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The Diffusion of Advanced Weaponry: Technologies, Regional Implications and Responses

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Wander, W. Thomas et al., eds. *The Diffusion of Advanced Weaponry: Technologies, Regional Implications and Responses*. Washington, D.C.: American Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, 1994. 391pp. (No price given)

This is an anthology of papers that were presented in 1992 and 1993 at three workshops on the proliferation of advanced weaponry, sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The eighteen authors are experts from Russia, America, China, India, Pakistan, and Korea, with impressive academic and governmental credentials and representing a wide variety of perspectives on the problems of nonproliferation.

Eric Arnett provides a clinical and comprehensive overview of the interrelations between advanced weaponry, doctrine, culture, and policy. His paper serves as a dispassionate introduction.

Alden Mullins argues that presently only nuclear weapons are weapons of mass destruction. His discussion of the problems of deterrence among developing states is excellent, though he believes the Cold War was more stable than it actually was, terming the five declared nuclear-weapon states "essentially status quo powers." In fact, both the United States and the Soviet Union are (were) revolutionary states, and the destabilizing effect of our revolutionary aggressiveness was illustrated during the Cuban missile crisis. However stable the Cold War seems in retrospect, Mullins points out that states to which such weapons are now proliferating are less stable, since none have made the tremendous investments that the United

States and Soviet Union have made in creating "extremely secure and redundant nuclear weapons capabilities that made preemption impractical."

James Roche gives a good overview of cruise and ballistic missile proliferation in the developing world. His discussion of tactical aircraft production in the developing world does not offer a context of the overwhelming power of the combat air fleets of the developed world, nor does he point out that there are only a few nations capable of building the next generation of tactical aircraft, making control in this area relatively achievable. By contrast, Arthur Baker presents a very fair-minded appraisal of naval technology, pointing out that the sheer cost of navies is widening, not narrowing, the performance gap between rich and poor states.

Paul Bracken provides excellent insight into the importance of "C4I" (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence) and the political and cultural reasons that C4I is often neglected in favor of more obviously impressive weapon systems.

In his second paper, Eric Arnett is the voice of reason as he concludes that "many of the risks [of preventive war and inadvertent escalation] are irreducible. . . . The most important step any state can take is to reduce or eliminate its nuclear arsenal or forswear assembling one in the first place."

Hasan Rizvi offers an excellent overview of Pakistani threat perception and the causes for nuclear proliferation, highlighting China, Pakistan, and India as a case study. As Dingli Shen asserts, "China developed its limited nuclear

weapons capabilities at an early stage to counter the U.S. bluff and to break the U.S. nuclear monopoly." And Sumit Gaguly states that "virtually all Indian analysts argue that India needs nuclear weapons to contend with the Chinese threat." Shireen Mazari outlines Pakistan's motivation for building a nuclear weapon capability in reaction to the Indian threat and declares that the Pakistani bomb is a stabilizing factor: "In summer 1990, at the height of the Kashmir insurgency, war between India and Pakistan was averted after Pakistan informed India of its nuclear capability." Di Hua's defense of Chinese nuclear and weapons export policies and his biting and acerbic attack on what he terms American unfairness are certainly partisan, but they lend us a valuable insight.

These papers in particular dramatize how difficult it can be to control nuclear weapons proliferation under the regime of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (which was reviewed last year), or, indeed, any other single regime. The motivations for obtaining nuclear arms are complex, including economic, political, and cultural factors, as well as intensely regional military ones. Limiting and reducing the spread of advanced weaponry would thus seem to require both global and regional regimes.

Each paper assembled here is clearly written and worth considering. Students of proliferation, regionalists, and defense analysts will find much here of interest and value.

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Graham, Norman A., ed. *Seeking Security and Development: The Impact of Military Spending and Arms Transfers*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994. 259pp. \$40

In his conclusion, editor Norman Graham observes that this interdisciplinary collection of articles may have been better at raising new directions of inquiry than answering the questions posed in the introduction: Does military spending retard economic development? Do the regimes that spend heavily on defense and arms transfers also promote economic development effectively? And ultimately, is there cause for optimism about either security or economic development in the Third World?

Although the general consensus of these articles is pessimistic on the future of many Third World countries from the perspective of both security and economic development, the editor and his contributors conclude that there are too many nation-specific variables and data inadequacies to make authoritative, global judgments on these questions.

One such inadequacy is the currency of statistics available on a variety of important issues. Much of the data on arms spending, aid expenditures, and gross domestic products are no more recent than the late 1980s. Of course since then there have been many important changes in the nations discussed in this book. For example, the Nigerian economy has collapsed, there has been economic and political upheaval in Brazil (while the rest of Latin America has been privatizing and democratizing), and the political crisis in and around the Republic of South Africa