

*The*  
*Special Studies Series*

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**EUROPE  
AND NATO:  
SPECIAL STUDIES  
1970-1980**

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THE SPECIAL STUDIES SERIES

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# **EUROPE AND NATO: SPECIAL STUDIES 1970-1980**

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# Table of Contents

<b>Reel Index</b> .....	1-31
Europe .....	1
NATO/Western Europe .....	4
Belgium .....	18
France .....	18
Germany, Federal Republic of .....	19
Greece .....	20
Iceland .....	21
Italy .....	22
United Kingdom .....	23
Neutral/Nonaligned .....	24
Finland .....	24
Spain .....	24
Sweden .....	26
Yugoslavia .....	26
Warsaw Pact/Eastern Europe .....	27
Germany, Democratic Republic of .....	30
Hungary .....	30
Poland .....	30
<b>Subject Index</b> .....	32-37

# REEL INDEX

## Reel I

Frame

### EUROPE (WESTERN AND EASTERN)

- 0001 **AID Spring Review of Land Reform. Volume X. Land Reform in Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia. Regional Surveys.**

*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. Folke Doving, Davis McEntire, and Edward B. Rice. June 1970. 178pp.*

The document on Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia, regional surveys, is one of a series covering most nations that have experienced or are considering land reform. The design for each country paper is the same: the situation before reform, the reform program, and the effects of the program.

- 0178 **Is a Reunified Germany the Answer?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Robert J. Parr. November 1970. 28pp.*

The essay considers the question of German reunification in view of national attitudes in Eastern and Western Europe with particular attention to current developments toward rapprochement. Different viewpoints and influences within Germany are examined and the relationship of the recent Soviet-German nonaggression pact is appraised.

- 0206 **1971 Four-Power Berlin Agreement—Increased or Decreased Tensions in the 1970s?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Thomas F. Healy. March 1972. 73pp.*

The basic question is whether or not the 1971 Four-Power Berlin Agreement will reduce tension in the decade of the 1970s. While it is fashionable to characterize the negotiations as relieving Berlin tensions, the evidence does not support such a conclusion. Conversely as West German Ostpolitik moves to the East and Soviet interests increase in the West, the danger of West German-Soviet confrontations increases. The historical causes of Berlin tensions, access problems, Soviet controls, barriers, the Wall, and 20 Soviet divisions remain as problems for future confrontations over Berlin. U.S. security interests are tied to Berlin. The U.S. may take the following actions: prepare for internal political and economic pressures in West Berlin; take the lead in negotiating German reunification to not only provide a Berlin solution but to prevent Soviet hegemony in Europe without U.S. presence there.

- 0279 **Soviet Foreign Policy and European Security.**

*Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Va. E.A. Boltin, V. Vysotskii, Anat. A. Gromyko, A. N. Krasilnikov, and Ya. A. Lomko. December 1972. 98pp.*

The report contains information on government and party structure, policy and problems, law and social regulations, education, and cultural and social aspects of Soviet life.

0377 **How Europeans Feel About Détente.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Fred Bondi, Jr. Oct. 1973. 27pp.*

The essay surveys how Europeans fit themselves into their continent and how, by and large, thanks to détente they live better than ever. The character of Europeans and their mental attitudes in differentiation to those of Americans is examined, a low point in the Cold War is established, and then the step by step process to détente as it exists today is described. Particularly noteworthy in this process were economic considerations of European as well as Americans, the general attitude of the U.S. towards détente as well as the very definite turning point which culminated in the promulgation of "Ostpolitik."

0404 **Soviet Politico-Military Strategy for Europe, 1977-1984; Implications for the U.S. and NATO.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Neill R. Gruver, Wallace G. Hunt, Thomas J. Manning, Clarence A. Trowbridge, and Randall L. Williams. May 1974. 69pp.*

The study examines the likely USSR political objectives toward Western Europe over the next decade and the strategy the Soviets will employ to gain these objectives. Also, possible implications of this strategy on the U.S. and NATO were examined. It is concluded that the Soviet Union has indeed not renounced the idea of world dominance. Détente is perceived as an expedient to improve its economic, technological, and military capabilities, while undermining American influence in Europe. The Soviets believe they can achieve their objectives without their involvement in a major armed conflict. Confrontation, yes, but confrontation short of war. The U.S. and NATO should not be lulled into a false sense of security, thereby creating a political vacuum for the Soviets to expand their influence.

0473 **Conventional Warfare in Europe—the Soviet View.**

*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Dallas C. Brown, Jr. May 1974. 42pp.*

An analysis of the operational Soviet view on the possibility of conventional warfare between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe. Soviet perceptions and policies concerning this subject since World War II are found to be mainly reactions to the prevailing nuclear balance. The Soviets would have preferred conventional warfare at any time during the period. Until the attainment of a credible strategic nuclear deterrent in the mid-1960s, they assumed that the U.S. would use nuclear weapons against them in a European conflict. Since that time the Soviets have reasoned that the U.S. and the rest of NATO may be deterred from the use of nuclear weapons. Accordingly, they have placed increased emphasis on preparations for conventional warfare in Europe. Soviet policy statements, military writings, training exercises, and force posture are found to accord with this general view. The Soviets, of course, can never be certain that NATO will not resort to nuclear weapons to avoid defeat. Given a choice, however, the Soviets will fight with conventional means alone as long as the survival of the Soviet state is not threatened.

0515 **Security Implications of Alternative Soviet Energy Policies Toward Europe: 1976-1981.**

*Institute for Defense Analyses, International and Social Studies Div., Arlington, Va. Karl F. Spielmann, Jr., Rosemary Hayes, John K. Moriarty, John Ponturo, and Stanislaw Wasowski. July 1975. 226pp.*

On the basis of estimates, four alternative Soviet export policies are posited: (1) Eastern Europe does not receive any oil from the Soviet Union; (2) all East European oil needs are satisfied by the USSR; (3) East European oil needs are partially satisfied by the USSR; and (4) consumption is restricted in the Soviet Union and East Europe. These alternatives are then discussed in terms of their economic impact on the bloc and in the light of Soviet political and security interests in Europe. The impact of the alternative Soviet export policies on

Western security interests is analyzed against the backdrop of the disruptive effects of the 1973-74 energy crisis on the Western alliance and Western Europe's energy balance for the 1976-81 period. The USSR's potential to exert leverage on the countries of Western Europe via energy exports is evaluated. The broader effects of Soviet energy policies on the comparative cohesion of the Eastern and Western alliance systems are given particular consideration.

0741 **Can the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) Talks Succeed under Present Restrictions?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Lawrence R. Tassie. Nov. 1975. 22pp.*

The MBFR talks have not made any significant progress since they began in October 1973. The inability to make any progress may be caused by political factors that preclude acceptance of each other's proposals. The MBFR talks are concerned with seeking solutions to military problems; however, political solutions must be reached before the military questions can be resolved. This paper reviews some of the political problems and concerns facing the opposing powers.

0763 **The Timeliness of a NATO Response to an Impending Warsaw Pact Attack.**

*Decisions and Designs Inc., McLean, Va. Rex V. Brown, Clinton W. Kelly, III, Richard R. Stewart, and Jacob W. Ulvila. Dec. 1975. 62pp.*

This study focuses on an assessment of NATO readiness in the event of a Warsaw Pact attack. The purpose of the study was to develop a methodology for understanding the NATO decision-making process during periods of rising tensions involving the increasingly strong possibility of an attack by the Warsaw Pact countries. The particular question addressed by the study was: if the Warsaw Pact were to attack at the end of a 30-day mobilization cycle, at what point in time after the pact begins to mobilize would NATO initiate a state of reinforced alert? An answer to this question can serve as an input for determining the most likely state of NATO readiness on Warsaw Pact D-day. Obviously there may be as many answers to questions about NATO reaction time as there are experts with plausible scenarios. However, since there is no one set of correct answers, the development of new techniques and insights to assist military planners in making more realistic, defensible estimates of NATO mobilization time is perceived to be of considerable value with respect to U.S. general purpose force planning and in Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations.

0825 **Tactical Nuclear Planning Considerations—Recent Perspectives.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Julian H. McWhirter, Jr. June 1976. 66pp.*

Approval to use nuclear weapons in some future war may require careful planning. One of the National Command Authority's concerns in the event of another war in Europe is collateral damage resulting from nuclear weapons use. The U.S. Army policy for the constrained use of nuclear weapons emphasizes this national concern. This study attempts to determine the planning factors which should be considered by a corps commander before he requests approval to make the initial use of nuclear weapons in Europe. The investigation is focused on an analysis of current U.S. and NATO policies, doctrine, and procedures.

0891 **The Nordic Arc: A Vital Region.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Bertrand A. Handwork, Jr. April 1977. 91pp.*

The basic problems addressed are: the importance of the Nordic Arc, the role of the army in that area, and how that role may best be accomplished. Data was gathered through a search of existing literature without recourse to

classified publications. Initially, the growing importance of the Arctic is addressed, later focusing on the Nordic Arc—specifically, Iceland, Spitsbergen, the northern portions of Norway, Sweden and Finland, the Kola Peninsula, and all the waters which lie between. The term Nordic Arc is believed to be original with this work. Soviet interests are examined with an emphasis on potential economic developments related to energy sources and the use of the growing maritime power of the Soviet Union, both highly dependent on the Nordic Arc. American interests are also examined with emphasis on political and military considerations. It is concluded that conflicting or converging interests could lead to the possibility of armed conflict; that the army would be required to defend bases in this area, which are needed to effectively and economically employ our air and naval forces; and, that our army reserve component forces are the only troops which are available for this purpose. The study recommends programming, equipping, training, and exercising specific reserve component units for possible deployment to Iceland and North-ern Norway.

0982 **The Changing Military Equation in Central Europe.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. R.C. Rainville. April 1978. 22pp.*

U.S. national security interests and policy are based on the security of the Atlantic community. But, a precondition of any national interest or associated policy is strength sufficient to balance that interest. For NATO there is a growing imperative, the identification of opportunities and measures to restore the effectiveness of its security against coercion. There is increasing acceptance of the reality of growing Warsaw Pact strength. The pact is now considered capable of initiating an effective short warning time attack against the central region. The imbalance in central Europe is rooted in long-term neglect of needed improvements by the NATO nations, neglect perpetuated now by escalating costs of personnel, services, and material. But the most significant vulnerability of allied defense capabilities derives from the dependence of strategy, force structure, mobilization, reinforcement, and logistic stockage on long warning time assumptions now seriously in question. Substantial resource investment is required to enhance responsiveness and flexibility, to upgrade the readiness of deployed forces and the deployability of reinforcements, to restructure existing forces to emphasize indirect fire-power, to establish logistic support systems for both short- and long-term warfare, and to provide weapons systems of improved antiarmor capability.

## Reel II

### NATO—WESTERN EUROPE

0001 **Alignment and Neutrality: Europe's Future.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Harold C. Deutsch. May 1978. 23pp.*

Neutrality, neutralism, neutralization, and alignment have taken various forms in Europe since World War II. Finland and Austria are neutrals of necessity, Sweden, Switzerland, and Eire by choice. Yugoslavia occupies a unique position between the blocs. Spain is linked separately with the U.S. Neutralist trends have at times manifested themselves within NATO itself. There has also been talk about but little disposition to building a purely European defense system. Most immediately actual among Western problems are Spain's future relationship to NATO, the prospect of coalition governments including Communists, and the weakening of ties with Greece and Turkey. Tito's departure could thrust the Yugoslav problem onto the center of the international stage. The role of Germany within the alliance has grown in importance during the last decade, notably since 1973. It may yet force a number of adjustments in the Western defense structure.

