naval rivalries, and is a useful reminder of the continental origins of Soviet naval doctrine.

The second part of the book, "Naval War-Fighting: Capabilities and Missions," plows scant new ground but adds current and complete summaries of structure of the Soviet Navy and Soviet Naval Aviation by the editor to updates of the works of Michael McCwire and Robert W. Herrick. The chapter on Soviet Naval Aviation is a particularly useful and complete reference. Chapters by Claude R. Thorpe on the use of the Delphi Technique in determining Soviet naval mission priorities and by the team of Dimitry N. Ivanoff and Frank M. Murphy on the methodology of predicting Soviet naval technology are informative but concern analytic technique more than the Soviet Navy. Donald C. Daniel of the U.S. Navy Postgraduate School explores trends in major Soviet naval exercises in a piece worth remembering when OKEAN 80 begins its run on the world oceans.

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Rounding out the "War-Fighting" section is the most stimulating and entertaining essay in the book, "U.S. vs. Soviet Style Fleet Design," by Norman Friedman. He uses fresh and freewheeling historical analogy to look at the Soviet Navy from novel angles. By daring to be wrong, Mr. Friedman may be startlingly right over a wide range of topics. New thought about the Soviet Navy has always been scarce and is sometimes not officially welcomed.

Shifting the focus to peacetime issues are short sections on the Soviet view of naval arms limitation and Soviet forward naval deployment. Sophisticated analyses by Abram N. Shulsky, Albert E. Graham and a trio from the Center for Naval Analysis, Robert Weinland, Anne Kelly Calhoun, and Charles Peterson are equal to the complexities of the subject.

A nice bonus is the compact mass of reference material tabulated in the appendixes and interspersed in the text. A glossary of selected Soviet naval terms is unusual and illuminating. Much is suggested by subtle differences in our naval language.

*Naval Power in Soviet Policy* is recommended reading for military professionals. Mr. Murphy, assisted by his wife Margaret Murphy, should repeat this fine effort 2 or 3 years hence. The Air Force is commended for making so much information and expert opinion available in a compact, affordable book. Similar collections on Soviet ground and air forces are needed.

HAMLIN CALDWELL

Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Imperialist Revolutionaries. Trends in World Communism in the 1960s and 1970s.* Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1978. 152pp.

Readers in the Kremlin, if there are any, will not like this book.

Hugh Seton-Watson, the dean of Western historians specializing in communist affairs, plays hard-ball:

One point on which Marxist-Leninists and old-style Russian imperialists could unite... was that what was good for the CPSU and the Soviet state was also good for its non-Russian citizens....

... the system of repression by the Committee of State Security (KGB) is immensely more ruthless and comprehensive than was any modern European colonial repression....

The language of Russian falsifiers of the histories of non-Russian peoples strikingly recalls the language of Victorian British or Wilhelmian German imperialism... for the Soviet Russian myth-makers are one more in the line of upstart imperialist elites glorifying their supremacy over lesser breeds....

Soviet propaganda has created a grotesque dreamworld of blissful brotherhood among socialist nations: judged by this standard, Soviet reality is shameful and oppressive....

The public posture of the rulers of the second super power was arrogant, boastful, and self-righteous.

Seton-Watson's purpose is to survey the activities of communism in the world in the 1960s and 1970s. Tasks of this magnitude usually are undertaken through collective action and the result is an uneven volume of essays by assorted authors. By contrast, *The Imperialist Revolutionaries* is an even, strong, brief work of scholarly interpretation that packs important political and strategic punch.

Starting on the basis that polycentrism is a fact (two centers of communist power: Moscow and Peking; an illusory third center, Havana, actually subservient to Moscow; and a possible fourth center, Hanoi), Seton-Watson proceeds to survey the globe. More comfortable with East European and