

Twilight War: The Folly of U.S. Space Dominance by Mike Moore.
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Is the militarization of space inevitable? According to Mike Moore, former editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, U.S. space policy increasingly proceeds on the assumption that it is. If this continues, the militarization of space will become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Satellites currently orbiting the earth are already used for military intelligence and communications. Moore discusses the information age “Revolution in Military Affairs”—most recently showcased in Operation Iraqi Freedom—and its dependence on satellites. And intercontinental ballistic missiles deployed for decades are designed to traverse space. But the deployment of anti-satellite weapons (ASATs)—on earth or in space—could precipitate a major arms race and militarize space in a whole new way.

Twilight War is an authoritative study of this new security problem and a highly readable and richly detailed historical account of people, institutions, technologies, and ideas from the invention of the airplane to China’s January 2007 ASAT test. A milestone in this history was the 1967 “Outer Space Treaty,” which designates the moon and other celestial bodies as the province of all humanity and prohibits deployment of nuclear weapons in earth orbit. Since today’s ASAT and other military space programs are not explicitly prohibited by this regime, there is a movement to update and extend it through a PAROS treaty (Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space).

Moore’s presentation of space warrior ideology, and critique of it, is lucid and thorough. He also brilliantly chronicles the rise of the military–industrial complex, especially the symbiosis between Air Force and aerospace interests going back to its origins in World War I. However, his parallel analyses of ideology and of special interests miss their intersection: the role of ideology in legitimizing the claims of special interests on public revenues.

To be sure, space warriors may not *intend* to play this ideological role, and Moore is right to engage their ideas on the merits and not question their commitment to the public good. But after showing how questionable their ideas

are, the author is hard pressed to explain why they are so influential. He neglects to explore an obvious answer: the legitimation their ideas provide for weapons contracts. That space warrior think tanks such as the Center for Security Policy are bankrolled largely by aerospace and defense contractors is evidence of this. (See William Hartung, "About Face: The Role of the Arms Lobby in the Bush Administration's Radical Reversal of Two Decades of U.S. Nuclear Policy," World Policy Institute Special Report, May 2002, <http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports/reportAboutFace.html>).

While overlooking this immediate nexus between ideology and special interests, Moore aims to understand the space warriors in a broader ideological context. He attributes to "American exceptionalism" their belief that U.S. dominance of space serves all of humanity. Exemplified by the multilateralist Woodrow Wilson, as well as the unilateralist Ronald Reagan, exceptionalists see a messianic role for the United States in world history. But Moore's analysis breaks down here, because unilateralism is fundamental to space warrior ideology, while multilateralism is fundamental to its antithesis—the PAROS agenda. Since "American exceptionalism" takes both forms, how can it help explain space warrior ideology? American militarism, instead, may be the broad construct Moore should have explored.

Notwithstanding these limitations, Mike Moore's book is timely, learned, and important. The future of space is currently being decided in corporate boardrooms and Pentagon offices, with the quiet complicity of Congress. *Twilight War*—which is a page-turner—launches the informed debate on U.S. space policy that democracy requires.

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