

Book Reviews

ship by preparing for a preemptive first strike or limited nuclear war. Détente, on the other hand, offers "broad scope for a democratization of international life" and has facilitated socio-political change in states such as Vietnam, Portugal, Spain, Greece and Nicaragua.

Chernenko was Andropov's political rival in the bid to succeed Leonid Brezhnev, and so in the name of CPSU unanimity Chernenko was obliged to nominate Andropov as General Secretary and President of the Supreme Soviet. Both speeches are published here, as well as Chernenko's acceptance speech when he was nominated General Secretary after Andropov's death.

Among the three Soviet authors reviewed here, Victor Grishin is the least known to the Western public, but his prominence in Soviet political affairs is considerable. He is the longest serving member on the ruling Politburo and is the CPSU First Secretary of Moscow. The twenty-five speeches and articles selected for this publication are presented chronologically from 1972 to 1982 and reflect the diversity of Grishin's credentials.

The lead article is a tribute to the city and the people of Moscow and its role as a model Communist city. Grishin is unabashedly proud of his city, and in most articles refers to it as an example of achievement. An article entitled "The Splendid Traditions of a Great Beginning" is a speech dedicated to Communist Subbotniks, a unique feature of Soviet society in which workers occasionally labor on Saturday without salary. Grishin gives a brief history of Subbotniks, duly citing Lenin as discerning "the actual beginning of communism" in this labor tradition.

Three speeches from Moscow city committee plenaries over which Grishin presided are more business like. Grishin is specific about the shortcomings and the achievements of his economic administrators, emphasizing the need for intensified use of labor, an ongoing theme throughout the book. These are bread and butter examples of how a senior Soviet official runs his shop.

Grishin visited Poland in July 1981 and addressed Polish Communists on behalf of the Kremlin and, perhaps ominously, informed them that the CPSU could not be "indifferent when the destiny of socialism" was at stake in Poland. He also reminded Poles that the cheap Soviet resources which flowed to them without interruption were not "superfluous" to the Soviet economy.

Other articles cover Komsomol activities, trade unions, dedications, the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR, and the 1977 Constitution of the USSR.

The title of Gromyko's book seems inappropriate, considering the themes of his articles and speeches. Perhaps it should be called *The United States, a Target of Soviet Complaints*. The fourteen articles and speeches of the USSR's venerable foreign minister were made between 1978 and 1983. Some speeches were made before UN General Assemblies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, while the articles are reprints from Soviet journals.

Throughout the entire book, Gromyko lambastes every major aspect of US foreign policy. He is highly critical of US affiliation with Israel and South Africa and chastizes Beijing's "great power ambitions" by virtue of the current trend in Chinese-American relations. He advocates political and military détente, but describes those who shrink from the word as having "a wrinkled face

... like that of a hungry cat tasting a cucumber in a kitchen garden." (Who says Andrei Gromyko doesn't have a sense of humor?)

In an article called "The Main Features of Export of US Capital Today," Gromyko draws on western scholarly sources to make an argument against US corporate direct investment abroad, which he describes as the means for building "dependable military-strategic bridgeheads" in Western Europe and Japan. Canada, he says, plays the role of the "exploited party" in the US-Canadian relationship.

The speeches are significant because they contain some of the formal proposals made by the Soviets on prohibiting nuclear weapons tests, space defence systems, chemical weapons, a reduction in Euro-missiles, and a proposal to disband NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

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Manipulating the Unions

by James Warnock

Labor in Soviet Global Strategy by Roy Godson. New York: Crane, Russak, 1984, 93 pages, US\$6.95.

The question of the extent to which the Soviet Union plays an influential role in the international labor movement has become all the more topical with the news that England's National Union of Miners, and in particular its leader, Arthur Scargill, has, for a number of years, maintained close relations with official Soviet trade union organizations. Roy Godson provides an interesting, if somewhat skimpy, overview of the means by which the Soviet Union seeks to influence and direct labor movements on both the national and international level.

The book is divided into two sections. In the first, the traditional Soviet perspective of workers and trade unions as a revolutionary force is outlined. While Godson does not cover this question in great detail, he does provide a concise and accurate survey of the development of the official Soviet view of the international labor movement.

In the second section, the various Party and government organizations through which the Soviet leadership formulates and implements its policy in this area are described. Professor Godson then goes on to recount the various regions of the world in which the USSR has attempted to influence, and thereby win the support of, the local union movements. His assessment of Soviet attempts to penetrate foreign labor organizations, particularly in developing countries, is interesting, but because of the small size of the book, tends to be limited in scope. As a result, much of the historical background which would add to an understanding of the development of relations with foreign trade unions is overlooked.