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## The Road Away from the Brink: Reducing Nuclear Danger

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Bundy, McGeorge; Crowe, William J., Jr.; and Drell, Sydney D. *The Road Away from the Brink: Reducing Nuclear Danger*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993. 107pp. \$14.95

Blackwill, Robert D. and Carnesale, Albert, eds. *New Nuclear Nations: Consequences for U.S. Policy*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993. 272pp. \$17.95

With the end of the Cold War and the relaxation of the nuclear trigger fingers in both the former Soviet Union and the United States, many hoped that nuclear weapons would no longer be the salient issue in U.S. foreign and military policy. Events of the last few years, however, have forced observers of U.S. policy to revisit nuclear issues with renewed interest and concern. Chief among these events were the failed coup in Moscow; the debates over the disposition of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet states of Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan; the discovery of the surprising depth, breadth, and advancement of Iraq's nuclear programs; and most recently, North Korea's reticence to comply with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Both books reexamine nuclear issues from the perspective of the mid-1990s. Although the two works are distinct in their objectives, they share an authoritative and pragmatic approach and avoid the extremism that has limited the value of much of the work on nuclear issues.

*The Road Away from the Brink* is a short, readable work that prescribes a comprehensive nuclear policy for the

United States. Central to its policy recommendations is the pursuit of continued progress in reducing and restructuring the nuclear forces of the U.S. and Russia by fully carrying out and then expanding on the provisions of the Start I and II treaties. The other pillar of the authors' proposed policy is vigorous support of non-proliferation. Their central premise is that the vast majority of nations have a vested interest in preventing further proliferation of nuclear weapons and in reducing both reliance on nuclear defense and the inventories of weapons.

*New Nuclear Nations* takes another approach by focusing on those few states that have decided, or are tempted, to proliferate. While the editors make some general policy recommendations in their conclusion, the intent of this collection of essays is to offer an analytical framework, and therein is its value. The editors begin in a chilling fashion, presenting hypothetical events of Desert Storm as they might have occurred with a nuclear-armed Iraq. After discussing the potential problems and threats to the United States, successive chapters take an exhaustive look at the tools the U.S. and like-minded states have to deal with potential or actual proliferators; these means include arms control, diplomatic measures, offensive military action, and defense. Two chapters are of particular interest. Steven E. Miller argues, in his essay, that in some cases it may be in our best interest to assist proliferating nations in the areas of weapon safety and security, both for the obvious mutual benefit and for the increased access to and knowledge of the proliferator's nuclear program. Robert

D. Blackwill and Ashton B. Carter provide an insightful look at the most difficult problem of coping with proliferation—detecting it early enough for effective action. They probe the capabilities required and the challenges inherent to the intelligence process in support of preventing proliferation.

Where *The Road Away from the Brink* provides the reader with a comprehensive approach to dealing with global nuclear danger, the contributors to *New Nuclear Nations* present a detailed menu of considerations and options for dealing with uncooperative states. Both works recognize that the United States cannot resolve its nuclear problems alone but must support and nurture a coalition of states willing to work together to reduce the nuclear threat to mankind. These books also have in common a considerable value for students of U.S. security policy.

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Ramberg, Bennett, ed. *Arms Control Without Negotiations: From the Cold War to the New World Order*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1993. 281pp. \$42

Whatever happened to arms control? Just a few years ago the papers were full of stories about the strategic nuclear arms talks (Start), the intermediate theater nuclear (INF) talks, and the various conventional arms negotiations in Europe. Today what passes for arms control are concerns about North Korea and nuclear proliferation; while these are certainly important, they are

only a narrow slice of a much larger subject. Bennett Ramberg's interesting collection of essays may go a long way toward answering my question; and despite the title, the contributors are not woolly-headed idealists but include such well known strategists and realists as Colin Gray and Rose Gottemoeller, both formerly of RAND and the National Security Council staff.

Ramberg defines arms control without negotiations as "a menu of *unilateral* actions, including but not limited to weapons reductions and limits, as well as *unilateral* research, development, procurement, and reconfiguration decisions that collectively are as important, if not more important, than formal agreements"—which, as these essays later illustrate, covers quite a large area. The book is divided into three parts: "Unilateral Arms Control to Induce Reciprocation," "Defense Practice of Unilateral Arms Control," and "The Domestic Politics of Unilateral Arms Control."

As with any edited book, the essays are uneven; the very first, unfortunately, "The Psychology of Arms Control and Reciprocation," is rather ponderous and should not be read in bed. However, it is followed by an interesting piece by Rose Gottemoeller on "Unilateralism in Soviet and Russian Arms Control," which discusses Russia's various initiatives, including naval proposals, and argues in an epilogue that with Yeltsin being challenged from the right, further actions "are no longer productive." The last chapter in part one focuses on four moratorium case studies concerning biological weapons, atmospheric nuclear testing,