

## Outline:

Benjamin Frankel

*The Brooding Shadow: Systemic Incentives and Nuclear Weapons Proliferation*

Security Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3/4 Spring/Summer 1993.

Frankel's theory: moving to a multipolar world will cause nuclear proliferation. The end of bipolarity *causes* reduced and weakened security guarantees by superpowers, which *cause* proliferation. (This is very much like Mearsheimer's *Back to the Future*).

A Structural Analysis: State behavior is correlated with a state's position in the system (more than ideology, regime type, economics, etc).

The system can change in two ways:

- *arrangement* can change, we are in an anarchic, mechanical (rather than organic) system.
- *Distribution of capabilities* can change, altering number of major actors, i.e. end of WWII, end of Cold War etc.

### Bipolarity and Stability

"In a multipolar world countries rely on external means of coalition building to keep the balance, but the process of alliance formation is susceptible to miscalculation and misjudgment that result in failure to balance the aggressive state properly" p44.

### Structure and Stability in the Post War Period

The slow proliferation through the cold war was due to the bipolar arrangement – the security offered by the superpowers.

Cases where the American nuclear guarantee stopped proliferation:

Japan, South Korea, Taiwan. The strength of the states' resolve to not get nuclear weapons is parallel to the show of commitment to protect on the part of the US.

Cases where the absence of a nuclear guarantee resulted in proliferation: Israel, Pakistan, and India. (Other factors such as history and prestige can contribute to the decision to get nuclear weapons – even outweigh a guarantee.)

### NATO and the NTP

While some argue that security will continue after the Cold War due to greater interdependence and cooperation among countries, Frankel suggests that the increase in cooperation and the establishment of the European Economic Community was a *result* of the bipolar system – "a byproduct of bipolarity and its logic" p58. NATO and NTP are also examples of byproducts of the bipolar stability. NATO's strength came from the American guarantee, and he argues that the US overextended its nuclear umbrella during the Cold War and will reduce its commitments. Similarly the NPT is not strong enough to counter the insecurity of the multipolar world.