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Fighting Proliferation: New Concerns for the Nineties

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involvement in East Asia is every bit as necessary as Nato involvement, from a strategic vantage point. (5) For areas other than Nato and East Asia, the United Nations should do the job. (6) A multilateral approach should be utilized for future international economic policy.

Each item has conditions that must be met, and implementation must be balanced. Reggie notes that it will not be easy.

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Sokolski, Henry, ed. *Fighting Proliferation: New Concerns for the Nineties*.

Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: Air Univ. Press, 1996. 377pp. \$23

This book, edited by Henry Sokolski of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, advances the antiproliferation literature focusing on new threats and proposing alternative approaches to thinking about proliferation. The message is clear: new dangers from proliferated technologies and capabilities pose real challenges that require comprehensive solutions and long-term perspectives.

This policy-relevant volume retains a healthy skepticism regarding proliferation. Kenneth Waltz, Martin van Creveld, and others suggest that nuclear weapons enforce a rationality without regard for national differences. *Fighting Proliferation*, however, is implicitly premised on the realization that proliferation is a long-term dynamic tied to global trends, while certain regimes with proliferated capabilities do

threaten the United States. Sokolski includes two balanced sections that analyze North Korea and Iran.

Proliferation threats have become diffuse, ranging from deliverable nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) weapons to conventional weapons, and the enabling components and processes. Many analyses have focused on high-profile categories—particularly nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Sokolski, however, focuses on the strategic implications of satellite imagery and cruise missiles. But some observers argue that the effect of proliferation is not dangerous; Iraqi forces were dispatched with ease. Further, the performance of U.S. forces in the Gulf war apparently promises military-technological dominance against inferior opponents.

David Blair's chapter, however, demonstrates how U.S. power projection can be thwarted given the availability of technology and weapons, and the reduced number of overseas bases. This analysis challenges those who assume that the United States is so powerful and technologically advanced that its future position is assured. Instead, the technological, doctrinal, and organizational advancements of the last twenty-five years, and for the foreseeable future, are available to others as well.

Sokolski's suggestions for strategic responses are thoughtfully assessed. Diplomacy and arms control have been the primary tools used to stem proliferation. But given the accelerated rate of proliferation, the general porousness of control regimes, and the impact of the Gulf war and the 1993–1994 Korean crisis, capabilities to counter proliferation and protect U.S. troops are more

salient. Technology diffusion is a long-term issue, though, and solutions ought to be integrated and designed for the long term. David Andre's chapter on competitive strategies and Sokolski's on intelligence requirements exemplify sound analytic approaches to the proliferation conundrum.

The section on strategic responses, however, could have been improved by elaborating on various ideas. A preliminary attempt to devise a competitive strategy against North Korea and Iran would have been interesting, as would have an illustration of Sokolski's approach of constructing future scenarios and then deducing solutions. Furthermore, although this section was designed "to get beyond the negative goal of limiting possible damage," new analytical approaches are untested and will not eliminate the need for new capabilities. The most important capability to counter proliferation is theater-based and strategic-missile defense that enhances deterrence, power projection, and warfighting.

Most chapters are well researched and analyzed, particularly those by Blair, Steve Berner, Dennis Gormley, and K. Scott McMahon. But some, for example a debate concerning commercial satellite export-control policy and a chapter on South Korean concerns after the United States-North Korean nuclear agreement, are on important subjects but do not contribute effectively to the volume's message. The satellite export debate revolves around a 1994 presidential decision, of which the subject and implications are more clearly portrayed in Berner's chapter on the proliferation of satellite

imaging capabilities. As to Seoul's nuclear concerns, Victor Gilinsky's chapter raises questions without meaningful data, analysis, or assessment.

Other key proliferation concerns that could have been usefully included in a book on "new concerns for the nineties" are not covered. For instance, biological and chemical weapons employment may be more likely than nuclear. NBC terrorism and other asymmetric attacks are not broached, despite the March 1995 Sarin attack in Tokyo, continuing reports of smuggling, the abundance of plutonium, and lax control in Russia over NBC-related material. Space launch vehicles and their relation to ballistic missile delivery systems are not addressed. This is an important subject, given its bearing on satellite imagery and space technology proliferation. Ballistic missiles remain the proliferator's weapon of choice. Further, it is curious, having given so much attention to space-related issues, that Sokolski does not address maintaining military superiority in space and denying space as an operational medium.

Despite these few gaps, however, Sokolski's book will provide substantial value to the national security community. It deals convincingly with new proliferation threats that must be recognized and addressed. Additionally, Sokolski forwards important arguments and methods of thinking about proliferation as a long-term problem, one whose solutions will require of the United States a deft manipulation of foreign and defense policy tools.

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