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The United Nations and the Superpowers

D. R. Stefferud
U.S. Navy

John G. Stoessinger

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Raskin, Marcus G. and Fall, Bernard B., eds. *The Viet-Nam Reader*. New York: Random House, 1965. 415 p.

The Viet-Nam Reader is a composite of articles and documents on American foreign policy and the Vietnam crisis. As might be expected, this *Reader* is an attempt by noted dissenters to present an impressive array of material concerning the present crisis in Southeast Asia contributed by both the supporters and dissenters, yet all aimed at corroborating their opinions and proposals. Following an introduction wherein the coeditors state their views on "The Issues at Stake," the book is separated into four basic parts: "The Crisis of American Foreign Policy"; "The Rise of the Viet-Nam Problem"; "The Second Indochina War," in which the central theme of the book is treated in four subdivisions; and "The Negotiating Position." Such notable authorities as Quincy Wright, Dean Acheson, George F. Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Walt W. Rostow, McGeorge Bundy, Robert S. McNamara, Thomas J. Dodd, J. William Fulbright, Bernard B. Fall, U Thant, Charles de Gaulle, Wayne Morse, L.F. Stone, and Joseph Kraft are among those represented in this collection. Despite the extensive use of contributors in support of present policies, it is obvious throughout that this is a *textbook* for dissension. The coeditors' premise is well stated in their introduction, the tenor of their theme being contained in the second paragraph:

Escalation of the war in Viet-Nam, in the name of a new globalism has become the compulsive means to what is viewed in Washington as the best way to stop revolutionary movements from becoming Communist success stories—not only in Viet-Nam but in all of Asia . . .

In the conclusion entitled, "A Diplomatic Alternative to U.S. Policy," the editors offer what they consider as a "pragmatic" approach to reduction of involvement, an easing of tensions, the foundation of Southeast Asian confederation, and, in all, a return to peace.

While this reviewer will refrain from entering into a polemic discussion concerning the merits of the material and proposals, he does, however, submit that for the wealth of bibliographical material alone this book is highly recommended. *The Reader* will provide considerable depth and insight to the student of international relations, be he supporter or dissenter.

C.O. WAKEMAN
Lieutenant Commander, U.S. Navy

Stoessinger, John G. *The United Nations and the Superpowers*. New York: Random House, 1965. 206 p.

Professor Stoessinger analyzes the dynamics of the United States-U.S.S.R. interactions in the United Nations by choosing nine cases for study—instances where the superpowers played tug-of-war over the United Nations' constitutional construction, peace-preserving

mechanisms, and social-economic efforts. The veto, the Secretariat and the admission of members are discussed, as are Suez, the Congo, the International Refugee Organization, and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The book is selective, not comprehensive, and the topics are chosen for the light they shed on the superpower relationship. The author concludes that both the United States and the Soviet Union used the United Nations as a vehicle for the advancement of national interests. The organization has generally been useful more for the Americans than for the Russians, because the United States has successfully involved the United Nations in more activities serving her national interest, and because the United Nations has often been persuaded to do collectively what the United States might have had to do individually. In assessing future trends, the author is optimistic. While the United Nations has some characteristics of a superpower pawn, it has nonetheless moved ahead with a vitality of its own, and the dominant role of national interests need not be an insurmountable obstacle to the growth of the organization. This is a pragmatic and scholarly analysis, highly recommended for any student of international organizations.

D.R. STEFFERUD

Lieutenant Commander, U.S. Navy

Stone, Jeremy J. *Containing the Arms Race*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966. 252 p.

Utilizing his experience gained as a member of the Hudson Institute and the Harvard Center for International Affairs, Mr. Stone treats the subject of disarmament from the very logical premise that any agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning strategic weapons must pose tangible mutual benefits as opposed to one-sided advantages. This basic theme pervades the five chapters of the book, which consider bombers, missiles, missile defense, and proposals to limit strategic force levels. Each chapter puts forth a policy suggestion and then evaluates the various considerations involved in implementation, particularly in relation to the financial, psychological, and security benefits that might accrue to either side. The author argues in concrete rather than the usual general terms and concludes that missile defenses should be avoided; elimination of heavy bombers should be contemplated through informal agreements; Soviet proposals for reduction of missiles to strictly limited numbers might be acceptable; and, finally, a five-year freeze on strategic weapons should be considered. Discussion is based on unclassified source material such as Congressional hearings, *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, *Missiles and Rockets*, and military writings from *The New York Times* and *Washington Star*; however, these are used in a very effective manner, and the data and rationale from which interpolations and assumptions are derived are clearly presented in the text or in footnotes.

Whether one will accept the arguments and conclusions presented or the statement in the foreword that "With this book available no