

**Europe and NATO:  
Special Studies,  
1980–1985**

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*A Guide to*

# **Europe and NATO: Special Studies, 1980–1985**

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# REEL INDEX

## Reel 1

### EUROPE

#### Frame

#### 1981

- 0001 **The European Conventional Balance: A Primer.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Robert Shishko. November 24, 1981. 24 pp.*

This paper is on the balance in the European central region largely on the grounds that is where the largest NATO/Warsaw Pact concentrations of force are found and where most of the post-mobilization reinforcements would flow. Why all the recent pessimism about the conventional military balance in the Central Region? Such pessimism has not always existed, but in fact has waxed and waned over NATO's thirty-plus-year history. In NATO's earliest days, it was thought that a mixed conventional/nuclear defense of Europe would require about 100 divisions, a goal clearly in excess of what politicians were willing to support. In 1954, a "new look" at NATO's requirements suggested that perhaps fifty divisions would suffice if greater reliance was placed on nuclear weapons. In practice NATO never reached that goal, but it didn't seem to matter because U.S. strategic nuclear superiority gave the "massive retaliation" doctrine at least some credibility. By the early 1960s, that credibility was in doubt as the U.S. homeland could be attacked by city-busting Soviet Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Under Secretary of Defense McNamara the U.S. placed greater emphasis on conventional forces for Europe and the resources to support this emphasis were found. As a result, there was at least some belief through the late 1960s that NATO could conduct a successful conventional or low level nuclear defense in Europe if given strategic warning of about thirty days.

#### 1983

- 0025 **Investment Climate in Foreign Countries. Volume 1: OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and Other European Countries.**  
*International Trade Administration, Washington, D.C. August 1983. 320 pp.*

Approximately every two years, U.S. embassies throughout the world prepare investment climate statements summarizing the laws, policies, and economic climate of their respective host countries that may affect existing or new U.S. direct investment. Statements include information on the condition and quality of host country infrastructure; availability of selected economic resources (e.g. labor skills); government policies in the areas of taxation, nationalization, antitrust, and foreign exchange; investment incentives made available, and performance requirements imposed, by host country governments; direct investment statistics, if available; and other items. The investment climate statements contained in this set of publications were prepared during the latter part of 1982 and reflect developments up to that time. Volume 1 contains the statements for member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and other European countries: Canada and Japan.

- 0345 **Once and Future Quest: European Arms Control—Issues and Prospects.**  
*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. W. P. Boyd. August 1, 1983. 42 pp.*  
There are three sets of arms control negotiations that could have a long range political impact on Europe. These are the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks, and Theater Nuclear Force/Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (TNF/INF) talks. In each set of negotiations, there are factors encouraging arms control as well as impediments to arms control. The weight of these factors and impediments directly affects the prospects for mutual understanding and ultimate agreement.

## 1984

- 0387 **Mineral Industries of Europe and the USSR.**  
*Bureau of Mines, Washington, D.C. December 1984. 148 pp.*  
This Bureau of Mines report presents a summary review of the mineral industries of twenty-six European countries and the USSR mineral production, international mineral trade, and the role of minerals within each country and in terms of world supply are reviewed in text and tables. The principal mining companies are listed, along with their locations and capacities. Basic information is presented on labor, energy, and infrastructure relative to the mineral industries. Maps for each country show the generalized locations of major mineral deposits, petroleum sources, and processing or refining plants. The maps also show major roads, railways, pipelines, and ports that are important to mineral transportation and trade.

## 1985

- 0535 **Helsinki Commission: The First Eight Years.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., National Security and International Affairs Division. March 1, 1985. 41 pp.*  
The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was established by law in 1976 to monitor and promote compliance with the human rights and other provisions of the international Helsinki accords of 1975 and to monitor and encourage U.S. governmental and private programs seeking to expand East-West economic and cultural cooperation. The Commission—composed of twelve members of Congress and three executive branch representatives—has concentrated largely on the first of those mandates.