- 0024 **Naval Presence and Cold War Foreign Policy: A Study of the Decision to Station the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, 1945-1958.**  
*Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. Dennis M. Pricolo. June 1978. 129pp.*  
 The study deals with the origins of the U.S. 6th Fleet and its role in the Mediterranean region in the aftermath of World War II. The research is based on two great themes. First the postwar American strategists and foreign policymakers reacted to hostile moves by the Soviets with great hesitancy since they lacked sufficient force to uphold a policy of greater stiffness. The second theme is the enduring utility of naval power, and its richness and flexibility.
- 0153 **MBFR: Problems and Prospects.**  
*Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Va. Robert W. Hess. Aug. 1978. 95pp.*  
 The purpose of this paper is to assess the state of the Mutual Force Reduction (MFR) talks presently underway in Vienna, and to examine the possibilities for progress in the near future. The analysis begins with an examination of the initial postwar military and political milieu and its impact on the current negotiations. Included in the subsequent analysis are discussions on the conventional balance in the guidelines area; the impact of recent technological innovations on the conventional balance; the role of both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons in the talks; and the major proposals offered by the two alliances. Additionally, the proposals are viewed from the perspectives of the various participants (both inter- and intra-alliance politics), with a view towards predicting possible concessions on the major stumbling blocks to an agreement, such as collectivity and parity, the data issue and the geographical problems. Finally, the paper evaluates the prospects for progress under the current negotiating environment, and concludes with a suggestion for a possible new approach for NATO at Vienna.
- 0248 **The Readiness of U.S. Air Forces in Europe—Selected Aspects and Issues.**  
*General Accounting Office, Logistics and Communications Div., Washington, D.C. Feb. 1979. 108pp.*  
 This report is the unclassified version of GAO's secret report LCD-78-430. It addresses matters affecting the readiness of conventional U.S. air forces in Europe. The report discusses the need for improved readiness reporting, shortages in certain war reserve materiel, supply support and maintenance problems, and personnel readiness. The report also discusses initiatives being taken by the air force in response to increased offensive capabilities of Soviet and Warsaw Pact air forces.
- 0356 **Balanced National Growth.**  
*National Rural Center, Washington, D.C. Kevin Allen. 1979. 339pp.*  
 The report contains papers presented at a conference held in January 1978 entitled "The Atlantic Conference on Balanced National Growth." The papers discuss fiscal and financial incentives in regional economic policy that have been implemented in Canada, Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, and the U.S.
- 0695 **Variable Levies: Barriers to Grain Imports in France, the Netherlands, Federal Republic of Germany, and United Kingdom.**  
*Economics, Statistics and Cooperatives Service, International Economics Div., Washington, D.C. Cathy L. Jabara, and Alan S. Brigida. Mar. 1980. 20pp.*  
 The European community protects its grain farmers by assessing a levy on imports of soft durum wheat, barley, maize, oats, and rye from non-member countries. The levy increased the price of imported grains by an average of 150 percent between 1974 and 1978. Differences in border taxes and subsidies, and the strength of different currencies cause the levy to vary from one



country to another. The levy offers the most protection to West Germany and the least to the United Kingdom.

**0715 Arms Procurement Cooperation and a European Defense Policy.**

*Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Va. Robert M. Antis. May 1980. 86pp.*

The development of a European defense policy need not wait for the formation of a European union. As the activities of organizations such as NATO and the European communities become increasingly interrelated, military-economic endeavors such as arms procurement lay the foundation for a European defense policy. Different economic, political, and military factors determine which countries are most important in the formation of a defense policy and which nations would only play a minor role. The U.S. could take several actions which would aid in the formation of a European defense policy. The concept of a defense policy evolving from economic and military cooperation is acceptable under neo-functional integration theory. While there are numerous plans for how this policy might develop, the key to the entire issue is in the European Council of the European Communities Heads of State. Any progress made toward a European defense policy through arms procurement cooperation will almost certainly begin with the council.

**0801 Unilateral U.S. Force Reduction in Western Europe: the Europeanization of Europe.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Edward N. Giddings. Jan. 1973. 47pp.*

The study examines the possible consequences of a sudden and significant unilateral withdrawal of U.S. forces from Western Europe in terms of options available to the European members of NATO should such a retrenchment occur. It explores the reasons for the U.S. stationing forces in Europe and the psychological impact and relationship of those forces to the alliance's defense strategy. It examines four courses of action that emerge as Western European alternatives to a precipitative reduction of the American on-scene commitment to the defense of Western Europe.

**0848 NATO in Strategic Perspective.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. William F. Burns. Feb. 1972. 131pp.*

The Atlantic Alliance was conceived as a politico-military organization to thwart perceived efforts on the part of the Soviet Union to gain hegemony in central and Western Europe. The paper traces the history of the alliance and its military operational entity, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It develops the strategic concepts used by NATO planners and discusses the critical points of decision from the Lisbon force level agreements to the present. It addresses the peculiar problems which confront NATO: Germany, France, burden sharing, control of nuclear weapons, and conventional force levels.

**0979 Soviet Motives for Conflict in Western Europe: Implications for NATO.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Leland A. Wilson. Mar. 1972. 26pp.*

From the basic Soviet aim to dominate Europe were derived Soviet European objectives to: retain control of Eastern Europe, remove American influence and presence from Europe, achieve dissolution of NATO and establish an all-European security pact under Soviet domination. The East and West are entering an era of negotiations leading hopefully to eventual détente in the face of eroding NATO power and expanding Soviet power. It is suggested that NATO maintain its deterrent power and refocus its organization and strategy from a military defensive philosophy to a political offensive strategy supported by all forms of power (economic, military, political, technological, etc.). A politically oriented NATO will be more able to achieve Western coherence in

the unity of planning and the maintenance of strength required to cope with the tough negotiations leading to détente.

## Reel III

### NATO—WESTERN EUROPE (Cont'd.)

0001 **A European Nuclear Force: Prospects and Utility.**

*Research Analysis Corp., McLean, Va. Paul C. Davis. Jan. 1973. 32pp.*

The study examines the feasibility of developing the French and United Kingdom strategic nuclear submarine forces into a coordinated European nuclear force. It considers feasibility in terms of political, strategic, and technical cooperation. It also evaluates the utility of such a force as an element of NATO and in terms of its potential contribution to U.S.-NATO force planning.

0033 **Territorial Defense in NATO and Non-NATO Europe.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Horst Mendershhausen. Feb. 1973. 110pp.*

Pressures working on defense structures of European NATO countries, particularly those of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), tend to favor a change to latent conscript forces oriented toward territorial defense on one hand, standing volunteer armies on the other. Political, financial, and military potentialities of a combination of such forces are discussed, and a detailed comparison is made of territorial defense concepts and forces, as well as civil defense preparations, for four countries—Switzerland and Yugoslavia (which do not participate in NATO's military integration) and Norway and France (which do so to a much lesser extent than the FRG).

0143 **Realistic Deterrence in NATO.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Andrew L. Coolley, Jr. May 1973. 111pp.*

NATO still lacks a military doctrine that is fully accepted by all the allies, and has failed to achieve a division of labor that might yield a viable conventional defense of Europe. The U.S. strategy of realistic deterrence has not solved this problem, but has offered one possible solution if combined force planning is investigated. The approach was to first analyze the strategy of realistic deterrence and that of NATO. A literature search method was used which focused on the unclassified material which accurately describes the two strategies. Criticisms by academic and military leaders were next analyzed.

0254 **A Political and Strategic Assessment of the U.S. Military Commitment to NATO.**

*Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. Jack Edward Owen. May 1973. 148pp.*

The increasing concern over the reduction of the U.S. forces permanently stationed in Europe was studied. The defenses of Europe are discussed in its historical and strategical value in length. The paper examines the defense interests of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the U.S. as well as U.S. commitment, responsibilities, balance of payment problems, and further the why and how of the possible American troop reduction without the isolationism of the U.S. The study evaluates America's proper role in NATO alliance and calls for a new direction of American foreign policy and strategy with respect to NATO.

- 0402 **NATO Military Policy: Obtaining Conventional Comparability with the Warsaw Pact.**  
*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Steven L. Canby. June 1973. 98pp.*  
 Contents: Hypotheses explaining NATO's military deficiencies; the strategy of flexible response; the Soviet military quandary: an inferior resource base; the short versus long war problem; force structure: its relationship to strategy and specific deployment areas; operating practices; consistency and cost effectiveness.
- 0500 **The NATO Proposed Plan for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. George P. Furlong. Nov. 1973. 24pp.*  
 Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) between NATO and the Warsaw Pact have emerged as one of the more crucial and complex security issues facing the alliance. Economic, political, and military factors vital to the overall security of the NATO Alliance are discussed.
- 0524 **Strategic Implications of Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions for NATO.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Frederick C. Bealke, Jr. Jan. 1974. 24pp.*  
 Mutual and balanced force reduction, the most complicated and intriguing of all arms control measures, is examined within the context of détente and the NATO strategy of flexible response. NATO and Warsaw Pact propositions are analyzed. A well-founded assumption of probable negotiation outcome is postulated. The strategic implications of MBFR for NATO are then discussed in this light.
- 0548 **The Eastern Mediterranean: Roadblock or Pathway to Soviet Expansion.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Bruce L. Hennessy. Jan. 1974. 24pp.*  
 The paper examines the strategic role of the Eastern Mediterranean in the defense of Europe. The region is defined as Greece, Turkey and the waters adjacent to them. Examination was made of the current Soviet threat and the U.S./NATO activities in the area.
- 0572 **U.S.—United Europe—1980s.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. James D. Chandler, and Kenneth L. Peek, Jr. May 1974. 106pp.*  
 Contents: The evolution of NATO strategy; the need for NATO; U.S. objectives in Western Europe; U.S. Western European policy environment; U.S. Western European anomalies (the Soviet threat, U.S. nuclear shield); a new Atlantic alliance; independent and credible European nuclear deterrent; MBFR; NATO's flanks—Northern Europe and Southern Europe; the interim period (1975-1980); short-term risks—political and military; proposals to minimize military risks; can Europe afford its own nuclear deterrent?
- 0678 **NATO's Southern Flank: A Strategic Agreement.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. George M. Baxter, William Biggar, Charlie L. Blalock, Carl W. Hance, and Roderic E. Ordway. May 1974. 154pp.*  
 The study conducts a critical evaluation of the southern flank members of NATO (Italy, Greece, and Turkey), to include the political, cultural, and economic stability of each, as well as the capability of their armed forces to contribute to the NATO mission, and within this context, to assess the NATO midrange strategy for the southern region. A brief assessment was also made of the entire Mediterranean littoral as well as other factors that might influence the midrange strategy, e.g., the Arab-Israeli conflict, MBFR, etc.
- 0832 **The Emerging Role of NATO in Maintaining Détente.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. James T. Bonsall. Oct. 1974. 19pp.*  
 The political climate in the U.S. and Western Europe still remains a determin-

ing factor in the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the stabilization of European security. Fundamental to U.S. national security is a stable and secure Western Europe. To foster such a climate requires the presence of U.S. military forces in substantial numbers to complement the forces of other member nations. The most obvious function of these forces is symbolic. They are a living reminder of America's continuing commitment to European security.

0851 **Energy Policies in the European Community.**

*International Research Group, Washington, D.C. W.H. Ferris, K.H. Jacobson, W. Klaiber, T.D. Nainan, and A. Sadun. Feb. 1975. 145pp.*

No abstract available.

## Reel IV

### NATO—WESTERN EUROPE (Cont'd.)

0001 **Soviet Options Toward NATO.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Robert F. Helms, D.E. Verde, II, and Jean M. Lisle. June 1975. 34pp.*

The paper addresses the question of strategic options open to the Soviets (in view of present NATO strategy) and what the NATO countermeasures should be. The authors first examine Soviet thought processes, as conditioned by ideology, capabilities and priorities, in an effort to enumerate Soviet options and likely areas of emphasis. The second part discusses one of these options in detail—Soviet use of subversive movements within the NATO nations as a means of achieving the Soviet design. In assessing the present subversive threat in Western Europe, particularly with recent developments in Portugal, Italy, Greece and Turkey, this study offers a timely warning of a very real Soviet threat.

0035 **Restructuring NATO Forces—Northern Tier.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Michael J. Woodcock. June 1975. 43pp.*

The purpose of the study was to determine the specific measures which should be undertaken to improve NATO with particular emphasis on restructuring NATO forces. This extensive study argues that NATO forces stationed in Europe are not deployed, organized, equipped and trained as the result of a rational examination of the capabilities of the Warsaw Pact. A candid appraisal of NATO members is offered with particular emphasis on degree of participation, readiness and combat effectiveness of forces and problem areas. Concluding that NATO has enough men and equipment, the study emphasizes the need for improvement in mobilization techniques and organization of reserves, reorganization of the defense, improved system of obstacles, extensive surveying of positions and standardization of tactics and equipment.

0078 **NATO, MBFR and Some Related Issues.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. June 1975. 87pp.*

This paper analyzes selected political, strategic, and tactical current issues confronting the NATO alliance. The first chapter deals with the background and issues surrounding Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR). It concludes with a presentation of some of the proposals that have been made for the defense of NATO with fewer men. Chapter 2 deals with the proposal that NATO adopt a "short war" strategy rather than a "long war" strategy. Chapter 3 deals with MBFR and SALT and the tactical nuclear weapons question and its

relationship to the long versus short war debate. Chapter 4 presents a discussion of the doctrine, tactics and force structure and their rationale, that one country—the Federal Republic of Germany—has adopted as part of her “short war” strategy.

