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War, Business, and World Military-Industrial Complexes

John A. Walgreen

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Cooling, Franklin, ed. *War, Business, and World Military-Industrial Complexes*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1981. 217pp. \$19.50

This work is designed to accompany an earlier volume edited by Cooling, the assistant director for historical services at the US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks. Where the previous study examined the US "military-industrial complex" in historical perspective, this book provides a transnational, historical view. However, the study's global reach falls short of all the nations or time periods which might have shed light on the phenomenon. Cooling found "a dearth of scholars willing and able to write" about this subject in their own countries. (Either there is less interest in the topic outside of the United States or such research has political risks.) As a result, military-industrial relations in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Brazil were addressed by American scholars. The essays on Canada, Australia, and Sweden were prepared by resident nationals, while the situation in South Africa was examined by an observer from Salisbury, Zimbabwe.

Cooling provides brief summaries of each of the national essays but no general synthesis other than observing that small nations generally seek armaments independence. Interestingly, his conclusion that the superpowers have usually been able to thwart the smaller nations' achievement of armaments independence and other statements about the power of the multinational arms firms are not well supported by the essays in this volume.

The various authors differ in their analyses, perhaps because the editor's guidance is unclear beyond indicating a need to know more about non-American interactions. Few of these historians

chose to test whether their countries have been subject to the "unwarranted influence" and "the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power" which President Eisenhower feared could result from the symbiotic relationship between industry and the armed forces.

Edward Homze does address this issue in his paper on Germany. He concludes that Germany has seen more of a loose alliance of interests than a close-knit conspiracy. Before World War II rearmament benefited parts of German industry, but the Nazis dominated both the military and industry. The real risk from the Germans was their ultranationalism which pervaded most, if not all, sectors of society. The German model was dangerous as a tool for a society with such a philosophy. The change in values in the Federal Republic of Germany has witnessed a less threatening collection of interests than in the past.

Jacob Kipp's analysis of the relationship between the Russian Navy and private enterprise in the nineteenth century is an interesting example of military-industrial relations in an underdeveloped nation. When the state-owned, quasi-feudal complex of arsenals and shipyards proved incapable of meeting the need for modern ships during the Crimean War, naval reformers turned to private industry. Drawing on foreign designs, prototypes, and in some cases, materials, newly established private yards brought the Russian Navy into the age of steam and iron. The extensive shipbuilding program not only built a modern Russian Navy, but also fostered the iron and engineering industries. Unfortunately government financial problems prevented the navy from maintaining a significant continuous flow of orders through the 1860s, and many of the new

private firms went out of business or were acquired by the state. This experience has some lessons for contemporary naval ship procurement.

Although different in many ways, the relationship in Great Britain and France illustrates the value of cooperation between the military and industry. Both nations normally used government armaments facilities, but turned to industry during World Wars I and II in order to meet the greatly expanded demands for arms and to accommodate the new automotive and aviation technologies. Many innovations in weapons systems resulted from this private-public collaboration. These nations have also used export sales to sustain a larger production base than domestic peacetime orders could support and to reduce the unit cost of production through greater volume.

Canada, Australia, and Sweden relied on the larger industrial states as their primary source of arms, but were forced during World War II to develop their own hardware as their traditional suppliers could no longer service them. Although these states have tried to sustain themselves in the postwar period, they have found it increasingly difficult to do so. The defense establishments are too small to support the research and development needed for advanced military technology. The inability to achieve volume rates of production has run up unit costs. Although Canada and Australia maintain some domestic arms output, they are heavily dependent on foreign designs and procurement. Sweden has been more successful in maintaining a high technology military aircraft industry, but by the 1970s it was increasingly importing materials and turning much of its defense production base to civilian goods.

South Africa and Brazil are new economies which have expanded extensively

since World War II. South Africa was forced to do so when its racial policies resulted in a United Nations embargo on arms exports to it. Its success in developing and maintaining military strength is largely due to internal cohesion. But many Western nations have helped South Africa to develop its nuclear and conventional arms industry, and their trade with South Africa enables it to sustain its indigenous production.

Brazil is a success story in its transition from a national dependent on foreign arms imports to one in a position of national self-sufficiency and a coming arms exporter. Brazilian weapons may be tough competitors for the products of industrialized states because they are likely to be better suited to the technological capabilities of developing nations.

Although the essays in this book do not establish any general thesis they provide some illuminating examples of the variety of ways in which the military and industry interact.

JOHN A. WALGREEN
Wheaton College

The Arms Race and Arms Control.

Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1982. 242pp. \$8.95

Over recent years, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has acquired the reputation of being an effective, articulate advocate for international arms control. Relying heavily on data published in Western sources, SIPRI's staff have consistently published high quality technical and political analyses of major arms control and international security issues.

The Arms Race and Arms Control attempts to follow in the footsteps of earlier SIPRI works such as *The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare* or *Nuclear*