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Seeking Security and Development: The Impact of Military Spending and Arms Transfers

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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

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has been resolved. The reader is left to wonder whether the authors would have reached the same conclusions had more recent data been available when these articles were written.

The first half of the book addresses definitions of security and reviews trends in international arms transfers, the evolution of the defense industrial base in Taiwan, the development of the Indian armed forces, and the history of Soviet arms transfers to the Third World. The latter focuses on the Soviet Union's use of arms exports as a tool for financing internal economic development and the prospects for Russian arms exports in the post-Cold War world arms market.

The article on the Indian military identifies domestic factors that one would expect are typical of most nations—developing and developed nations alike. Yet it makes clear that the Indian military has often preferred buying hardware from overseas rather than from domestic suppliers, and in some respects the development of India's defense industries resulted from compromises between economic ministers, who wanted to use the defense budget to promote industrialization, and the military, who did not trust the quality or timeliness of domestic producers.

There are two articles which state that up to a certain level at least, military expenditures appear to help rather than hinder the economies of developing nations. Both argue that investors, entrepreneurs, farmers, workers, and agencies need to have some assurance about the security of their homeland. In many developing countries, the vast

majority of the defense budget is for personnel who perform state-building and internal pacification duties—functions which may be essential building blocks for economic development.

The section on Africa notes, however, that military conflict and military spending has dramatically exacerbated the economic and agricultural crises that are facing many of the continent's nations. In addition to making the obvious conclusion, that war drives farmers off their lands, the author refers to cereal production numbers to demonstrate that excess military spending distorts free market incentives and tends to reduce acreage under cultivation.

Much of the rest of the book consists of comparative analyses of the relationship between economic development and defense budgets in Thailand, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Pakistan, Brazil, and Nigeria. It notes that the existence of a security threat has tended to promote a statist and mercantilist orientation toward economic development, in addition to encouraging larger defense budgets. In some nations, such as Brazil and Nigeria, the perceived threat was internal, caused by the class or ethnic divisions of the 1970s. However, in Korea and Pakistan the threat was external.

As a closing note, several of these articles contain statistical formulae, tables, and technical explanations and analyses that may be difficult for the uninitiated to follow.

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