- 0165 **Analysis of the Energy Resources and Demand of Western Europe.**  
*Science Applications Inc., McLean, Va. J.F. Schneider, K.D. Dance, R.C. Lind, R.B. Ryan, and A.R. Williams. July 1975. 242pp.*  
This report examines the future demand for energy of Western Europe through the year 1985. Particular attention is given to the impact of the tripling of the price of oil on total energy demand, demand for oil, and the development of competitive sources of energy in terms of increased domestic resources and alternate sources of supply to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The forecast energy demand by the consuming sector and the projected supplies by fuel of the EEC(9) are developed. Various geopolitical scenarios which could arise from the European energy situation are discussed. The potential for technology transfer from the U.S. is briefly examined.
- 0407 **West European Perceptions of NATO.**  
*Stanford Research Institute, Strategic Studies Center, Arlington, Va. Ronald C. Wakeford, and James E. Dornan, Jr. Nov. 1975. 98pp.*  
The study assesses West European perceptions concerning the utility of the NATO Alliance by reviewing the statements and positions of European political and military leaders, opinion polls, and other pertinent sources. Emphasis is placed on documenting perceptions of military, political and economical threats to the alliance, views on alternatives to NATO, and on the role of U.S. forces.
- 0505 **West European NATO Policies and Trends (a Background Study to “West European Perceptions of NATO”).**  
*Stanford Research Institute, Strategic Studies Center, Arlington, Va. Ronald C. Wakeford, and James E. Dornan, Jr. Nov. 1975. 96pp.*  
This volume contains background papers on the political, economic, and military trends in Western Europe that may influence perceptions of the Atlantic Alliance and tend to induce NATO policy formulation. The information in this report was used as input data, where appropriate, in the preparation of the study “West European Perceptions of NATO.”
- 0601 **NATO without U.S. Ground Troops: An Assessment.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Larry D. Krull. May 1976. 44pp.*  
Three roles that are played by U.S. ground troops in NATO are examined and discussed: contribution to the conventional balance, the evidence of commitment to Western European defense, and the unifying and stabilizing factor. The implications for NATO that emerge from a U.S. ground troops withdrawal are examined in the framework of those roles as well as some alternatives to the contribution of U.S. ground troops to those roles. The potential for return of France to the integrated command structure, possible participation by Spain, increased influence of the Federal Republic of Germany, the question of NATO leadership, and possible revision to NATO strategy are all addressed. The study is based on a search of unclassified literature. The conclusion is offered that NATO without U.S. ground troops would emerge with weakened leadership, altered strategy, and reduced confidence in its ability to deal with Eastern initiatives.
- 0645 **A New American Defensive Doctrine for Europe.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Harold C. Deutsch. May 1976. 32pp.*  
This memorandum surveys developments, notably in Southern Europe, which

demand a reassessment and possible restatement of U.S. commitments. Communist advances in the area and the growing emphasis on the strategic significance of Yugoslavia give a sense of urgency. The Soviet thrust westward in the Mediterranean represents one horn of a dual encircling movement, the northern opposite of which is furnished by a vast expansion of land, sea, and air bases in the Kola peninsula. There is much to argue for forceful restatement of American concerns and intentions regarding the eastern shores of the North Atlantic. There should be stress on the open-endedness of the American presence as well as on a determination to defend the domestic integrity of the NATO states against violent or unconstitutional procedures. Interest in the independence and integrity of Yugoslavia should be voiced to whatever extent the state of Western opinion may permit. As none of the earlier U.S. declarations of fundamental policy are adequate, it would be well to weave these points together on the occasion of a broad presidential statement, such as the inaugural address or first State of the Union message of a new president.

**0677 Outlook on Western Solidarity: Political Relations in the Atlantic Alliance System.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Horst Mendershausen. June 1976. 158pp.*

This is a report on the results of a study of the alliance system that waxes and wanes among the Western European countries and the U.S. The relationships among the Western allies are exhibited in historical perspective, looking forward from the early 1950s and backward from the 1970s. The central issue of the study is that of political solidarity among the states, the extent to which they have shown themselves motivated by similar or by diverse priorities in selected crisis situations and in institution building. The report especially notes the role of the European community as a framework coexisting with the Atlantic Alliance. The outlook for Western solidarity is presented in the form of a number of observations illustrating the many ways in which the individual countries respond to challenges, past and present.

**0835 A Report to Congress on U.S. Conventional Reinforcements for NATO.**

*Robert J. Murray, and Herbert C. Puscheck. June 1976. 73pp.*

The report describes U.S. military commitments to NATO, the Warsaw Pact threat to NATO, NATO defense strategy, U.S. forward deployed forces and plans for U.S. conventional reinforcement of NATO. The report analyzes current and projected U.S. deployment capabilities. It also includes a summary of current problems, recent initiatives and suggested areas of legislative assistance.

**0908 The Changing Roles for Theater Nuclear Forces.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Stanley D. Fair. Oct. 1976. 16pp.*

Strategic parity required NATO to rely to a greater degree than in the past on its conventional forces to deter and defend against conventional aggression and to depend more than previously upon its theater nuclear forces to deter and defend against the enemy's use of nuclear weapons in Europe. The implications of strategic parity suggest that the principal mission for NATO's theater nuclear forces should change in the future from maintaining a war-fighting capability to establishing a second-strike capability. This fundamental shift in posture can be achieved only if NATO's theater nuclear forces become less vulnerable than they are in their present configuration. The need for NATO to have a survivable second-strike nuclear capability might be satisfied with the formation of separate, overwatching, nuclear-only units, such as U.S. Army Missile Commands.

# Reel V

## NATO—WESTERN EUROPE (Cont'd.)

### 0001 **Petropolitics and the Atlantic Alliance.**

*National Defense University, Research Directorate, Washington, D.C. Joseph S. Szyliowicz, and Bard E. O'Neill. Nov. 1976. 25pp.*

More than three years have passed since the petroleum crisis of 1973 forced the U.S. to confront the multifaceted challenge posed by an impending imbalance between energy supply and demand. The crisis posed two special problems for the West regarding the linkage between energy and the security of the Free World. First, the recognition that military power is sustained by the economic strength of the alliance partners and, at present, is contingent upon an adequate supply of petroleum. The second centered around the danger that the greater dependence of the European states and Japan on imports of oil could lead to beggar-thy-neighbor competition and tend to undermine the cohesion of the Western alliance. The U.S. reaction to the latter issue is the subject of this first National Defense University monograph on national security affairs. In it, Professors Szyliowicz and O'Neill have reviewed the interaction between the U.S. and its allies. They have described short- and long-term effects of the crisis on American-European relations and suggested several factors to account for changes which occurred.

### 0026 **Europe's Changing Energy Relations.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Horst Mendershausen. Dec. 1976. 119pp.*

In considering Western Europe's changing energy relations, this report projects likely changes and examines current developments in the energy structures of OECD-Europe and the U.S., and discusses international political, economic, and security issues related to these developments and to possible emergency disruptions of international oil supply. By 1985 OECD-Europe will probably use relatively less electricity and natural gas. The U.S. will probably use relatively more coal and nuclear electricity, relatively less natural gas, and about the same proportion of oil. The two areas' degrees of dependence on imported oil appear to be converging—Europe's remaining, however, distinctly higher. Oil will remain by far the largest single source of energy in both areas, and the "swing fuel." Assuring an uninterrupted flow of oil by diplomatic and military means will become to a greater extent a matter of U.S. economic self-interest.

### 0145 **Can NATO Cope with Force Reductions in Europe?**

*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Dennis S. Langley, Edward McKenney, and Donald Ullmann. 1976. 241pp.*

An analysis of the likelihood and resultant effects of force reductions in Europe on the military capabilities and vulnerabilities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This study traces political, sociological and economic conditions in the U.S. and Europe which have fostered a climate conducive to consideration of mutual reduction of military forces in Europe. American willingness to participate in the Soviet-sponsored Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is the primary impetus for the Soviet and Eastern bloc's decision to enter into formal negotiations concerning Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR). This paper finds that reductions of NATO and Warsaw Pact military forces will likely occur and that such reductions will take place in the context of a Mutual Force Reduction Agreement. The study concludes that these reductions will have considerable impact on Allied Command Europe and that changes in that organization are required to minimize the effects of such reductions and to maintain existing military and political stability in Europe.

- 0386 **NATO Defense Posture in an Environment of Strategic Parity and Precision Weaponry.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Robert Kennedy. Dec. 1976. 23pp.*  
 The advent of a rough strategic and theater nuclear parity and the continued buildup of Warsaw Pact conventional capabilities have resulted in new perceptions concerning the balance of arms in central Europe. This memorandum considers two schools of thought which have gained prominence in their attempts to forge a more credible defense posture for NATO: those who support a conventional-emphasis strategy; and those who contend that a policy which emphasizes the early use of nuclear weapons can provide the only sound basis for credible deterrence and effective defense in Western Europe.
- 0409 **The Contribution of Tactical Airpower in Countering a Blitz: European Perceptions.**  
*Technology Service Corp., Silver Spring, Md. Steven L. Canby. May 1977. 51pp.*  
 This report is the second in a series articulating European air force positions on various tactical airpower issues, juxtaposing them with those of the U.S. Air Force. The first report dealt with comparative command and control and operational doctrine. The present report deals with the broader theme of the contribution of airpower in armored warfare. The belief underlying these studies was that the European position had neither been understood nor given enough attention in this country. The Europeans have worked out an approach to tactical air power which, while possibly inappropriate for the USAF, may nevertheless be cheaper and more effective than our own for application in Europe.
- 0460 **An Assessment of Soviet Forces Facing NATO—The Central Region—and Suggested NATO Initiatives.**  
*Santa Fe Corp., Alexandria, Va. J.V. Braddock, and N.F. Wikner. Sept. 1977. 85pp.*  
 This paper presents an assessment of the Soviet-Warsaw Pact forces in the central region (i.e., German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia) facing the NATO forces. Emphasis is on the improvements made in Soviet ground and air forces during the past ten years. The discussion is qualitative and quantitative, and includes changes in organization, with the emphasis being on trends. As appropriate, comparisons are given between forces of the Soviet Union and the U.S. and of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in the central front area. Although there has been a limited change in the number of Soviet divisions assigned to the central region, there has been a significant increase in nondivisional troops. Similarly, there have been major qualitative improvements in Soviet division equipment and weapons and in the additional nondivisional units that are not readily apparent in most comparative efforts. This assessment has provided a vehicle for focusing attention on improvements in NATO organization and operations, and on those existing and future technologies that can make a significant contribution to improving the combat potential of U.S. and NATO forces on the central front.
- 0545 **Relationships Between U.S. and NATO Military Command Structures—Need for Closer Integration.**  
*General Accounting Office, Logistics and Communications Div., Washington, D.C. Oct. 1977. 67pp.*  
 The report is the unclassified version of GAO's secret report LCD-77-419, dated August 26, 1977. It discusses U.S. participation in two command structures in Europe—its own and NATO's Allied Command, Europe. These command structures are similarly organized and have basically the same overall mission—to provide a combat ready force to deter aggression from the



Warsaw Pact. The report describes problems with transitioning from a peacetime to a wartime posture, and management layering within and between U.S. and NATO commands—areas where there are potentials for realigning, eliminating, or substantially reducing the size of the U.S. command structure and thereby making it more responsive to its prime purpose for being in Europe. Alternatives for achieving closer integration between the U.S. and NATO command structures are identified.

**0612 Mineral Industries of Western Europe.**

*Bureau of Mines, USDI, Washington, D.C. William F. Keyes, et al. Oct. 1977. 61pp.*

This Bureau of Mines report presents a summary of the mineral industries of 19 countries in Western Europe. Included are the nine members of the European community, the seven members of the European Free Trade Association, and three additional countries. Base maps show mineral deposit and mineral processing plant locations for each country. An additional map and photographs on mines, plants, and industries are included. A summary review describes the relative importance of the region as a mineral producer, consumer, importer, and exporter.

**0673 Defending NATO-Europe. Forward Defense and Nuclear Strategy.**

*Hudson Institute, Inc., Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y. Colin S. Gray. Nov. 1977. 57pp.*

This study assesses the roles of nuclear posture and doctrine in relation to forward defense of NATO-Europe, examining the necessity for this forward defense in detail. The current issue of a surprise attack on NATO-center is discussed, and the report also examines what is known concerning Soviet posture and doctrine vis-à-vis central Europe, including theater nuclear options.

**0730 An Assessment of European Attitudes on Tactical Nuclear Force Modernization. Volume I. Executive Summary.**

*Sri International, Strategic Studies Center, Arlington, Va. James E. Dornan, Jr. Dec. 1977. 14pp.*

This report analyzes existing views in Europe, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, toward tactical nuclear weapons. It also assesses possible reactions in Europe toward the modernization of NATO's tactical nuclear force, especially through the introduction of high-accuracy, tailored-effects weapons with the potential for increasing military effectiveness while substantially reducing collateral damage in the event of war. Finally there is a discussion of ways in which European opinion might be made more receptive to tactical nuclear force modernization.

**0744 An Assessment of European Attitudes on Tactical Nuclear Force Modernization. Volume II. Main Study.**

*Sri International, Strategic Studies Center, Arlington, Va. James E. Dornan, Jr. Dec. 1977. 79pp.*

This report analyzes existing views in Europe, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, toward tactical nuclear weapons. It assesses possible reactions in Europe toward the modernization of NATO's tactical nuclear force, especially through the introduction of high-accuracy, tailored-effects weapons with the potential for increasing military effectiveness while substantially reducing collateral damage in the event of war. It also discusses ways in which European opinion might be made more receptive to tactical nuclear force modernization.

