

1997

## Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age

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### Recommended Citation

Gottschalk, Jack A. and Payne, Keith B. (1997) "Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 50 : No. 4 , Article 17.

Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol50/iss4/17>

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forces, that is, common needs and concerns, divided countries, and the deep-seated distrust which distinguish this volatile area. The idea that a regional comprehensive security regime could enhance environmental protection but also portend well for United States security interests is very insightful. The piece on south Asia was equally distinctive in its frank analysis of an area that is of great importance to the strategic maritime interests of the United States. The author depicts a geographic, economic, and military disparity between the nations of the region that reflects a significant regional fragility in an area that encompasses important sea lines of communication and maritime approaches.

As a whole this work is extremely thought-provoking. It opens a window into the next century relative to the numerous issues in oceans governance facing the international community. Its critical examination of the multidimensional aspect (local subsidiaries, nationalism, regionalism, and globalism) involved in seeking an effectively integrated yet efficient management approach to the marine environment lays the foundation for further substantive policy developments.

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Payne, Keith B. *Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age*. Lexington, Ky.: The Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1996. 160pp. \$26.95

This relatively short book provides an excellent overview of the history and

future of deterrence, which was the focus of considerable and spirited debate during the Cold War. Today it continues to be a major issue as the United States faces a variety of threats from different nations whose interests are inimical to its own.

Payne raises the unsettling question of whether the American policy of deterrence vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during the Cold War can be accepted as the reason for the preservation of peace (albeit an uneasy one). His position is that no matter which policy approach is selected (warfighting, mutual assured deterrence, or minimum deterrence) it remains uncertain whether any of them could really work. From that basis, and since we cannot know conclusively that deterrence worked in the past, it is impossible to know if it will work against "rogue" states in the future.

It is the author's view that a required element for any deterrence program is enough information to permit a deterring state to believe the opponent is rational in its decision making, and to know its values and its culture. The United States possessed that kind of information about the Soviets. However, the nation cannot assume that it will have the same kind of insight into other nations, many of which are third-rate powers that have acquired nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons and will inevitably acquire a means to deliver them. The belief that Saddam Hussein would act in a rational manner is cited by the author as one of several historical examples in which faulty expectations have led to disaster.

It is suggested that the United States develop a lot of intelligence about all of its potential enemies, including

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information about how the leaders of hostile states think, what their decision-making processes are, how to communicate with them effectively in a crisis, and what their national cultures are. The latter is most important, given that some cultures accept war and death with far less apprehension than do most Americans. Payne provides an eleven-point checklist as a guide to the kind of information needed; despite its brevity and simplicity, information collected under its guidelines would be very helpful to any national security decision maker.

Another and equally important point is that despite excellent intelligence collection and analysis, the United States still may not *really* know what such states as the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Libya, or Iraq will do when faced with a deteriorating economy; when sponsoring international terrorism that could include nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons; or when considering simple, naked aggression.

The author suggests that deterrence in the second nuclear age be based on "denial," the threat to destroy the challenging state's military assets. If deterrence should fail, the threat would become a reality. However, on the defensive side, the argument is made that a missile defense system would be feasible as a means of protecting against threats from "rogue" states.

These recommendations, of course, include some very broad assumptions. First, it is not always easy to destroy military assets quickly and effectively; second, the United States is still some time away from possessing a credible

missile defense system. Crisis-action planning scenarios need to be created that target the worst cases. It would, after all, be difficult for the U.S. government to accept a bloody nose caused, let us say, by a nuclear-tipped North Korean missile, only then deciding how to respond appropriately.

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Danopoulos, Constantine P., and Cynthia Watson, eds. *The Political Role of the Military: An International Handbook*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996. 517pp. \$110

In this volume, the editors present twenty-seven case studies that trace the historical evolution of civil-military relations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Their objective is to analyze socioeconomic and political factors that have influenced the role of militaries in government, political economy, and issues of national security. Essays by scholars from around the world place special emphasis on current and future scenarios of civil-military relations in the post-Cold War era. Attractive features of this work are its global scope and suitability for comparative analysis. For example, Rut Diamint and Cynthia Watson's piece on the Argentine military's steady withdrawal from internal politics contrasts sharply with Veena Gill's assessment of the increasing role of the Indian military in internal security and domestic affairs. Dongsung Kong's coverage of North Korea, Sharly Cross's analysis of Castro's Cuba, and Ulf Sundhausen's treatment of the