# NATO

## 1979

- 0576 **Reference Book on NATO Rationalization, Standardization and Interoperability (RSI). Volume 1: Public Laws and Reports, Memoranda of Understanding, Secretary of Defense Annual Report to Congress, Intellectual Property Rights Transfer Guidelines, History, Definitions, Bibliography, and Points of Contact.**  
*American Defense Preparedness Association, Arlington, Virginia. November 1, 1979. 466 pp.*  
The NATO Alliance has acknowledged from its inception that military and economic advantage would accrue from the promotion of commonality, or at least comparability, in tactical doctrine, modes of organization, procedures, and equipment. For many years, however, achievement fell short of aspiration, especially in development and production of military equipment. NATO fielded a large variety of equipment over the years for essentially equivalent roles. Standardization offers the prospect of greater interoperability among Alliance armed forces and also less expense in the acquisition of weapon systems, because of scale and other economies, and logistics savings over the lifetime of weapons. More economical procurement is not the ultimate purpose of the rationalization effort, however, but rather a way of safeguarding military effectiveness in the face of budgetary con-

straints. The five top priority areas for interoperability and standardization established by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and endorsed by the NATO Military Committee are: Command, control, and communication systems; Cross-servicing of aircraft; Ammunition; Compatible battlefield surveillance/target designation/acquisition systems; and Interoperability and standardization of components and spare parts in all programs.

## Reel 2

### NATO cont.

#### 1979 cont.

- 0001 **Reference Book on NATO Rationalization, Standardization and Interoperability (RSI). Volume 1: Public Laws and Reports, Memoranda of Understanding, Secretary of Defense Annual Report to Congress, Intellectual Property Rights Transfer Guidelines, History, Definitions, Bibliography, and Points of Contact.**  
*American Defense Preparedness Association, Arlington, Virginia. November 1, 1979. 203 pp.*

- 0204 **Reference Book on NATO Rationalization, Standardization and Interoperability (RSI). Volume 2: Department of Defense Official Directives and Statements of Secretary of Defense, Undersecretary of Defense (R&D), concerning RSI.**  
*American Defense Preparedness Association, Arlington, Virginia. November 1, 1979. 583 pp.*

This directive reissues a reference providing Department of Defense policy and responsibilities for standardization and interoperability of weapon systems and equipment within (NATO). The five top priority areas for interoperability and standardization have been established by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and endorsed by the NATO Military Committee. These areas are: Command, control, and communication systems; Cross-servicing of aircraft; Ammunition; Compatible battlefield surveillance/target designation/acquisition systems; and Interoperability and standardization of components and spare parts in all programs.

#### 1980

- 0787 **Industrial Specialization in Twelve European Countries Before and After 1973.**  
*Commission of the European Communities, Luxembourg. 1980. 175 pp.*  
The report reviews the topic of international specialization, compares the specializations of twelve European countries, and identifies lines of research for a strategy of specialization that leads to improved Community cohesion.
- 0862 **Evaluation of Western European Technologies in the Fields of Energy and Management Improvement.**  
*Public Technology, Inc., Washington, D.C. May 1980. 78 pp.*  
A tour by U.S. local government officials to identify transferable technologies is reported. Various technologies were observed in England, France, and Germany by eleven officials representing a cross section of innovative city and county governments from diverse areas and varying size populations. The following technologies were examined in England: public lighting; nomograms; police management training simulation software; a highway maintenance data system; fuel conservation; energy sources; traffic controls and management; low energy housing; the PRESTEL television data system; performance review methods; and a waste separation plant. Technologies observed in France included geothermal district heating; co-generation of electricity and heating; and microprocessors for vehicle tune-up and peak load control. Some systems observed in Germany included a thermobile, used to make retrofit decisions for buildings to meet federal heat loss standards; a federal energy policy review; new building standards; a modernization

program; geoprocessing; a color printer; energy and traffic analyses; digitizing technology; and solid waste conversion. Multinational observations involved escalator activators, remote mini-garden plots, and highway sound barriers.