- 0823 **Short (and Long) War Responses: Restructuring, Border Defense, and Reserve Mobilization for Armored Warfare.**  
*Technology Service Corp., Silver Spring, Md. Steven L. Canby. Mar. 1978. 118pp.*

Contents: the Political Problem of Divergent Interests and Perceptions of the Military Balance; the Military Problem of Operational Concept and Organization; Countering the Surprise Attack—A Critique; New Approaches for Countering Surprise; Territorial Defense: Countering Surprise and Obtaining Border and In-Depth Defense; Organizing for Armored Warfare and Operational Reserves; Deriving Militarily Robust and Politically Satisfactory Solutions.

## Reel VI

### NATO—WESTERN EUROPE (Cont'd.)

- 0001 **The Neutron Weapon and NATO Strategy.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. John F. Scott. May 1978. 11pp.*

The neutron or enhanced radiation weapon can be seen as an improvement to NATO capabilities to carry out its strategy or a technical premise for changing that strategy. Proponents of change have ignored the connectedness of all elements of theater nuclear and conventional forces for deterrence, and intra-war deterrence defense. The neutron weapon can be valuable for improving some components of strategy but cannot solve all of NATO's strategic problems.

- 0012 **The 1973 War: Implications for U.S. Army Forces in NATO.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Philmon A. Erickson, Jr. June 1978. 175pp.*

This thesis examines the origins of the 1973 Middle East war from a military perspective. It traces the development of the Israeli Defense Force doctrine and organization through the wars preceding that of 1973. The effects of certain political and military decisions on the ability of Israeli forces to successfully meet an Arab attack are evaluated. The central region of NATO is then compared to the conditions surrounding the 1973 war in an attempt to identify any areas of similarity. It concludes that Israeli forces were unprepared for the attack launched in October 1973 due to faulty assumptions regarding the conditions necessary for an Arab attack. Due to the numerous fundamental differences between the Middle East and central Europe, any attempts to apply tactical lessons learned from a war in one region to the other must be done with caution. The major finding is that U.S. forces must prepare for a Warsaw Pact attack based on the enemy's capabilities, without regard to preconceived ideas as to the enemy's intentions.

- 0187 **Strategic Nuclear Parity and NATO Defense Doctrine.**

*National Defense University, Research Directorate, Washington, D.C. Raymond E. Burrell. July 1978. 38pp.*

In his concisely written analysis, Burrell investigates the evolution of NATO's defense strategy as it responds to changes in the U.S.-Soviet nuclear relationship. The rise of the Soviet Union to strategic parity has been the underlying cause of the fundamental reformulations of NATO doctrine over the past 25 years. The monograph describes the movement of the defense doctrine of the Western Alliance as it changed from massive retaliation during the Eisenhower-Dulles period in the 1950s, to flexible response in the 1960s, to the current debate over deterrence and defense through conventional and tactical nuclear capability. Students of NATO doctrine will find an extensive

list of books and articles dealing with the evolution of NATO's defense strategy in the endnotes section.

**0225 Bargaining within and between Alliances on MBFR.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. P. Terrence Hopmann. July 1978. 45pp.*

Negotiations on Mutual Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in central Europe opened in Vienna on October 30, 1973. In these negotiations, members of the two major military alliances of the post-World War II period, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, have sought to reduce their military forces in central Europe. The central objective of these negotiations is to establish a stable military balance in central Europe and to reduce defense costs for all participants. This paper assesses these negotiations during their first four years, and evaluates prospects for agreement. Special emphasis is placed on the multi-lateral character of these negotiations, particularly on the simultaneous process of conducting negotiations both within and between alliances.

**0270 U.S. Military Equipment Prepositioned in Europe—Significant Improvements Made But Some Problems Remain.**

*General Accounting Office, Logistics and Communications Division, Washington, D.C. Dec. 1978. 56pp.*

The army stores large quantities of equipment in Europe for use in an emergency by troops deployed from the U.S. by air. The equipment is stored under a concept referred to as "prepositioned equipment configured to unit sets." Each U.S.-based unit's equipment is to be stored as a set at the particular site to which the unit would deploy. Four different projects, including equipment for three divisions and related support units, are involved in the program. As of July 1978, the value of equipment authorized for storage was slightly over \$1 billion. GAO has reviewed the prepositioned equipment in Europe programs three times in recent years, and this report shows that the army has made progress in overcoming earlier problems. Shortages of prepositioned equipment have been reduced and other improvements achieved, but some shortages still exist.

**0326 Transatlantic Cooperation in Developing Weapons Systems for NATO—a European Perspective.**

*General Accounting Office, Procurement and Systems Acquisition Div., Washington, D.C. March 1979. 59pp.*

Multinational collaboration in developing weapons systems for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is already a reality in Western Europe. Few attempted codevelopment efforts involving the U.S. have been successful. The U.S. should prepare for the day when weapons systems codevelopment programs with members of the alliance will become more prevalent. More flexibility in U.S. policies and procurement practices may be needed for such joint ventures to succeed.

**0385 NATO in 2000.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Joseph L. Sites. Jan. 1980. 14pp.*

NATO's continued existence in its present form into the 21st century will depend on developments in a number of areas. By highlighting these areas of concern, this paper indicates measures which should be taken to shape our future role in the alliance. NATO's existence has been based on the preservation of Western institutions and the provision of national security. These interests provide the foundation for NATO. However, a number of current issues and interests will have a bearing on the direction NATO takes in the future. Some of these are the strategy to provide European security; the perceived threat; Euro-communism; energy; separatism; terrorism; arms control; the Greece-Turkey problem; and member nations' economies. These

issues will affect the perceived need for the alliance and the ability of its members to support NATO into the next century. From them, a basis for an alternative to NATO may emerge.

**0399 Defense Manpower Policies in Northern and Central European NATO.**

*RAND Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Ragnhild Sohlberg. Feb. 1980. 34pp.*

This note provides a brief overview of policies and practices as observed in seven European NATO countries: Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), France, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom. This survey of manpower force mixes (active/reserve, conscript-/volunteer) and utilization policies shows that national differences tend to be reasonable responses to local conditions that are not easily altered. The observed differences in manpower procurement and utilization policies also raise doubts about how to sum the NATO parts and about the meaning attached to NATO/Warsaw Pact comparisons as they are usually presented. Current manpower procurement policies tend to reflect traditions, but the use of conscripts has adapted to military and nonmilitary changes in the environment since World War II. Some of the adjustments reflect civilian sector developments, and others reflect military developments.

**0433 Analysis of Ground Force Structure on NATO's Northern Flank.**

*RAND Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Ragnhild Sohlberg. Feb. 1980. 37pp.*

Differences in approaches to defense planning in NATO-Europe resulting in qualitative differences in force structures are examined. It focuses on the Danish and Norwegian ground forces because the two forces' structures are sufficiently different to demonstrate the analytic framework and the need to look more closely at qualitative differences. This note attempts to deal with such questions as: What are the conscripts and the reserves used for? How do these groups fit into the force structure? In what types of units are the conscripts trained? How does this relate to reserve functions? What is the difference between the peacetime and wartime force structures of the two countries? An initial section describes the historical, political, social, geographic, and other factors that defense planners must take into consideration. An understanding of these national factors is required to assess current national policies or evaluate alternative policies.

**0470 Nine Days to Oder: An Alternate NATO Strategy for Central Region, Europe.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Philip W. Handley, Aadu Karemaa, and Ronald A. Roberge. June 1980. 193pp.*

The basic question is whether it is possible to develop an alternate NATO strategy in central region, Europe that will lead to the decisive defeat of pact forces without the use of nuclear weapons. The study examines the strategic objectives of the Soviet Union in Western Europe, develops a scenario for the achievement of these objectives in the year 1983, and then examines the vulnerabilities of the pact positions, deployment and operational tactics. The study concludes that the pact flanks are assailable and then proceeds to develop a nine-day combined ground, air and naval campaign that will destroy the first and second echelon forces in Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany. In addition to the organization, combined arms operations and ground logistics associated with the proposed campaign, current force and equipment shortages are identified together with their incremental costs. The study concludes that a pact attack in 1983 can be defeated if certain changes are made in the numbers, organization and disposition of U.S. forces. The identified incremental costs involve a 2.8 to 3.5 percent increase in the Department of Defense budgets for FY 1981 through 1983.

## BELGIUM

0663 **White Paper on Belgium's National Defense, 1977.**

*Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Va. Paul Vanden Boeynants. July 1977. 99pp.*

The report contains information and particulars on the defense policy pursued by Belgium civil and military authorities, and an objective accounting of reforms initiated and status of armed forces to date.

0762 **The Belgian Navy.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Thomas R. Mooney. March 1979. 190pp.*

The U.S. Navy no longer possesses the number of ships required to execute all its responsibilities under existing military security agreements. Therefore, the assets and capabilities of America's smaller naval allies could weigh heavily in the balance determining the success or failure of an East-West confrontation. Unfortunately, the bulk of knowledge comprising Western naval literature lacks the detailed information on small navies which is necessary to evaluate their ability to make a meaningful contribution to NATO. Through a descriptive analysis of the Belgian Navy, this paper attempts to show that a small navy can make a significant contribution to the allied naval effort. In addition, this thesis is submitted as a contribution to the body of Western naval literature by presenting in English a comprehensive description of the Belgian Navy heretofore available only in Dutch and French language sources.

## Reel VII

## FRANCE

0001 **The French Weapon Acquisition Process.**

*Army Foreign Science and Technology Center, Charlottesville, Va. James W. Sterling. June 1974. 63pp.*

The characteristics of the French weapon acquisition process reflect the national policy of self-sufficiency in defense matters, severe resource constraints, limited domestic weapons market, and the unique characteristics of the French political and industrial system. The study describes the organization and activities of the Delegation Ministerielle Pour l'Armement (DMA), the centralized organization formed to consolidate all weapon procurement activities of the three services. A detailed weapon life cycle model is provided which depicts the methods used to generate pragmatic requirements and reduce uncertainty and costs while producing responsive weapon development programs. An analysis of DMA in-house activities as well as the general characteristics of the defense industry is presented. Government consolidation of the French defense industry (to reduce duplication) is shown to have virtually eliminated competition other than that experienced in international weapons sales. Firm government (i.e., DMA) control of all defense activities (in-house, nationalized, and private) is noted.

0064 **The De Gaulle Logic.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Ivan F. Smith. October 1974. 19pp.* The essay explores the French attitude toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the U.S. This is done by focusing on Charles De Gaulle's personality and leadership. Research methods included a search of prominent newspaper and magazine articles of the time span involved, along with a study of books and De Gaulle's own writings and speeches. The author concludes that the motives of France were in actuality De Gaulle's. Although a

personal grudge on the part of De Gaulle could become suspect, a more plausible explanation for his actions is that De Gaulle pressed his own personal feelings on destiny upon France because he felt such a strong sense of devotion to restoring her honor and status as a world power. Pulling France out of NATO was only one step in this restoration.

- 0083 **A New Look at France: U.S. Defense Interests in a Changing Environment.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Kenneth E. Roberts. Nov. 1977. 17pp.*

This memorandum considers the rapid political and economic changes in France which could fundamentally affect NATO and relationships with the U.S. Recent polls have indicated increased support for a leftist coalition, while at the same time a new phase of French politics is developing with the coalescence of the anti-Left Gaullist bloc into a mass movement behind former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac. Attention is being focused on parliamentary elections in 1978 and the presidential election for 1981. The author concludes that, whatever the course of events, U.S. policy should be to prevent France from becoming anti-American and moving closer to the Soviet Union, and to support the preservation of democratic principles through economic and diplomatic policies.

- 0100 **The French Left and Defense Policy.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Mary Elizabeth Walsh. Dec. 1977. 268pp.*

This study reviews the historical development of the Socialist and Communist movements in France, focusing specifically on the origins and evolution of their attitudes regarding problems of national security and defense. There is an investigation of the philosophical, social, economic and political conditions which gave birth to socialism in modern (i.e., postrevolutionary) France. This study attempts to illuminate the differences, as well as the similarities between the Socialist and Communist parties, the two main branches of the French Left. This study also demonstrates the difficulty experienced by the two parties in reconciling their theoretical ideals with contemporary practical exigencies. During the 20th century, the French Socialists and Communists have already collaborated in two predominantly leftist governments. This study reviews the defense decisions made by the leftist ministers of those governments and the defense plans elaborated by past and present party leaders of the French Left.

## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

- 0368 **The Bundeswehr in NATO—A Changing Role.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. David S. Meredith, III. March 1971. 65pp.*

The recent emergence of Ostpolitik—the policy of resuming relations with the countries of the Eastern bloc—as a basic element of German foreign policy has raised questions about the future of the Bundeswehr in NATO. Will the Germans continue to support NATO? What is the status and effectiveness of the German army in its NATO role? What will be the future of the German army in NATO? The study examines these questions through the use of current and historical source publications and personal experience of the author while serving with the German army.

- 0433 **Brandt's Ostpolitik: Romanian and Polish Responses.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. James E. Bradshaw. March 1971. 100pp.*

Contents: Ostpolitik: the European setting; Ostpolitik: the German setting;

Romania: the stubborn satellite; Poland: the cooperative satellite; Berlin: testing place for Ostpolitik; prospects for Ostpolitik.

- 0533 **The Citizen-Army Concept in Germany: Political-Military Implications.**  
*Stanford Research Institute, Strategic Studies Center, Arlington, Va. Jon L. Lellenberg. April 1974. 61pp.*

The paper presents an analysis of the political-military implications for a possible application of the citizen-army concept by the Federal Republic of Germany. Pressures leading to proposed force structure reforms of the Bundeswehr are viewed, and the suitability of various national modes of the citizen-army concept are examined with reference to West German requirements and constraints. The contribution of both the German Territorial Army and a territorial defense force to NATO's capacity for deterrence and defense is analyzed, and the political liabilities and assets of such force development are delineated and discussed.

- 0594 **The West German Territorial Army in Support of NATO.**  
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. June 1975. 40pp.*

The study concludes: (1) That NATO and FRG should agree upon an expanded tactical role for Territorial Army (TA) units in the forward defense area; (2) that the staffs of NATO forward deployed forces and FRG TA forces in the rear combat zone (RCZ) should authorize a special staff position for TA unit commanders or NATO unit commanders, respectively, to insure proper employment of units within their assigned areas; (3) that joint training between NATO and TA units should emphasize tactical employment and the requirement to provide additional combat support units to the TA; (4) that NATO commanders should be made aware of the roles of the TA, its capabilities and limitations, by all information means available; and (5) that NATO war plans should be reviewed with the purpose of shifting rear area security missions within the forward defense force area to suitable TA units wherever and whenever feasible.

## GREECE

- 0634 **Army Roles, Missions, and Doctrine in Low Intensity Conflict (ARMLIC). Pre-conflict Case Study 4. Greece.**  
*Operations Research, Inc., Silver Spring, Md. March 1970. 277pp.*

The main factors conducive to conflict, as they emerge from the study of the preconflict period (1923-46) in Greece, were the violence and extreme hardship resulting from World War II; political polarization between Liberals and Conservatives, symbolized by the controversy over republic versus monarchy; cultural factors tending to engender suspicion, rivalry, and the quest for status; the weakened state of the armed forces and security forces at the end of World War II; and Communist organization and influence.

## Reel VIII

### GREECE (Cont'd.)

- 0001 **Paramilitary Forces in Greece, 1946-1949.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. William R. Needham. Feb. 1971. 66pp.*

The study examines the role and value of paramilitary forces in Greece during the civil war between 1946 and 1949. The organization, equipment, training,

and techniques of both the insurgent and Greek government paramilitary forces are described and analyzed.

0067 **The Role of the Greek Police During the Conflict of 1946-49.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Jack C. Davis. March 1971. 65pp.*  
The study examines the Greek police functions during the 1946-49 guerrilla activities. The background of the guerrilla war was reviewed by reference to a preconflict study done by IAS. The loyalty of the police, as well as other power elements in Greece, was the major factor in the Communist forces losing the war. A series of Communist errors, timely U.S. aid, and concentration of authority were also important factors in defeating the guerrillas. The reasons that the Communists were able to surface and conduct open warfare were found to be the same as those identified in other areas of the world.

0132 **The Communist Army of Greece, 1947-1949: A Study of Its Failure.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Thomas A. Haase. June 1976. 144pp.*

This research project is designed to examine the empirical evidence available to date concerning the reasons for the defeat of the Communist army of Greece in 1949. This work is the result of this author's endeavor to understand and evaluate why the Communist insurgency failed in Greece. This failure is specifically addressed herein to determine whether the Communist defeat was the result of military action or political turmoil within the Communist party of Greece. In order to answer this question, the study provides an historical interpretation of all the significant events during the existence of the party from 1919 to 1949. Investigation reveals that the Greek Communist party strategically lost the war when the Central Committee reintroduced the question of the creation of an independent Macedonia as part of the party's objectives. On the military side of the problem, the decision by the Communists to switch from subconventional to conventional warfare was the most serious mistake made. This change of policy predicated on the existence of a large popular base from which to operate. This study demonstrates that there was no large popular base.

0276 **Greece and the European Economic Community.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Frederick W. Butler. Dec. 1978. 257pp.*

This work offers the major hypothesis that political stability is directly related to economic stability in Greece and then investigates whether Greece's accession to the European Economic Community will provide the economic prerequisites necessary for equilibrium. The study traces Greek economic development through three eras: the pre Junta period of Karamanlis influence, the seven years of dictatorship by the colonels, and the New Democracy period from July 1974 on. It investigates the existing relationships between Greece and the EEC by discussing their historical ties and the advantages, disadvantages, and political implications of accession. Finally, it analyzes several factors crucial to Greece's economic welfare by determining each factor's movement, by weighting each factor with respect to economic development and EEC accession, and by comparing the weighted results. The work suggests from the results of this comparison that accession to the EEC will enhance Greece's economic stability.

## ICELAND

0533 **Iceland—Troubled Ally.**

*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Neil F. O'Connor. May 1974. 65pp.*

This report is a background study of Iceland which illustrates the various



physical and economic difficulties it faces. The paper uses various comparisons to describe the environmental, political and economic shortcomings of the country. The history of the "Cod Fish Wars" and the U.S. military presence on the island are briefly traced, and the political implications of these two issues are addressed. The paper concludes that most of the problems of Iceland are a function of her geographical position and physical environment.

## ITALY

- 0598 **The Two Faces of Italian Communism: The Seizure of Power by Tactics of Accommodation and the Calculated Destruction of Liberal Democracy by Revolutionary Transformation of Society.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Richard Eric Coe. June 1977. 277pp.*

This study was conducted to establish a strong analytical basis for decision making with respect to the Italian Communist party. In order to fulfill this requirement, the unique characteristics and organizational structure of the party as well as personality traits of the leadership were analyzed. The research was enhanced by interviews with numerous government officials in both the military and civilian sectors of the U.S. government in Washington. The staff of the Hoover Institution on War and Peace contributed immeasurable help to the background research. The evidence resulting from this study clearly indicates that there are definable characteristics of the Italian Communist party which can be used to form the contextual basis for scenario-building and decision making. The primary conclusion is that, in spite of its complex goals and tactics, the Italian Communist Party is more bound to the ideals of communism than to the principles of Western liberal democracy.

- 0875 **The Strategic Implications of Potential PCI Participation in the Government of Italy.**

*Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, Washington, D.C. Edward N. Luttwak, and Simon Serfaty. June 1977. 79pp.*

These seminar papers focus on the potential implications for U.S. and NATO of formal PCI (Italian Communist Party) participation in the Italian government. They provide an analysis of the current Italian political climate, explore the potential directions of PCI policy, and examine the options available to the U.S. and NATO if and when this occurs. As the West's most stable ally in southern Europe, Italy is a vital geographic key to the security of the Mediterranean. Changes in Italian foreign policy would disrupt the regional power balance and present serious implications for the global balance as well. The papers conclude that the PCI would continue to be "all things to all people" initially and pursue policies favorable to "Italian national interests," avoiding abrupt changes. The nature of the PCI, however, will necessarily raise serious questions about the wisdom of future Italian participation in NATO. Several assessments were made. First, the U.S. would be wise to move slowly and cautiously at first. Second, NATO must initially have to try to accommodate to the changing circumstances of Italian membership. Finally, it was agreed that an Italian government led by a PCI in coalition with traditional democratic parties could feasibly remain a member of NATO in an international environment modified by détente.

## Reel IX

### ITALY (Cont'd.)

- 0001 **Contemporary Italian Terrorism: Analysis and Countermeasures.**

*Law Library, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Vittoriofranco S. Pisano. 1979. 187pp.*

Current Italian terrorism, whose most menacing manifestations derive from groups that profess to be acting in the name of communism, has been attributed to diverse roots. To some, it is a phenomenon that is self-contained and self-supporting. To others, it is sponsored by the "forces of reaction" that include not only local neo-Fascists but agents of Western powers as well. To yet others, East European patron states are behind Italy's terrorist bands. This last hypothesis is partially built upon recurring evidence of clandestine operations conducted in Italy since 1945 by the intelligence services of the Soviet Union and its East European satellites. The mounting intensification of Italy's various terrorist actions has heightened the demand for more effective enforcement of existing legislative, judicial, and police countermeasures and for adequate intelligence collection on all matters relating to terrorism. Of currently available technical measures, intelligence collection is perceived as being the least efficient because of operational drawbacks resulting from the 1977 reform of the intelligence and security services and because of continuing political exploitation of certain deviations within those services prior to the reform. The study therefore endeavors to examine contemporary Italian terrorism through the end of 1978 and dedicates particular attention to the role of Italian intelligence before and after the reform of 1977.

## UNITED KINGDOM

- 0188 **Ulster, Some Causes and Effects of Low Intensity Operations, 1969-1972.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Elisha Thorpe Mealing. Dec. 1972. 25pp.*  
The questions addressed relate to the causes of conflict in Ulster, the United Kingdom Province of Northern Ireland, and of the effects of British troops there in peace-keeping operations from 1969 through 1972. Data was gathered from interviews with operations observers, from a literature search, and from monitoring news releases. The viewpoints of people interviewed were developed from published data.
- 0213 **Anglo-French Nuclear Cooperation: Prospects and Possible Strategic Impacts.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. John B. Oblinger. Feb. 1973. 38pp.*  
The purpose is to assess the prospects for Anglo-French nuclear cooperation and to examine its possible strategic impacts. Data were gathered through a literature search and evaluated against a broad background of strategic positions. Strategic nuclear programs of Britain and France are outlined briefly, followed by a discussion of reasons why each chose to be a nuclear nation. Strengths and weaknesses are presented to develop areas where cooperation may be mutually beneficial. Economic, political and strategic military advantages as well as obstacles to cooperation are argued. Several forms of cooperation in both technical and operational areas are presented and evaluated. The attitudes of European NATO nations, the USSR, and the U.S. concerning the Anglo-French cooperation are examined.
- 0251 **The United Kingdom and Changing Concepts of Worldwide Responsibilities.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Sabe M. Kennedy. Nov. 1973. 55pp.*  
The central theme of the study was the unwelcome and perhaps inevitable review by Britain of her role in the world brought on by the rising costs of being a world power, economic difficulties at home, the emergence of independence of most segments of the empire, and the increased importance of Western Europe in British security measures and policies. The facts of scaling down and realigning of military forces along with the official interpretations thereof were studied in the defense estimates. The nuances and variances in the legislative aspects of changing the British role were gleaned from the parliamentary debates.

- 0306 **The United Kingdom's Development of Its North Sea Oil and Gas Reserves: Departments of State and Interior.**  
*International Division, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Sept. 1977. 60pp.*

This report examines the United Kingdom's development of its North Sea oil and gas reserves as an information base for considering pending legislation amending the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

## NEUTRAL/NONALIGNED FINLAND

- 0366 **Living in the Shadow of Moscow.**  
*Strategic Studies Center, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif. Joseph Godson. Aug. 1974. 40pp.*

The study examines the constraints placed on Finland by the Soviet Union. The impact of Soviet domination on Finnish political, economic, military, and cultural affairs is discussed.

- 0406 **Soviet-Finnish Relations: Finlandization or Fraternization.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Paul Henry Nelson. June 1980. 121pp.*

This thesis examines Soviet-Finnish relations with the purpose of determining exactly what Finland's position is with respect to the Soviet Union and the degree to which the Finns have maintained their autonomy. An analysis of Finnish security with respect to Scandinavian NATO members as well as towards neutral Sweden and the Soviet Union is drawn, together with Finland's domestic situation, to portray a nation whose position is considerably different from what it is commonly perceived to be. Accordingly, the term Finlandization and what it actually means is determined. Finally, the potential of the Finnish approach to dealing with the Soviet Union is posed as a model for other small powers to follow in dealing with a superpower.

## SPAIN

- 0527 **Spain and NATO.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Thomas F. Dreisonstok. March 1971. 56pp.*

The paper investigates the question whether Spain should be admitted into NATO. An alternate proposal to NATO would be some sort of Mediterranean pact consisting of the U.S., Great Britain, France, Italy, Turkey, Greece, and Spain. Documentation of this paper is based on available primary sources, selected periodicals, and statements of recognized foreign authors as well as American authors. It is concluded that the defense of Europe is more important than ideological dislikes and that Spain should be brought into NATO. The U.S. and other member nations who favor Spain's admittance should devise methods and means to have her accepted.

