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Global Militarization

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already suspicious of arms control outcomes will have their positions reinforced and their arsenals of argumentations augmented, if not their horizons expanded greatly. The initially neutral observer will find a forceful and articulate rendering of this Administration's position.

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Wallensteen, Peter et al., eds., *Global Militarization*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Special Studies on Peace, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution, 1985. 240pp. \$24.95

This stimulating book rewards careful reading by the observer and practitioner of military affairs—not because it is a book about war, but because it is about underlying social, cultural and economic shifts in the global interstate system that help to explain the phenomenon of militarization.

For example, Keiichi Matsushita, in his chapter, "The Urban Type of Society and International War," argues that war between developed industrialized states is the least likely form of conflict; rather, conflict springing from the context of a mature urban type of society, whether developed or developing, is more characteristic of the present situation. The problems that terrorism pose to developed societies, therefore, are not necessarily attributes of industrialization any more than such problems can be attributes of a rural orientation in Third World states or societies. Both developed

and developing societies are becoming vehicles for—and targets of—forms of warfare that spring from the urban social context—and the gigantic concentrations of peoples into megalopolises, such as Cairo, Mexico City, and Tokyo are occurring everywhere, not just where industrialization has advanced the farthest.

In his chapter, "Global Conflict Formations: Present Developments and Future Directions," Johan Galtung goes further to assert that the real division of the world is not on a North-South or East-West axis, but rather on a "North-West and South-East" axis with the North-West losing ground to the South-East. His thesis is that the industrial center of gravity is shifting, with concomitant shifts in power relationships that are only beginning to be understood—hence the confusion in the United States and Western Europe as to why they are less and less able to control the world economy and the power relationships that flow therefrom. Galtung argues that the capitalist world economic structure has not in fact changed very much. Rather, its spread has brought to bear the same techniques of economic cooperation, competition, and exploitation that have been around a long time. The only problem is that the North-West countries do not much like it when these techniques are used for the benefit of others rather than for themselves.

There are chapters discussing militarization in Thailand, in Chile, and in Ghana, that point up differences and similarities as to how the

militarizing institutions in the Third World affect their societies. Switzerland and Poland in 1980-82 are also discussed as alternatives to show how formal militarization need not be necessary to avoid social conflict.

Finally, in his concluding chapter, "Incompatibility, Militarization, and Conflict Resolution," Peter Wallenstein points out that nonstate actors are playing an increasing role in global conflict, but that the major interstate actors (Iran, Egypt, the USSR and the United States for example) still confront each other as if war was still their monopoly. Even the use of the term "state-sponsored terrorism" presupposes the primacy of the territorial state as the major actor.

In fact, if we link the notion that global conflict derives from the robust urbanizing process, then the distinctions between "state" and "nonstate," between "external" and "internal" conflict, will diminish. This will increase the current confusion among the major "North-West" industrialized states as to how to deal with a seemingly endless series of threats and humiliations. Those unpleasant experiences reflect not only changes in the nature of the international political system, but more fundamentally, shifts in the center of gravity of the global economy. In other words, global militarization does not presuppose that a universal empire is evolving. Rather, in the view of the editors of this book, it presupposes just the opposite: greater diversification of national economies according to

capitalist principles and practices, with accompanying political, cultural and social pluralism, as people everywhere are drawn into urban concentrations.

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Crankshaw, Edward. *Putting up with the Russians*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1984. 269pp. \$17.95

The international tensions and troubles of the 1930s and the years of World War II stimulated a great surge of interest in the Soviet Union. After 1945 there occurred a veritable explosion in the field of Soviet studies which paralleled and indeed was partly inspired by the coming of the atomic age.

Among the most insightful and wise of these scholars was Edward Crankshaw—a British journalist, author and commentator. His published works reveal the range of his interests and of his creative mind. Yet the major emphasis of Crankshaw's intellectual and scholarly efforts was concentrated on Russia and the Russians—from 1947 to 1984 he wrote eight books on the Soviet Union.

During World War II he served for nearly two years in Moscow with the British military mission. Thereafter, he was drawn, as if by some irresistible force, to things Russian. One of Crankshaw's earliest published writings appeared in the *Observer* in 1947. In this article Crankshaw presented an argument which he would return