## Reel 3

### NATO cont.

#### 1980 cont.

- 0001 **NATO's Interacting Models of National Mobilization.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. W. E. Simons. May 1980. 17 pp.*  
Alliance nations have found prohibitive the costs of manning their NATO forward defense positions fully and continually with active duty personnel. Accordingly, they have adopted various models of mobilizing their national resources in time of crisis to bring their deployed forces in Europe up to effective wartime strength. Meeting the challenge of deterrence, however, means getting a proper combination of forces together and moving them to their forward positions in time to make a difference. This problem is particularly demanding with respect to NATO's central region. Here, unlike the flanks, a credible deterrent posture is the mutual responsibility of seven different nations within NATO's current military command structure. This paper examines the different processes by which these nations plan to mobilize their resources and move their reinforcements into position. It also identifies problems likely to be encountered in coordinating the simultaneous flow of these resources in the central region and suggests some areas where improvement can be made.
- 0018 **Counterforce, Conventional Arms, and Confusion: A Comment on the Brussels Conference.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Malcolm W. Hoag. May 1980. 24 pp.*  
The famous conference on "NATO, The Next Thirty Years," in Brussels on September 1-3, 1979, produced a great uproar because of Henry Kissinger's opening address. In consequence, the other papers at that conference were neglected. Now we can consider the symposium as a whole, thanks to *The Washington Quarterly*. About one outstanding paper we need say little. Professor Samuel P. Huntington's "American Foreign Policy: The Changing Political Universe" presents an admirably succinct summation of trends in America, buttressed by solid evidence and apt synthesis that brought reassurance to Europe. He proved that American public opinion is moving toward support of a stronger military posture, which pleased our shaken allies. Professor Michael Howard's "Social Change and the Defense of the West" is, to this reader, a classic. His scope is global, and his depth extends to historical trends measured by the centuries. He understands war, in all its complexity and horror, and, as a corollary, the resultant aversion in the West even to consider it. Yet never has the sensible case for conventional defense in NATO been put better, in terms that reduce vast complexities to straightforward common sense. Given my opening allusion to mathematics, Professor Howard achieves the ultimate accolade of elegance.
- 0042 **The Role of the Air Assault Division on the European Battlefield.**  
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Conrad J. McHugh. June 6, 1980. 183 pp.*  
This study attempts to determine how the air assault division can best be employed on the modern mechanized battlefield. The investigation is focused on an analysis of Soviet ground tactics and organizations in comparison with U.S. air assault tactics and organization. Soviet air assault concepts and doctrine are also examined to identify trends that may affect U.S. air assault operations. Investigation reveals that a distinct need exists to expand current air assault doctrine to address the complexities of combat on the mechanized battlefield.



- 0225 **Equitable Cost Sharing Questioned on NATO's Airborne Early Warning and Control Program.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., International Division. July 1, 1980. 41 pp.*  
The willingness of the U.S. to make extraordinary cost concessions, accept caveats to a Multilateral Memorandum of Understanding that could result in either program reductions or additional program cost increases being absorbed by the U.S., and agree to separate projects as compensation for program participation, raises serious questions as to whether equitable cost sharing on NATO's Airborne Early Warning and Control (AEW&C) program is being achieved. Also, this situation brings into question how much the U.S. will pay to complete the program and how far it should go unilaterally to ensure the program's success.
- 0266 **Growth of Energy Consumption and Prices in the USA, FRG, France, and the UK, 1950-1979.**  
*International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Laxenburg, Austria. C. C. Doblin. August 1980. 86 pp.*  
This paper examines data on Gross Domestic Product (GDP), industrial output, energy consumption, and price of fuels and electricity in Western developed countries for the period 1950 to 1979. The study of these time series may shed some light on the relationship between the growth of GDP and energy consumption, a relationship that seems to have entered a new phase following the first oil price explosion of 1973. In particular, information on the most recent developments in energy consumption in the face of escalating prices may assist in the study of price elasticities in this new situation. Prices are taken in current values and adjusted for general inflation; they are monitored by broad sectors of the economy (industry, households, transportation) and for groups of fuel commodities and electricity. The growth of energy consumption and prices is illustrated by a set of graphs in Part I. The major observations are given in Part II. The data are presented in table form in Part III. Part IV provides concepts, definitions, and sources of the variables selected.
- 0352 **Modernizing NATO's Long-Range Theater Nuclear Force: An Assessment.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Thomas L. McNaugher and Theodore M. Parker. October 1980. 18 pp.*  
Meeting in December 1979, the NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers decided to modernize NATO's long-range theater nuclear force (LRTNF) by deploying, in Europe, 108 Pershing II medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) launchers and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs). NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns announced that these systems would be based in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Italy, and the United Kingdom, and possibly Belgium and the Netherlands. Attaching "great importance to the role of arms control in contributing to a more stable military relationship between East and West and in advancing the process of detente," the Ministers emphasized that, in parallel with the deployment decision, they wished to continue arms control efforts designed to achieve "a more stable overall nuclear balance at lower levels of nuclear weapons," to involve theater as well as strategic nuclear forces. A Special Consultative Group was created to continue work on the arms control aspects of the LRTNF issue. With this decision NATO's member states sought to resolve an issue that had been raised nearly three years before, and that had commanded increasing amounts of attention ever since.
- 0370 **OECD Countries: Unemployment in the 1970s and Perspectives for the 1980s.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. Research paper. November 1980. 58 pp.*  
The report examines supply and demand factors affecting unemployment in the major industrial countries in the 1970s and looks at several scenarios for unemployment in the 1980s. The data and analysis in this report will likely be of considerable interest to a wide range of government and private institutions.