- 0583 **The Integration of Spain into Europe and Its Effect on American Military Presence in Spain.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Gale Arnold Ruskosky. March 1975. 129pp.*

Beginning with the Pact of Madrid in 1953 and continuing with the Agreement for Mutual Cooperation in 1970, Spain and the U.S. moved to a bilateral mutually beneficial relationship. The basic exchange has been American military and economic aid in return for Spanish permission to maintain American forces at four bases in Spain. While the U.S. retains a strong influence on

Spanish foreign policy, there are increasingly important relationships between Spain and Europe and with the Arab world. These latter two relationships, and in particular the European link, have caused Spain to begin to shift some of its present dependence from the U.S. to Europe in order to better realize its goals, i.e., economic prosperity, international equality, security, stability, the accession of Gibraltar, and protection of its place in the Sahara. Therefore, even if the U.S. seeks to maintain its military presence in Spain, the Franco or post-Franco government will promote the integration of Spain into Europe. This will probably mean decreased American influence on Spanish policy and an uncertain prospect for American bases in Spain.

0712 **NATO: The Spanish Connection. Spain and NATO in the 1970s.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Raymond P. Singer. Nov. 1975. 31pp.*

The absence of Spain from NATO has been detrimental to the best interests of the U.S., the alliance, and Spain. While European opposition to the admission of Spain has been based on long-standing historical, economic, and religious issues, the dominant factor has been animosity toward one man—General Francisco Franco. Analysis of the problem of Spain's entry into NATO has been focused on the 1970s. Research has been balanced, to the extent possible, between investigation in U.S. and European sources.

0743 **The Spanish Communist Party: A Eurocommunist Enigma.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Craig Arnold McElroy. Sept. 1978. 156pp.*

This study reviews the historical development of the Spanish Communist party, describing its role during the Spanish Civil War and its opposition to the autocratic Franco regime which followed. The study also analyzes the party's role in the domestic politics of emerging, post-Franco Spain as well as its role in the developing contemporary phenomenon called Eurocommunism. Employing a levels of analysis model as an analytical framework, the study concludes that the Spanish Communist party has, in its short period of legal existence, begun to demonstrate that it is a viable and dynamic force, both in Spanish politics and the international Communist movement, of which policy-makers in both arenas should take serious notice.

## Reel X

### SPAIN (Cont'd.)

0001 **Military Relationships between Spain and the U.S. Since 1953.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio. James T. Roberts, and Edwin P. Ruhmann, IV. June 1979. 145pp.*

This thesis provides a synthesis of U.S.-Spanish military relationships since 1953. Each major military agreement is identified and the provisions of each are given. The results of these agreements on Spain's economy, internal politics, and military posture are examined from the U.S. point of view. The Pact of Madrid of 1953 and its five-year extension in 1963, the renegotiated pact in 1970, and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1976 are all examined. Public and Congressional opinion in the U.S. towards the agreements is examined, and the reasons why each of these accords was desired by both the U.S. and Spain are given. The provisions of each of the agreements is presented, followed by an analysis of the results achieved through the accords. Current U.S. political, economic and military interests in Spain are identified, with particular attention given to the military interest. The authors offer conclusions and recommend further study.

## SWEDEN

0146 **Nordic Balance: Sweden, a Case Study.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Albert Leo Romaneski. Oct. 1970. 34pp.*

A strategic appraisal of the Swedish armed forces is set against the background of other elements of national power. Although Sweden is a small country, the analysis leads to the conclusion that the strength of the Swedish armed forces contributes significantly to the military balance of the Scandinavian region. Situated between the major power blocs represented by NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, Sweden pursues an alliance-free foreign policy which also enhances regional military/political stability, termed "Nordic balance."

## YUGOSLAVIA

0180 **Yugoslavia After Tito: Alignment or Nonalignment.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Redmond V. Forrester, Jr. Feb. 1971. 59pp.*

The question examined is what direction Yugoslavia's foreign policy will take after Tito and what implications that policy has on U.S. interests. The evolution of the present Yugoslav system was examined using a literature search. The major trends affecting Yugoslavia's future were identified from recent writings, primarily the press, and were analyzed to postulate the future of the country after Tito.

0239 **The Yugoslav Concept of General People's Defense.**

*Strategic Studies Center, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif. Jon L. Lellenberg. Nov. 1972. 58pp.*

The report presents a review and analysis of the Yugoslav concept of general people's defense as a special case study of the citizen-army concept. It analyzes Yugoslavia's perception of the strategic environment and its particular national security problems, and presents the theory and proposed practice of the concept in terms of its objective of deterring and defending against attack by a major, military power. The final section analyzes the major military and political uncertainties associated with the successful implementation of the concept.

0297 **The Politics of Balance in Tito's Yugoslavia.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Paul William Dahlquist. March 1979. 274pp.*

This research provides an analysis of the forces and actors, internal and external, that presently affect Yugoslavia's domestic and foreign policies. The departure of Josip Broz Tito will challenge the country's multinational balance, its socioeconomic system, and the leadership capabilities of both the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army. Additionally, Yugoslavia's relationships with the Soviet Union, the U.S., the Eurocommunists, the nonaligned nations, and the People's Republic of China will be severely tested. Thus far, the interactions of these forces and actors have resulted in a delicate balance of multinational and economic pressures interwoven with an equally precarious foreign policy. Much evidence indicates Yugoslavia can survive Tito's passing, but internal weakness combined with external superpower interests may lead to instability. A concerted dedication to peace in Yugoslavia and Europe will be necessary if stability is to be assured in Yugoslavia's post-Tito era.

# WARSAW PACT—EASTERN EUROPE

0571 **East European Economic Development: Two Decades of Interrelationships and Interactions with the Soviet Union.**

*Research Analysis Corp., McLean, Va. John P. Hardt. Oct. 1969. 41pp.*

Contents: Soviet-type development in East Europe; East European divergences from the Soviet pattern; changing Soviet and party sovereignty and East European economic reforms; and economies in crisis—the dilemmas of reform.

0612 **Economic Integration in Eastern Europe.**

*International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Va. Stanislaw Wasowski. Dec. 1969. 94pp.*

The COMECON has been affected by the pull of two opposing forces: one favors close economic cooperation and even centralization to acquire the benefits of international specialization and provide the means for a more tightly run Communist bloc; the other favors separate, national economic development, which would permit each country to determine its own pattern of growth and to preserve as much of its limited sovereignty as possible. The Communist leaders now see integration as the solution to the major ills of the Communist European economies. Indeed, integration should significantly help to remedy the bloc's underutilization of capacity, inadequate level of technological advance, capital scarcity, and the insufficiency of raw materials. While the process of integration is going on, the Communist-governed countries will have to maintain and increase their contacts with the industrialized West to acquire technology, markets, and capital.

0706 **The Future Political Options of Eastern Europe in the Soviet Bloc.**

*International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Va. Wolfgang Klaiber. Dec. 1969. 153pp.*

The study examines the evolving political options of the Soviet bloc countries within the East-West European political context. It also describes the degree of autonomy of the bloc regimes from the Soviet Union through an examination of various issues known to have been a source of conflict among them, and it defines the sources of bloc cohesion in an era that has witnessed a significant decline of Soviet authority over the world Communist movement. These factors, together with an examination of transbloc predilections articulated and pursued by the East European regimes before and after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, provide the basis for a projection of the future political options of the bloc countries to the mid-1970s and an assessment of the implications of the conclusions reached for U.S. policy.

0859 **The Warsaw Pact's Campaign for European Security.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. A. Ross Johnson. Nov. 1970. 99pp.*

A European Security Conference (ESC) was first proposed by the USSR in 1954-1955 as part of an effort to block the rearmament of West Germany. In 1969-1970, just as in the 1966-1977 phase of the ESC campaign, the Soviet leadership seemed to be motivated by the desire to gain political and diplomatic leverage to consolidate its control over Eastern Europe, to exploit frictions within NATO, and reduce American influence in Western Europe. However, the ESC proposal became an instrument that individual Warsaw Pact member states used for the pursuit of autonomous policies. Romania and Poland exploited the campaign to strengthen their independence. East Germany unsuccessfully sought to use it to preserve something of the old unyielding Warsaw Pact stance toward Bonn. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria played more passive roles in the campaign. Professed Soviet interest in regional disarmament has declined, as a consequence of the enhanced internal security role of Soviet forces in Eastern Europe.

# Reel XI

## WARSAW PACT—EASTERN EUROPE (Cont'd.)

0001 **The Warsaw Pact—Its Roles in Soviet Policy.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Lloyd A. Crokan. Nov. 1970. 25pp.*

The essay examines the Warsaw Pact in terms of continuing or new roles. The essay contends that Soviet national interest regards the alliance as a political instrument to secure its beginning over East Europe. New changes instituted since the Czech crisis have not demonstrated the military reliability and effectiveness of East European forces. An all-European security conference taken together with related issues is apt to place strains upon the pact's viability. Tentative conclusions as to likely directions to be pursued by the pact over the next decade are provided.

0026 **Soviet and East European Forecasts of European Security: Papers from the 1972 Varna Conference.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. Lilita Dzirkals, and A. Ross Johnson. June 1973. 55pp.*

The report is a collection of original short summaries of Soviet and East European papers that forecast future security arrangements for Europe. The full papers, including those from Western Europe, were published in December 1972. Key themes, compared by country in a table composed by the editors, include military balance, general character of East-West relations, political-security system, role of alliances, role of the USSR, role of the U.S., role of the European community, role of non-Soviet Eastern Europe, MBFR, the forthcoming Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the German question, neutral and nonaligned states, East-West economic relations, potential crises, and potential causes of a revival of tension. The papers generally present first an analysis of the current situation and then a ten-year forecast.

0081 **Détente and Eastern Europe.**

*Strategic Research Group, National War College, Washington, D.C. George H. Janczewski. May 1975. 24pp.*

The author conveys certain perceptions which the East Europeans have of themselves, their relations with the Soviet Union, the West, and especially their current position in the era of détente.

0105 **Relations between the Soviet Union and Its Eastern European Allies: A Survey.**

*Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. J.F. Brown. Nov. 1975. 150pp.*

A primary preoccupation of Soviet foreign policy since World War II has been the control of Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe has been important to the USSR for several reasons: the military security factor, the springboard factor, the Communist internationalist factor. Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe has differed importantly in the Khrushchev and the Brezhnev eras. After 1956, following Stalin's attempt to achieve total control of the area, Khrushchev sought to find the right combination of cohesion and viability in Eastern Europe. Khrushchev was willing to experiment with departures from Stalinist conformity in quest of a viability that postulated making the Communist system in Eastern Europe more legitimate. Consequently, East European states were able to assert distinctive policies, domestically and internationally. The most notable reform measures of the Khrushchev era were those affecting economic structure, planning, and policy. These economic reforms had political consequences; departures from the old command system of economy tended to encourage pluralism in other branches of public life. After Khrushchev's ouster in 1964, these developments gathered a momentum of their

own. Powerful forces of nationalism and sociopolitical challenge to Communist party absolutism were unleashed. Earlier, the Albanian leadership had taken advantage of the Sino-Soviet dispute to remove Albania from the Soviet orbit. In Rumania, national autonomy was developed into nationalist Rumanian policy through skillful manipulation of the Sino-Soviet dispute and other factors.

- 0255 **Organization Versus Alliance: The Warsaw Pact in Retrospect and Prospect.**  
*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Richard E. Darilek. July 1978. 15pp.*

This memorandum attempts to provide a wide-ranging, comparative, yet brief analysis of the Warsaw Pact's development over time. The author considers the Warsaw Treaty Organization in terms of two general categories of development: the external relationships of that organization, on the one hand, and its internal relationships, on the other. By external relationships, the author means the political-military posture that the pact as a whole presents to the world outside the boundaries of its member states and that it presents, in particular, to NATO. By internal relationships, the author means the variety and extent of the political, military, and economic ties among pact members but, primarily, the variety and extent of such ties between non-Soviet members of the pact and the USSR. Comparisons between historical periods are made in terms of these categories. Changes and continuities from past to present to probable future are related to them as well.

- 0270 **A Quantitative Analysis of Defense Expenditure Patterns in Warsaw Treaty Organization Countries, 1960-1974.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. John G. Kuchinski, Jr. July 1978. 160pp.*

This thesis analyzes military expenditure patterns for the East European members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The study examines data using a cross-sectional methodology for 1966 and 1974, and a longitudinal methodology for the period 1960-1974. Nonparametric statistical methods as well as correlation and regression analysis are used to uncover the various factors most influential in WTO defense budgeting, both region-wide and for specific member countries. Forecasting models are developed for use in predicting military expenditures for individual countries as well as the "typical" WTO country. A general discussion of model use with different data sources is also presented.

