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## Nuclear Arms in the Third World

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The final chapter on the years from 1962 to 1978 concerns itself with the "erosion" of American naval preeminence. The increasing Soviet presence in the eastern Mediterranean, the OKEAN exercises, the deleterious effects of Vietnam on new construction, and the Rickover problem are touched on. Here the kind of "tabular comparisons dear to the heart of nineteenth century navalists," noted in the chapter on the 1890s, recur in profusion. These tables of ship numbers, tonnage, and out-of-area operating days make no mention of possible contributions by NATO allies, thus leaving the impression (perhaps intended) that this is a two-party game.

Generally speaking, these essays support the editor's claim that the practice of naval history has advanced in recent years. Some traces of the earlier period remain, as in neglect of logistic matters and echoes of unthinking Mahanism; its consequences can be seen in the bibliographic comments, reflective of the old roundshot and cutlass approach of the Office of Naval History, that information on naval strategy between 1919 and 1945 is best sought in official Army publications. Small mention is made of shifting deployments, by squadron or area, before 1937. There is nothing on the Marine Corps' development of amphibious techniques. Technological matters are at times skimmed and at times skewed. But it would be hard for anyone not to profit from a reading of the book.

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Lefever, Ernest W. *Nuclear Arms in the Third World*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1979. 154pp.

Despite the fact that this primer is current only through March 1978, it is a useful and informative compilation of the history of nuclear technology in the Third World, those countries' unique reasons for keeping open the nuclear

weapons option, and some sensible projections that describe the security implications of nuclear weapons development. The export of nuclear technology over the last 20 years has been a powerful diplomatic and economic tool; yet recently it has become increasingly difficult to use, requires constant honing, and its brittleness is much more pronounced. Many of the countries now have the capability to complete the fuel cycle and produce weapon grade nuclear material.

Lefever has chosen nine countries (India, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, Egypt, South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil and Argentina) whose technological base and security needs combine for a strong potential for nuclear arms production in the future. These factors are weighed against the cost of building a "military significant force"—defined as deliverable (by aircraft or missiles) nuclear weapons. The country by country case method provides a well-reasoned, comprehensible synopsis of complex wide-ranging foreign policy objectives, economic considerations, military capabilities and intentions, regional influence and stabilities, and perceptions of superpower guarantees. The current situation has evolved from the initial export of technologies and fuel from the United States solely for power generation to a closely controlled, regulatory exchange safeguarded by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the nonproliferation treaty. IAEA oversees civil uses of nuclear power and governs fuel production with a series of on-site inspections, tests and trilateral agreements between the agency, the supplier and recipient. The U.S.-Soviet backed treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons that obligates all signatories to refrain from facilitating the acquisition of nuclear explosives has lessened their appeal for some. However, both safeguard methods are voluntary and while the United States has brought pressure to bear on those countries not members of the Agency or parties to the treaty, "The nuclear genie has been

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released and the spread of nuclear technology and fuels is irreversible."

In the concluding chapters, Lefever reviews policy options and offers three approaches to support a position of deterring nuclear arms acquisition in the Third World: increased U.S. security assistance or nuclear guarantees, promotion and strengthening of international agreements, and legislated sanctions on the export of technology, nuclear fuels and control of waste storage. These alternatives are not mutually exclusive; it is probable that the United States' stance will remain a combination of all three. However, Lefever concludes that "the provision of security assistance or support—by a nuclear guarantee, defense pact, or military assistance, and in appropriate circumstances the presence of U.S. combat troops—is the most effective way to encourage nuclear abstinence."

Well-organized and documented (although with largely dated material), *Nuclear Arms in the Third World* is a good starting place for studying the dilemmas facing the United States in its Third World nuclear policy. However, the study is narrow in scope and relies on a depressingly conventional wisdom. While I find the choice of countries and likelihood of developing nuclear arms sound, there are other places in the world to consider, e.g., Cuba, Central America, Vietnam. Additionally, the threat of nuclear terrorism makes Lefever's "militarily significant" qualification a moot point. On either side of the balance sheet, nuclear weapons can become significant domestic and international liabilities for the nations of the Third World. United States policy must delicately balance friendship and cooperation against control and technological sanctions in order to keep nuclear weapons development a dilemma, not a reality.

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Levitan, Sar A. and Alderman, Karen Cleary. *Warriors at Work*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1977. 216pp.

*Warriors at Work* is a description and evaluation of manpower policies and practices of the U.S. Armed Forces, with particular attention to changes in these practices that have been made or may have to be made as a result of the all volunteer force (AVF). The book is carefully researched and well written. It is the most recent of several monographs by Levitan evaluating various Federal government programs.

The authors present factual evidence and summarize issues regarding recruiting, compensation, training, unionization, and numerous other matters. Their intent, they state in the Preface, "is to provide a framework for informed decision-making." Specific judgments and recommendations of the issues are allegedly avoided, although in fact strong and controversial opinions slip in here and there throughout the book. For example, regarding unionism: "Clearly the Defense Department and some of its staunchest friends in Congress are overreacting to the presumed dangers of unionism." Regarding selection standards in recruiting: "The case for requiring high school credentials is far from clear." Regarding women's role: "Discrimination against women has been relaxed, but acceptance smacks of tokenism, rather than a serious effort to attract women to the armed forces." One should not conclude from these examples that Alderman and Levitan believe DOD policy to be consistently misguided, however. For example, contrary to the views of many economists, they are not at all convinced of the wisdom of replacing the present pay structure with a salary system.

The book has five chapters. In Chapter 1, size, grade structure, turnover of the forces, retention and promotion patterns, recruiting problems and selection standards are described. The authors note the shrinking manpower