- 0428 **The Value-Added Tax in the European Economic Community.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., International Division. December 5, 1980. 34 pp.*  
The report concerns the value-added tax (VAT) used in the European Economic Community. It discusses the experiences of seven Community members with VAT, and related government policies, programs, and procedures.
- 0462 **Generals Balck and von Mellenthin on Tactics: Implications for NATO Military Doctrine.**  
*BDM Corporation, Vienna, Virginia. William DePuy. December 19, 1980. 58 pp.*  
Under the auspices of the Director of Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense, the BDM Corporation hosted a conference on tactical warfare during the period May 19-22, 1980. The purpose of the conference was to examine twentieth century German military experience in battle against Russian forces with the intent of developing insights useful in aiding our understanding of the challenges NATO faces today in Europe as it prepares to confront the Soviets in any future conflict. In World Wars I and II the Germans learned many valuable, if enormously costly, lessons about the Russians as a people with a distinctive cultural heritage, and as soldiers whose military traditions, proclivities, and character in battle derive from these same cultural roots. Owing to their intrinsic nature, these same basic strains and broad patterns of behavior would likely find similar expression on any future battlefield. Thus, this is the relevance of their study in meeting our current knowledge needs. In spite of the vast wealth of experience the Germans gained in modern warfare against the Russians, there has been little systematic examination of it in the U.S., especially as the result of such an examination might be applied to the study of actual and potential problems facing NATO in the event of conflict with the Soviets in Europe. This conference, then, was an effort at developing relevant, transferable insights, appropriate for application in contemporary and future tactical situations, based on the extensive experience of two veteran German general officers who came to know the Russians as few living persons have.

## 1981

- 0520 **NATO Central Region Forward Defense: Correcting the Strategy/Force Mismatch.**  
*National Defense University, Washington, D.C., Research Directorate. Waldo D. Freeman, Jr. 1981. 36 pp.*  
This research paper addresses NATO Central Region conventional inferiority and its implications for strategy. It argues that alternative solutions must be found, since the cost of closing the force balance gap with the eleven and one-half armored-division equivalents needed for forward defense is probably greater than Western democracies are willing to bear. Four solutions are examined: increased precision-guided munitions densities; force structure modifications; peacetime construction of fortifications, barriers, and obstacles; and defensive use of urban areas. The author concludes that a credible conventional forward defense is possible within current resource and manpower constraints if NATO makes major adjustments to its force posture, doctrine, and plans, incorporating features of the four examined areas of improvement.
- 0556 **Evolution of European Defense in the 1980s.**  
*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Edward A. Corcoran. January 30, 1981. 32 pp.*  
This memorandum proposes the evolutionary development of nonnuclear NATO defense based upon political and conventional military elements. While maintaining a credible nuclear deterrent, such a posture would encourage the growth of East European autonomy and stress four main military elements: combat maneuver forces, strong territorial elements capitalizing on the high lethality of modern weaponry, support troops prepared to conduct effective emergency combat operations, and a measured development of penetrating forces for operations in enemy territory. By reinforcing the defensive orienta-

tion of NATO forces to the point where war would clearly be an unprofitable venture for the Warsaw Pact, such an approach offers opportunities to encourage a long-term reorientation from military into economic and social competition.