- 0430 **East Europe and the Warsaw Treaty Organization: The Question of Reliability.**  
*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Roger E. Kanet. July 1978. 15pp.*

This memorandum considers the question of ability and willingness of East European members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to support Soviet decisions that require the commitment of WTO military forces. The author addresses the question in the areas of the political leadership, the military leaders, and the troops in the field, as well as from the perspective of maintaining internal stability within the WTO area itself versus offensive and defensive operations against NATO. He concludes that any independent action on the part of WTO members is highly unlikely either in an internal or external conflict.

- 0445 **The Warsaw Pact Short-Warning Nuclear Attack: How Viable an Option.**  
*Army Russian Institute, APO New York. Donald Mercer. May 1979. 55pp.*

NATO bases its theater doctrine on the assumptions that any Warsaw Pact attack will be preceded by considerable warning time and that initial hostilities will be in a conventional mode. In this paper the author assesses the viability of the opposing scenario: a Warsaw Pact short-warning attack with



nuclear weapons employed from the start. The author concludes that Soviet open source documents indicate that NATO is preparing to fight the wrong first battle of the next war.

## DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

0500 **East Germany's Politics in the Decade Ahead.**

*International and Social Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses, Arlington, Va. Wolfgang Klaiber. Feb. 1970. 53pp.*

East Germany is today the most totalitarian state in the Soviet bloc, the most loyal of Soviet allies, and the most defensively intransigent agent in European politics. This is due to such factors as Ulbricht's longevity, his Stalinist political personality, and his near-absolute domination of the East German leadership. Equally important is the GDR's lack of international recognition. However, West Germany's attitude toward GDR recognition is changing under Brandt's leadership. If this trend continues, the decade ahead may witness a transition of East German politics from isolation and hostile confrontation to coexistence and cooperation in the European international arena, with some liberalizing fallout upon the domestic political process.

0553 **The SED in the 1980s—New Program and Statutes for the Party (Die SED der 80er Jahre—Das Neue Programm and Status der Partei).**

*Joint Publications Research Service, Arlington, Va. Eberhard Schneider. Aug. 1977. 71pp.*

The report contains an analysis by the West German Federal Institute for Eastern Scientific and International Studies of the new program and statutes adopted by the Ninth SED Congress in May 1976.

## HUNGARY

0624 **Crisis Decision Setting and Response: The Hungarian Revolution.**

*Research Directorate, National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Ernest A. Nagy. March 1978. 37pp.*

In this essay the author focuses on the issues and atmosphere that faced the leaders in the Kremlin in late October-November 1956 as the Hungarian Revolution gathered momentum—prompting them initially to make concessions and later revoking them, and intervening with force, as actors and conditions, many beyond Hungarian control, created the setting for the revolt's death knell. In this essay a common element found in all international crises is apparent: the impact on world history of current decisions made by the various actors. The author compellingly leads the reader to contemplate, was the crushing of the uprising by the Soviets inevitable or, given altered acts of commission and omission by the West, might not the response and outcome have been different.

## POLAND

0661 **U.S. Position on Lvov and Eastern Galicia as Polish Territories.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Bernard J. Ambrose. Feb. 1972. 39pp.*

The study examines the reality of Poland's eastern territorial claims and the U.S. support of Polish claims during World War II.

0700 **Poland: National Autonomy or Soviet Invasion. An Analysis of Political and Economic Upheaval in Poland, 1956, 1970, and 1976, and Prospects for the Future.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Dallace Leroy Meehan. March 1977. 102pp.*

The eruption of violence in Poland since the Second World War has twice resulted in massive changes in the Polish leadership. At least one of those changeovers occurred in the face of Soviet threats to intervene militarily. As recently as 1976, violence again threatened the stability of the Communist party of Poland, indicating that the dangers of upheaval are still very much present in that strategically important East European state. This study analyzes developments in postwar Poland, with particular emphasis on the turbulent events of 1956, 1970, and 1976, and develops prospects for Poland's future vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. More specifically, the conclusion evaluates the conditions under which a future Soviet military intervention in the manner of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia can be expected, as well as how the Poles might establish a very high degree of national autonomy and independence without such an invasion.

0802 **U.S. Security Interests in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland.**

*Research Directorate, National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Daniel M. Duffield, Jr. Dec. 1977. 62pp.*

The importance of Poland derives from its role in the current relationship between the Soviet Union and the West which has been defined variously as détente or coexistence. The former term has come to have great appeal in the West because it seems to signify a longed-for relaxation of previous Cold War tensions and implies a common effort to resolve East-West differences. The writer proceeds from a contrary assumption based on the Soviet definition of the term coexistence. Although renouncing offensive general war as an instrument of state policy because of its potential cost to all parties in the nuclear age, Soviet authorities from Khrushchev on have emphasized the competitive, even antagonistic, aspect of coexistence. In this context, Soviet objectives in Europe, however defined and categorized by Western analysts, reduce themselves to the proposition of the growth of Soviet power vis-à-vis the West. A major element in that power is continued hegemony in Eastern Europe. Thus the growth of Soviet power must incorporate enhancement of Moscow's authority in the region in which Poland occupies the key strategic position.

# SUBJECT INDEX

*The following index is a guide to the **major** subjects of the eleven reels and is usually limited to one or two references for each report. The Roman numeral refers to the reel and the Arabic numeral refers to the frame within that reel; hence, II: 0007 is the seventh frame in the second reel.*

- Air forces  
U.S. II: 0248; V: 0409; VIII: 0533
- Agreements  
I: 0178, 0206; II: 0153; III: 0500, 0524;  
VI: 0225
- Arctic regions  
I: 0891
- ARMLIC  
Greece VII: 0634  
U.K. IX: 0188
- Arms control  
III: 0524; IV: 0078  
U.K. IX: 0213
- Attitudes  
I: 0178, 0377; III: 0033; IV: 0677; V:  
0730, 0744; VII: 0064  
Greece VIII: 0132  
Italy VIII: 0598
- Balance of power  
II: 0153; V: 0145, 0386
- Ballistic missile submarines  
III: 0001
- Belgium  
energy IV: 0165; III: 0143; VI: 0399,  
0663, 0762  
foreign aid IV: 0663  
government (foreign) IV: 0663  
history VI: 0762  
international relations VI: 0663  
military forces VI: 0663, 0762  
military organizations VI: 0663  
national defense VI: 0663  
NATO VI: 0663, 0762  
naval operations VI: 0762  
operational effectiveness VI: 0762
- Bulgaria  
XI: 0081
- Civil defense  
III: 0033
- Cold War  
I: 0377; II: 0024, 0979
- Command and control  
V: 0545  
Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 059
- Communism  
I: 0741  
Eastern Europe X: 0612, 0706; XI: 010  
France VII: 0083, 0100  
Germany, Democratic Republic of XI:  
0500, 0553  
Greece VII: 0634; VIII: 0067, 0132  
Hungary XI: 0624  
Iceland VIII: 0533  
Italy VIII: 0598, 0875; IX: 0001  
Spain IX: 0743
- Conventional warfare  
I: 0473; V: 0386, 0673; VI: 0187, 0470  
Czechoslovakia X: 0612, 0706; XI: 000  
0081, 0105
- Decision making  
I: 0825; II: 0024  
Hungary XI: 0624  
Italy VIII: 0598  
Spain IX: 0743  
Warsaw Pact XI: 0445
- Defense planning  
I: 0891; II: 0001; III: 0548; IV: 0078; V:  
0386; VI: 0001, 0187, 0433  
France VII: 0083
- Defense policies  
II: 0715; III: 0572
- Defense systems  
IV: 0645, 0908; V: 0386, 0673, 0823;  
0433  
France IX: 0213  
Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 053  
Iceland VIII: 0533  
U.K. IX: 0213

Denmark  
VI: 0399, 0433

Détente  
IV: 0645, 0677  
Eastern Europe XI: 0081  
Italy VIII: 0875  
Poland XI: 0802

Deterrence  
I: 0473; III: 0572, 0873; IV: 0407, 0505, 0601, 0908; VI: 0744; VI: 0001  
Eastern Europe XI: 0026

Disarmament  
III: 0254

Economics  
I: 0001, 0377; II: 0356; II: 0695; IV: 0165, 0407, 0505; V: 0145, 0612  
Eastern Europe X: 0571, 0612, 0859; XI: 0081, 0105, 0255  
Finland IX: 0366  
France VII: 0083, 0100  
Hungary I: 0001  
Iceland VIII: 0533  
Italy VIII: 0875  
Poland XI: 0700  
U.K. IX: 0188

Eire  
IX: 0188

Energy management  
III: 0851; IV: 0165; V: 0001  
U.K. IX: 0306

Energy policies  
III: 0851; IV: 0165; V: 0001  
U.K. IX: 0306

Energy resources  
IV: 0165  
U.K. IX: 0306

Europe  
III: 0572, 0832; IV: 0165, 0407, 0505; V: 0386, 0545, 0823; VI: 0326, 0399, 0433  
Eastern X: 0571, 0612, 0706, 0859; XI: 0001, 0026, 0081, 0105, 0255, 0270, 0430 (See also Warsaw Pact)  
general I: 0377, 0404, 0515, 0982; II: 0715, 0801, 0979; XIII: 0001, 0254, 0402, 0548; IV: 0645; V: 0409, 0460, 0612, 0673; VI: 0225, 0270

European Economic Community  
III: 0851  
Greece VIII: 0276

Finland  
economics IX: 0366  
international relations IX: 0366, 0406  
military operations IX: 0366  
NATO IX: 0406  
political science IX: 0366, 0406  
Sweden IX: 0406

Foreign aid  
Belgium VI: 0663

Foreign policy  
I: 0404, 0515, 0825; II: 0024, 0801; III: 0500; IV: 0645, 0677; V: 0730, 0744  
Eastern Europe X: 0571, 0706, 0859; XI: 0001, 0081, 0105  
France VII: 0083, 0100; IX: 0213  
Germany, Democratic Republic of I: 0206; XI 0500  
Germany, Federal Republic of I: 0206; VII: 0368, 0433  
Greece VIII: 0132  
Italy VIII: 0598, 0875  
Poland XI: 0700, 0802  
Spain IX: 0583  
Sweden X: 0146  
U.K. IX: 0213, 0251  
U.S. XI: 0661, 0802  
U.S.S.R. I: 0279; II: 0979 (See also Eastern Europe)  
Yugoslavia X: 0180, 0297

France  
II: 0695; III: 0001, 0033, 0143; IV: 0601; VI: 0399; VII: 0001, 0064, 0083, 0100  
communism VII: 0083, 0100  
defense planning VII: 0083  
defense systems IX: 0213  
economics VII: 0083, 0100  
energy IV: 0165  
foreign policy IX: 0213  
government (foreign) VII: 0100  
international relations VII: 0083  
military forces (foreign) VII: 0100  
military planning VII: 0100  
military procurement VII: 0001  
national defense VII: 0100  
NATO VII: 0083, 0100; IX: 0213  
nuclear weapons IX: 0213  
political science VII: 0083, 0100  
socialism VII: 0100  
U.K. IX: 0213  
U.S. government VII: 0083  
U.S.S.R. IX: 0213  
weapons systems VII: 0001

Geopolitics  
I: 0001  
Eastern Europe XI: 0105

Germany, Democratic Republic of  
I: 0178, 0206; VII: 0368, 0433; X: 0612; XI: 0105, 0500, 0553  
communism XI: 0500, 0553  
foreign policy XI: 0500, 0553  
Germany, Federal Republic of I: 0178, 0206; XI: 0500  
political science XI: 0500, 0553

Germany, Federal Republic of  
 I: 0178, 0206; II: 0695; III: 0033, 0143;  
 IV: 0078, 0601; V: 0730, 0744; VI: 0399;  
 VII: 0368, 0533  
 command and control systems VII:  
 0594  
 defense systems VII: 0553  
 deterrence VII: 0553  
 foreign policy I: 0206; VII: 0368, 0433  
 Germany, Democratic Republic of I:  
 0178; VII: 0433  
 international relations I: 0178, 0206; VII:  
 0368, 0433  
 military forces (foreign) VII: 0533, 0594  
 NATO VII: 0533, 0594  
 Ostpolitik VII: 0433  
 Poland VII: 0433  
 political science VII: 0533  
 Rumania VII: 0433  
 tactical analyses VII: 0594  
 tactical warfare VII: 0594

Government (foreign)  
 I: 0741; IV: 0001; VI: 0663  
 Belgium VI: 0663  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0105  
 France VII: 0100  
 Greece VIII: 0001, 0067, 0132  
 Italy VIII: 0598, 0875  
 Spain IX: 0712

