

## Naval War College Review

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Volume 21  
Number 5 May

Article 13

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1968

# The Cold War as History

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*U.S. Marine Corps*

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### Recommended Citation

Arkland, E. H. and Halle, Louis J. (1968) "The Cold War as History," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 21 : No. 5 , Article 13.  
Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol21/iss5/13>

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precedence over the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new ones; "insurrectional activity is today the number one political activity"; and all this supported by numerous references to, or quotations from, the writings of Marx, Lenin, Mao, Giap, Castro, and Guevara. After drawing the "Principal Lessons for the Present" in Part II, in the "staggering novelty" quoted above, Debray takes the reader into the future in Part III and asserts in the first few lines: "When Che Guevara reappears, it is hardly risky to assert that it will be as the head of a guerrilla movement, as its *unquestioned political and military leader*." [author's italics] And the next several pages are devoted to a reaffirmation of how and why political "focos" must follow military "focos." In Debray's words: "it is a matter of a new dialectic of tasks" -not the normal "opening of an insurrectional front by first opening a political front 'Marxist-Leninist' or nationalist, according to classical rules." Debray concludes that "a state of emergency" has existed in Latin America since the Cuban revolution and "the invasion of Santo Domingo." Now everyone must unite in armed struggle against U.S. imperialism, including "the Marines who shoot at anything that moves." The need is a practical organization of the armed struggle on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Debray was captured by Bolivian forces while in the company of the guerrillas led by Che Guevara, who later was killed in a skirmish. One can wonder whether Debray is taking advantage of the opportunity to test some of his statements in the light of the ill-fated Cuban experiment in Bolivia. Certainly the reader does so as he compares what he reads with what he knows has happened. This is a useful reference book for the student of insurgency, socialist revolution, or communism in general; it serves as an analysis of how Marxist-Leninist princi-

ples can be adapted to meet local requirements.

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Halle, Louis J. *The Cold War as History*.  
London: Chatto & Windus, 1967.  
434 p.

In his Preface the author, admitting that we are still too close in time to the cold war to give a complete perspective, states his "aspiration to do for the cold war . . . what Thucydides did for the Peloponnesian War . . ." Within bounds,

he achieves his aspiration by an engrossing, almost fascinating, interpolation—identifying the issues, prime decisions, and turning points of the cold war. There are areas, however, wherein the author extrapolates rather than interpolates and, carrying history into prediction, seriously weakens his thesis. He traces the historical background of the conflict, and in two short chapters—"The Behavior of Moscow as a Reflection of Russia's Historic Experience" and "American Behavior as a Reflection of Experience Opposite to That of the Russians" he condenses into 20 pages the essential causes of the cold war. In fact, the first three chapters can be described as inspired in the strongest meaning of that word. A short quotation may sum up his conclusions reached in this preamble: "Americans have not, in recent times, appreciated the limitations of American power as Russians have always appreciated the limitations of Russian power; and just as failure has been the making of the Russians, so success has threatened to be the undoing of the Americans." Other conclusions fall out in rapid succession throughout the volume, concerning such matters as the influence of the military on American foreign policy (criticized); American ignorance of Far Eastern history (condemned); Russian expansion (denied); McCarthyism (abhorred); Truman/Acheson foreign

policy (appreciated); Eisenhower/Dulles foreign policy (decried); Kennedy/Rusk foreign policy (conditionally approved); the Suez incident (post hoc, ergo proper hoc); convergence theory (supported); Bay of Pigs fiasco (simplistically explained); Chinese expansionism (a fallacy). In sum, Mr. Halle has presented an outstanding overview of the situation limited by some obvious pre-judgments which, by their very obviousness, can be corrected while being read.

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Hevi, Emmanuel J. *The Dragon's Embrace*. London: Pall Mall Press, 1966. 152 p.

Emmanuel John Hevi, a Ghanaian, introduces his book with these thoughts: As much as Africans dislike being buffeted by cold-war cross-currents, Africa will have to live with them for some time, particularly since much of the money to build schools, roads, bridges, factories, and hospitals comes from the cold-war camps; until economic self-sufficiency and political stability are achieved, the best course for them "is to try to learn how these currents flow."

*The Dragon's Embrace* is, for the most part, an attempt by historical review and simple analysis to recognize the political designs of the Chinese Communists in Africa. As the "kingpin" of this book, Hevi uses the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" offered by Premier Chou En-lai during his African tour, December 1963 to February 1964. Hevi indicates how these five principles and other "noble declarations" have been, and are being, violated by the Chinese Communists. This is not a deep book, steeped in great theory, but a book full of practical realism. Having spent 18 months in China as a student, Hevi, as an African, might be expected to have a very slanted point of view. However, he approaches the discussion of China's intentions for Africa

with "the best interests of us Africans" as the foundation. For that matter, he applies the identical yardstick in occasionally criticizing the West as well as the East, and by no means does he forget that housecleaning begins at home. Interesting, somewhat informative, and quite thought-provoking—these terms aptly describe this book. It is highly recommended for general reading.

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Kaplan, Jacob J. *The Challenge of Foreign Aid*. New York: Praeger, 1967. 405 p.

With a wealth of two decades of personal involvement in the foreign assistance experiences of the United States, Mr. Jacob J. Kaplan has written a penetrating and extensive book on the policies, problems, and possibilities of foreign aid. Prior to writing this book he resigned from the Government service which he had entered in 1943, but nowhere does one find any vituperation; on the contrary, one is impressed by the orderly, objective style throughout. Mr. Kaplan examines most of what has taken place in foreign affairs since 1945 from the perspective of foreign aid. It is an interesting perspective and one with new ideas and interpretations of foreign policy. Even Communist assistance programs are related, in his objective manner, to the overall challenge of foreign aid. For the reader concerned with factual statistics on foreign aid, trade, and investment interests, this information is included but not in such a manner as to detract from readability. *The Challenge of Foreign Aid* is another applied reading book, but it is well worth the effort of the person seeking a more comprehensive understanding of nation-state relationships in the contemporary world. Mr. Kaplan is a pragmatic realist, in addition to being a foreign aid expert, and readily acknowledges fundamental international rela-