- 0588 **Manpower Procurement Policies, Ground Force Structures, and Registration Systems: Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom.** *Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Ragnhild Sohlberg. February 1981. 112 pp.*

This report compares manpower policies, peacetime force structures, and the character and time-phased availability of reserve forces in Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom. Information provided by standard comparative sources is insufficient for military balance assessments, as baselines for force reduction negotiations, and for reinforcement planning. This paper was based on national publications and documents and direct assistance from European defense authorities and experts. Differences in countries' history and conditions have led to a diversity of manpower policies and force structures—which may limit the feasibility and desirability of standardization. Universality of military conscription is at best approximated. Lengths of regular duty and reserve obligations vary within nations. The peacetime armies of Denmark, West Germany, and Norway have 30, 51, and 80 percent conscripts, respectively. Longer term volunteers and conscripts with extended obligations tend to fill complex tasks. These countries have significant mobilization potentials with relatively high readiness.

- 0700 **Agricultural Structures Policy in the European Economic Community.** *Economics and Statistics Service, Washington, D.C. International Economics Division. Edmund Neville-Rolfe. May 1981. 158 pp.*

The study summarizes and discusses agricultural structural policies enacted by the European Economic Community (EEC), the application of Community measures in each member country, and the national measures of each member country. Although original intentions were to spend a large proportion of the EEC's agricultural budget on farm structure, cost escalations in commodity price support programs, storage costs, and surplus disposal schemes resulted in niggardly Community funding for agricultural structural improvements. While some member countries have a strong viable program of farm restructuring drawing on both national and Community funding (e.g., the Netherlands), others are at a much lower level of activity (e.g., Italy).

- 0858 **Comparison of the Incentives Used to Stimulate Energy Production in Japan, France, West Germany, and the United States.** *Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratories, Richland, Washington. R. J. Cole et al. June 1981. 17 pp.*

The conclusions of each of three previous non-U.S. incentives volumes and the conclusions of the comparisons volume that look at incentives in four countries including the U.S. are summarized. Summaries of the patterns of incentive actions in France, West Germany, and Japan are presented first, followed by a summary of the four-country comparisons volume itself. Suggestions for solar policy that are based on the comparison of incentive actions in the four countries are presented. The definitions and methods used in each of the single-country studies are explained in detail in those volumes. A brief explanation of the procedures is offered. Each volume was divided into three parts: a survey of current thought about incentives for solar energy production; a view of the energy incentive landscape for one particular year; and an analysis of the major energy forms (nuclear, hydro, coal, electricity, oil, and gas) along the path from exploration to waste management, including the costs of incentives at each step in constant national currency. Following the theoretical approach developed for studying U.S. energy incentives, the researchers in each country classified incentives into the following six categories: taxation, disbursements, requirements traditional services, nontraditional services, and market activities.

0875 **Soviet Perceptions of NATO's Anti-Tank Defense.**

*Army Russian Institute, APO New York 09053. John B. Woods. June 1981. 27 pp.*  
In this paper, the author uses basically Soviet sources to examine Soviet military thought regarding NATO's anti-tank defensive capability. He approaches this task from the viewpoint of the Soviet military reader. For the purpose of this paper only two general areas are addressed: Ground defensive capabilities; and ATGM-armed helicopters. One must remember throughout this paper that the point of view is that of a Soviet, and how he perceives NATO's anti-tank defense. It is the author's conclusion that the Soviets are, in fact, very much concerned with that defense and the possible damage it could do to a Soviet offensive. However, while they do fear it—NATO's anti-tank defense—the basic characteristics of the Soviet offensive doctrine continues to be the use of tank-heavy forces in the European area.

0902 **The Emerging Campaign for U.S. Troop Reductions in Europe: Siren Call to Disaster.**

*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Henry G. Gole. June 15, 1981. 23 pp.*

Reduction of U.S. troop strength in Europe in the near future would be a mistake. The reasons for having a U.S. presence there are as valid for the 1980s as it was in the 1950s and 1960s: to deter Soviet aggression and to prop up Europe—because it is in the interest of the U.S. to do so. Pulling U.S. troops from Europe to establish a strategic reserve for worldwide contingencies would destabilize Europe and signal U.S. decline as a world power.