Grain imports  
 II: 0695

Greece  
 III: 0548; IV: 0001; VII: 0634; VIII: 0001,  
 0132, 0276  
 ARMLIC VII: 0634  
 attitudes VIII: 0132  
 communism VII: 0634; VIII: 0067, 0132  
 economics VIII: 0276  
 European Economic Community VIII:  
 0276  
 foreign policy VIII: 0132  
 government (foreign) VIII: 0001, 0067,  
 0132  
 history VII: 0634; VIII: 0001, 0132, 0276  
 insurgency VIII: 0001, 0067, 0132  
 military operations VII: 0634  
 political science VII: 0634; VIII: 0001,  
 0067, 0276  
 subversion VII: 0634  
 Yugoslavia VIII: 0132

Guided missiles  
 V: 0386

History  
 Belgium VI: 0762  
 Greece VII: 0634; VIII: 0001, 0132,  
 0276  
 Poland XI: 0700  
 Spain IX: 0743; X: 0001

Hungary  
 communism XI: 0624  
 decision making XI: 0624  
 Eastern Europe X: 0612; XI: 0105  
 government (foreign) XI: 0624  
 insurgency XI: 0624  
 international relations XI: 0624  
 land reform I: 0001  
 military forces (foreign) XI: 0624  
 U.S.S.R. XI: 0624  
 Warsaw Pact XI: 0624

Iceland  
 air forces (U.S.) VIII: 0533  
 communism VIII: 0533  
 defense systems VIII: 0533  
 economics VIII: 0533  
 international relations VIII: 0533  
 military forces (U.S.) VIII: 0533  
 NATO VIII: 0533  
 naval operations VIII: 0533  
 political science VIII: 0533

Industrial production  
 II: 0356  
 Eastern Europe X: 0571

Insurgency  
 Greece VIII: 0001, 0067, 0132  
 Italy VIII: 0598

International politics  
 I: 0741; II: 0001; V: 0001  
 France VII: 0083, 0100  
 Poland XI: 0700, 0802

International relations  
 I: 0279, 0377, 0515, 0741, 0825; II:  
 0153; III: 0500; IV: 0677; V: 0001,  
 0026; VI: 0225, 0663  
 Belgium VI: 0663  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0026, 0081, 0105,  
 0255  
 Finland IX: 0366, 0406  
 Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0433  
 Hungary XI: 0624  
 Iceland VIII: 0533  
 Italy VIII: 0875  
 Poland XI: 0700, 0802  
 Spain IX: 0527, 0583; X: 0001  
 U.K. IX: 0251  
 Yugoslavia X: 0180

International trade  
 V: 0001, 0026  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0081

Italy  
 I: 0001; III: 0678; IV: 0001, 0601; VIII:  
 0598, 0875  
 attitudes VIII: 0598  
 communism VIII: 0598, 0875; IX: 0001  
 decision making VIII: 0598  
 détente VIII: 0875

economics VIII: 0875  
foreign policy VIII: 0598, 0875  
government (foreign) VIII: 0598, 0875  
history VIII: 0598  
international relations VIII: 0875  
land reform I: 0001  
NATO VIII: 0875  
political science VIII: 0598, 0875; IX:  
0001  
terrorism IX: 0001  
U.S.S.R. IX: 0001  
Yugoslavia VIII: 0875

Land reform  
Hungary I: 0001  
Italy I: 0001  
Yugoslavia I: 0001

Logistics support  
II: 0248; VI: 0270, 0326

MBFR  
I: 0741; II: 0153; III: 0500; IV: 0078; VI:  
0225

Mediterranean Sea  
II: 0024; III: 0248; IV: 0645

Middle East  
III: 0678; VI: 0012

Military doctrine  
IV: 0001  
Spain X: 0001  
U.S.S.R. I: 0473

Military equipment  
IV: 0035; VI: 0270

Military expenditures  
Eastern Europe XI: 0270

Military forces (foreign)  
I: 0473, 0741; II: 0153, 0848; III: 0033,  
0402, 0500, 0524; IV: 0001, 0035,  
0078, 0407; V: 0145, 0460, 0744; VI:  
0012, 0225, 0762  
Belgium VI: 0663, 0762  
Eastern Europe XI: 0255, 0430  
France VII: 0100  
Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0533,  
0594  
Hungary XI: 0624  
Yugoslavia XI: 0239

Military forces (U.S.)  
I: 0473, 0741; II: 0153, 0801; III: 0254,  
0402; IV: 0035, 0407, 0505, 0645,  
0835; V: 0145; VI: 0012, 0270  
Iceland VIII: 0533  
Spain IX: 0583; X: 0001

Military force levels  
V: 0145, 0545, 0673; VI: 0225, 0399  
Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0594

Military operations  
II: 0248; V: 0673; VI: 0012, 0470  
Eastern Europe XI: 0430  
Finland IX: 0366

Greece VII: 0634

Military organizations  
Belgium VI: 0663  
NATO IV: 0035; V: 0145, 0545

Military planning  
I: 0763, 0825, 0891, 0982; III: 0001,  
0678; IV: 0078, 0835; V: 0145, 0730,  
0744; VI: 0433, 0470  
France VII: 0100  
Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0594

Military procurement  
II: 0715  
France VII: 0001

Military strategy  
I: 0404, 0473, 0891, 0982; II: 0801; III:  
0001, 0143, 0572, 0678; IV: 0407,  
0601, 0835; V: 0386, 0460, 0673, 0823;  
VI: 0012, 0187, 0225, 0433, 0470

Mineral industries  
V: 0162

National defense  
III: 0143, 0254, 0832; IV: 0407, 0505;  
XI: 0026  
Belgium VI: 0663  
France VI: 0001, 0100  
Italy VIII: 0598  
Poland XI: 0802  
U.K. IX: 0251  
Yugoslavia X: 0239

National growth  
II: 0356

NATO  
I: 0404, 0473, 0741, 0763, 0982; II:  
0001, 0153, 0801, 0848; III: 0033,  
0254, 0402, 0500, 0524, 0548, 0678,  
0832; IV: 0001, 0078, 0407, 0505,  
0645, 0677, 0835, 0908; V: 0001, 0386,  
0409, 0460, 0545, 0673, 0730, 0744,  
0823, VI: 0001, 0012, 0187, 0225,  
0326, 0385, 0399, 0470, 0762; VII:  
0064  
Belgium VI: 0663, 0762  
Eastern Europe XI: 0255, 0430  
France VII: 0083, 0100, 0213  
Iceland VIII: 0533  
Italy VIII: 0875  
U.K. IX: 0213

Naval operations  
II: 0024  
Belgium VI: 0762  
Iceland VIII: 0533

Netherlands  
II: 0695; III: 0143; VI: 0399

Norway  
IV: 0645; VI: 0399, 0433

Nuclear warfare  
I: 0825; IV: 0078; V: 0386, 0673; VI:  
0001

**Nuclear weapons**  
 I: 0825; II: 0848; IV: 0078, 0407, 0908;  
 V: 0730, 0744; VI: 0001, 0187  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0445  
 France IX: 0213  
 U.K. IX: 0213

**Neutron weapon**  
 VI: 0001

**Operational effectiveness**  
 I: 0982; II: 0248; IV: 0035, 0470  
 Belgium VI: 0762  
 Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0594

**Ostpolitik**  
 VII: 0433

**Petroleum**  
 I: 0515; IV: 0165; V: 0001  
 U.K. IX: 0306

**Poland**  
 Détente XI: 0802  
 economics XI: 0700  
 foreign policy XI: 0700, 0802  
 foreign policy (U.S.) XI: 0661, 0802  
 history XI: 0700  
 international politics XI: 0700, 0802  
 international relations XI: 0700, 0802  
 national defense XI: 0802  
 national security XI: 0700, 0802  
 political science XI: 0661, 0700  
 U.S.S.R. XI: 0700, 0802

**Political negotiations**  
 II: 0153  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0430

**Political science**  
 I: 0763, 0825; III: 0548; IV: 0078, 0407,  
 0505, 0601, 0677; V: 0145, 0744; VII:  
 0064  
 Eastern Europe X: 0612, 0706, 0859; XI:  
 0026  
 Finland IX: 0366, 0406  
 France VII: 0083, 0100  
 Germany, Democratic Republic of XI:  
 0500  
 Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0533  
 Greece VII: 0634; VIII: 0001, 0067,  
 0276  
 Iceland VIII: 0533  
 Italy VIII: 0598, 0875; IX: 0001  
 Poland XI: 0660, 0700  
 Spain IX: 0712, 0743; X: 0001  
 Yugoslavia X: 0297

**Public opinion**  
 IV: 0407; V: 0730, 0744

**Rumania**  
 Eastern Europe X: 0612; XI: 0081, 0105  
 Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0433

**Security**  
 I: 0279, 0515; III: 0832; IV: 0407, 0601;  
 VI: 0001, 0385  
 Eastern Europe X: 0859; XI: 0255  
 Germany, Federal Republic of VII: 0594  
 Poland XI: 0700, 0802

**Socialism**  
 France VII: 0083, 0100  
 Spain IX: 0743

**Spain**  
 IX: 0743  
 communism IX: 0743  
 decision making IX: 0743  
 foreign policy IX: 0583  
 government (foreign) IX: 0712  
 history IX: 0743; X: 0001  
 international relations IX: 0527, 0583; X:  
 0001  
 military doctrine X: 0001  
 military forces (U.S.) IX: 0583; X: 0001  
 NATO IX: 0527, 0712  
 political science IX: 0712, 0743; X:  
 0001  
 socialism IX: 0743  
 U.S. IX: 0583, 0712; X: 0001

**Strategic analyses**  
 IV: 0001, 0078, 0908

**Strategic warfare**  
 II: 0001, VI: 0001

**Subversion**  
 IV: 0001  
 Greece VII: 0634

**Tactical analyses**  
 IV: 0078; V: 0730, 0744; VI: 0012

**Tactical warfare**  
 V: 0409, 0460

**Tactical weapons**  
 V: 0730, 0744

**Terrorism**  
 Italy IX: 0001  
 U.K. IX: 0188

**Threat evaluation**  
 I: 0473; III: 0143; IV: 0001, 0407, 0677,  
 0835, 0908; V: 0744

**Treaties**  
 I: 0741; III: 0500; IV: 0677  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0001, 0255

**Turkey**  
 III: 0548, 0678; IV: 0001

**U.K.**  
 II: 0695; III: 0001, 0143; IV: 0601; V:  
 0730, 0744; VI: 0399; IX: 0188, 0213,  
 0251, 0306  
 ARMLIC IX: 0188  
 defense systems IX: 0213  
 economics IX: 0188  
 Eire IX: 0188  
 energy management IX: 0306

energy policies IX: 0306  
 energy resources IX: 0306  
 foreign policy IX: 0213, 0251  
 France IX: 0213  
 international relations IX: 0251  
 national defense IX: 0251  
 NATO IX: 0213  
 nuclear weapons IX: 0213  
 terrorism IX: 0188

**U.S.**  
 air forces II: 0248; V: 0409; VIII: 0533  
 France VII: 0083  
 government I: 0404, 0741; III: 0001,  
 0033, 0143, 0254, 0500, 0572, 0832;  
 IV: 0601, 0645, 0677, 0835; VI: 0187;  
 VII: 0083, XI: 0081  
 Iceland VIII: 0533  
 military forces I: 0473, 0741; II: 0153,  
 0801; III: 0254, 0402; IV: 0035, 0407,  
 0505, 0645, 0835; V: 0145; VI: 0012,  
 0270  
 Poland XI: 0661, 0802  
 Spain IX: 0583, 0712; X: 0001  
 U.S.S.R. XI: 0081  
 Yugoslavia X: 0180, 0297

**U.S.S.R.**  
 I: 0178, 0206, 0404, 0473, 0515, 0741;  
 III: 0402, 0548; IV: 0645, 0677; V:  
 0409, 0460, 0673; VI: 0187; VII: 0433  
 Eastern Europe X: 0571, 0706, 0859; XI:  
 0001, 0081, 0105, 0255, 0430  
 foreign policy I: 0279; II: 0979  
 France IX: 0213

Hungary XI: 0624  
 Italy IX: 0001  
 military doctrine I: 0473  
 U.S. XI: 0081  
 Yugoslavia X: 0297

**Varna Conference**  
 XI: 0026

**War games**  
 I: 0763; VI: 0225, 0470

**Warsaw Pact (See also Eastern Europe)**  
 I: 0471, 0763, 0982; II: 0153; IV: 0835,  
 0908; V: 0386, 0409, 0460, 0673; VI:  
 0012, 0225  
 Eastern Europe XI: 0105, 0255, 0430,  
 0445

**Weapons systems**  
 VI: 0326; VII: 0001

**Yugoslavia**  
 communism X: 0239, 0297  
 deterrence X: 0239  
 economics I: 0001  
 foreign policy X: 0180, 0297  
 Greece VIII: 0132  
 international relations X: 0180  
 Italy VIII: 0875  
 land reform I: 0001  
 military forces (foreign) X: 0239  
 national defense X: 0239  
 political science X: 0297  
 U.S. X: 0180, 0297  
 U.S.S.R. X: 0297



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