## Reel 4

### NATO cont.

#### 1981 cont.

0001 **The Politics of Weapons Standardization in NATO.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Richard Charles Fast. July 1981. 690 pp.*

Awareness of the growing conventional imbalance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO led, in the early 1970s, to a search for ways for NATO to regain the lead or at least to balance the Warsaw Pact. Since it offered an appealing logic, standardization of weapon systems within NATO was rapidly embraced as a major means of redressing the balance. Standardization promised increased military effectiveness without increased costs (and, some argued, at lower costs) through reduction of waste caused by duplication of systems. Standardization was embraced in spite of a twenty-five-year history of failures of similar efforts within NATO. The hypothesis of this dissertation is that this new effort will, likewise, fail to achieve any significant degree of standardization. Proponents of standardization fail to appreciate that weapons procurements are a low policy (domestic) issue and that weapons procurement decisions have traditionally been made in a disaggregated fashion (by subgovernments). Standardization requires a high policy (strategic) focus in which domestic concerns are secondary.

0691 **The NATO Alliance: U.S. Conventional Force Level Options Toward It Based on U.S. National Interests.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Daniel George Krynovich. September 1981. 159 pp.*

NATO has proven itself to be a most stable and successful organization for peace. However, the world today is far different from when the Alliance was formed thirty-two years ago, and many relationships have changed. As Western Europe has developed from World War II, it has attained a large measure of economic and political stability. It has evolved into a major power center. The U.S. meanwhile, has seen a decline in its ability to defend its changing national interests. Therefore, the central objective of this thesis is to analyze the

relationships between NATO and Western Europe and relate those findings to an assessment of current U.S. national interests. The thesis will propose four U.S. conventional force level options toward NATO in the 1980s and will conclude with the recommended implementation of one of the four options. The ultimate question asked by this thesis is: "Could the U.S. better insure militarily the defensibility of its current overall national interests by redefining its current role in NATO?"

0850 **Comparison of the Incentives Used to Stimulate Energy Production in Japan, France, West Germany, and the United States.**

*Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratories, Richland, Washington. R. J. Cole. September 1981. 123 pp.*

This volume represents the culmination of a five-year research effort examining the incentives used to stimulate energy production in four countries, and the incentives used to stimulate energy consumption in one country. Following the theoretical approach developed for studying U.S. energy incentives, the researchers in each country classified incentives into the following six categories: Taxation, including exemption from or reduction of existing taxes; Disbursements, in which the national government distributes money without requiring anything in return; Requirements, including demands made by the government, backed by civil or criminal sanctions; Traditional services, including those sometimes performed by non-governmental entities, as well as governmental entities (e.g., research and development); and Market Activities, including government involvement in the market under conditions similar to those faced by non-governmental producers or consumers. A complete list of research reports prepared in the Federal Incentives series is provided in the Appendix.

## Reel 5

### NATO cont.

#### 1981 cont.

0001 **Contracting with NATO Industry: U.S. or Foreign Procurement Regulations.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. William R. Bell. September 1981. 73 pp.*

The U.S. Department of Defense policy on NATO standardization requires all major defense procurement be reviewed for standardization with NATO and whenever possible codevelopment/coproduction programs be initiated with NATO nations. Presently, U.S. procurement regulations dominate these joint efforts. However, existing international programs have experienced an increasing reluctance on the part of participating NATO nations to accept U.S. procurement regulations.

0074 **Through European Eyes: Need NATO Strategy Be Changed?**

*Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Henry G. Gole. November 1, 1981. 23 pp.*

The author of this memorandum recognizes that the differences between the U.S. and European NATO have characterized the relationship since the founding of the Alliance. He then contends that a long list of recent U.S. initiatives, particularly military initiatives, are so frightening to Europeans that the foundations of the Alliance—cohesion and the appearance of determination—may be undermined. Geopolitical factors influencing their histories and very different moods cause Europe and America to see NATO differently. He concludes that the Alliance is worth preserving and can be preserved if domestic considerations on both sides of the Atlantic are taken into consideration as NATO looks beyond immediate irritants to longer range mutual advantage.

## 1982

- 0097 **Unemployment in France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands: A Survey of Trends, Causes and Policy Options.**  
*International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland. W. van Ginneken and M. Garzuel. 1982. 120 pp.*  
The report examines the causes, viz.: High labor supply (woman worker/labor force participation and "baby boom" population increases); Labor market mismatches (regional and skilled worker/manpower needs); and Macroeconomics factors (technological change, labor cost, and capital cost); and discusses labor mobility, income distribution, labor policy, and trade policy issues.
- 0217 **Iberian Peninsula in the Atlantic Community: Problems and Prospects.**  
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Joao A. Bento Soares. 1982 (May 9, 1983). 143 pp.*  
The advent of democratic regimes in Spain and Portugal by the mid seventies has conveyed new dynamics in the relationship between the two countries that are now trying a full integration in Western Europe. For a better understanding of the evolution till present-day situation, a brief historical overview of both countries is also provided. Spain's adhesion to NATO in 1982 represented a sizeable reinforcement for the West vis-à-vis the impressive Soviet military establishment during the last decades. The pros, cons, and other related problems to such a move are herein discussed. Spain and Portugal share the Iberian Peninsula—an important geostrategic area; a synergetic effect can be anticipated through integrated roles for Spain and Portugal under a NATO framework. Despite the current trends of the new Spanish Socialist government to halt Spain's entry into the military structure, this ultimate goal is still a challenge expected to be overcome in the 1980s. The mutual interest by the Iberian countries in NATO will undoubtedly result in a strengthened and united Western Europe and a formidable opponent for the Soviet Union to consider.
- 0360 **France, West Germany, and the Security of the Persian Gulf.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. David L. Leonard. March 1982. 210 pp.*  
The series of events that begin with the Arab oil embargo in 1973 and recently culminated in the Iranian Revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Iran-Iraq Conflict has underscored the vulnerability of Western oil supplies from the Persian Gulf region. This research analyzes the potential role of France and West Germany as U.S. allies in relation to the problem of ensuring the security of the Persian Gulf while maintaining the credibility of deterrence in Europe. Included in this analysis are assessment of French and West German dependence on Persian Gulf oil supplies and an evaluation of each country's capability and intention to contribute to the security of the region. The conclusion reached is that neither country in the near-term has a viable alternative to political and military efforts in this area, but the policy of France conforms more to American policy than that of the traditionally staunch supporter of U.S. policies, West Germany.
- 0570 **Report on Allied Contributions to the Common Defense.**  
*Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. C. W. Weinberger. March 1982. 93 pp.*  
The steady increases in Soviet military capabilities over the past two decades—the product of Moscow's decision to devote some 12–14 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to increasing its already massive military forces—have left the Western Alliance in a situation that demands urgent action to insure our capability to deter Soviet adventurism or to defend Western interests. We must restore stability by increasing and modernizing NATO's forces sufficiently to restrain Soviet moves inimical to these interests. To do so will require additional defense measures from all the allies. This report seeks to quantify present efforts and to indicate what is being done to assure that the burden of Western defense is shared fairly.

- 0663 **Developments in the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community.** *Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. International Economics Division. Timothy E. Josling and Scott R. Pearson. June 1982. 84 pp.*  
Present trends in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Community (EC), particularly increasing expenditures for agricultural support, will seriously affect the EC's ability to meet other policy needs and hinder enlargement of the Community to include Spain and Portugal. EC policy makers must either keep prices low directly or with producer taxes, or limit quantities covered by support measures. This report examines directions that the CAP may take in view of budgetary and enlargement pressures and indicates potential changes in EC policy.
- 0747 **A Survey of NATO Defense Concepts.** *RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. R. Levine et al. June 1982. 135 pp.*  
As part of a larger study, a survey was conducted of articles and papers that have proposed new or different concepts for the defense of NATO. Each article was read for the author's view on three topics: Why a change is needed in NATO's current defense concepts or capabilities; What the main tenets of the author's proposed concepts are; and How the concept is supposed to work. This study presents a synopsis of the unclassified articles, selected to reflect many different views. It also categorizes the views in several ways. No attempt is made, however, to evaluate the individual proposals or to incorporate any information on possible Soviet/Warsaw Pact reactions to the proposals. The main purpose of the study is to provide planners and analysts with an overview of the variety and scope of suggested changes in NATO defense concepts and capabilities.
- 0822 **The U.S. Role in Western Europe: Protracted War/Short War Question.** *Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Darrel L. Erikson. June 9, 1982. 86 pp.*  
This group research project contends that the U.S. and the USSR are presently involved in a political and economic war. The project further establishes that the U.S. and USSR are also major competitors at the military level. The Soviet threat to the U.S. is examined in three areas: economics, politics, and the military. Data were gathered by personal interviews with U.S. and foreign military officers at Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE); representatives from strategic research institutes in London and Stockholm; and with U.S. diplomats and Swedish government officials in Stockholm. Academicians and military officials at the United States Army War College (USAWC) were also queried. An analysis was made of the possibilities of a short war or a protracted war within Western Europe. The questions as to whether the Soviets will attack and the moment when they might attack are also addressed. The driving political issues plus the economic factors that may lead to a military confrontation in Western Europe are also presented. The Soviet government is currently beset with uncertainty as to which domestic and foreign policy options to choose. The U.S. must strive for a sound NATO Alliance that can continue to deter the USSR. Containment must become a coequal to NATO's policy of flexible response.
- 0908 **Energy Strategies of Western Europe in the 1980s: Dependable Supplies Versus Security Implications.** *Texas University at Austin, Center for Energy Studies. G. W. Hoffman. July 1982. 132 pp.*  
The basic aim of this study is to emphasize the various strategies available to the countries of Western Europe when dealing with problems connected with their energy dependence and their effort to secure dependable supplies. The first part of the study focuses on the historical trends and the nature and extent of the energy problems in Western Europe since 1973. The various alternative strategies available for securing more dependable energy supplies for the Western European countries are analyzed in the second part. The last part of this study analyzes the problem of securing dependable energy supplies and their various security implications. Special attention is given to motives of the Soviet Union in proposing the natural gas pipeline project and those of the West European countries in

accepting sizeable increases in their gas imports from the Soviet Union. Special attention is given to the concern voiced by the U.S. for the impact of Soviet gas deliveries to the NATO Alliance. These discussions emphasize issues affecting both the economic security and political autonomy of the West European countries and the future alternatives available to them.

- 1040 **Western European and NATO Navies, 1981.**  
*Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia. Naval Studies Group. Stephen S. Roberts. July 1982. 26 pp.*

The first paper in this series surveyed the history of the navies of Western Europe and Canada from the creation of NATO to the end of 1980, with emphasis on the evolution of their force structures. This paper will examine the current force structures. This paper will examine the current force procurement plans of each navy as of the end of 1981, to the extent that they have been made public, and estimate their impact on future force structure. One theme is common to nearly all of these programs: They are replacement programs designed to maintain current force levels while upgrading technology, not to increase the size of the fleet or change its basic structure. The countries will be surveyed alphabetically, ending with the United Kingdom, whose navy has had a more traumatic year than most. Note that Finland has been added to this discussion.

## Reel 6

### NATO cont.

#### 1982 cont.

- 0001 **Selected Agricultural Trade Statistics for the European Community, Greece, Spain, and Portugal, 1967-1979.**  
*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. International Economics Division. Harold A. McNitt. October 1982. 116 pp.*

This report provides data on the agricultural trade of the European Community (EC-9) and of Greece, Spain, and Portugal during the period 1967-1979. It also covers U.S. trade with the EC-9 and the three countries. Trade is shown by value, commodity composition, and country or region of origin or destination.

- 0117 **Strategic Requirements for the Army to the Year 2000. Volume IV: Europe.**  
*Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Center for Strategic and International Studies. William J. Taylor, Jr. and Robert H. Kupperman. November 1982. 121 pp.*

Provides global and regional requirements that will contribute to development of army long-range doctrine, manning, force design, and materiel requirements. Determines a range of environments that will likely confront the nation and the army and identifies factors that will have major implications for the army. Develops army-wide strategic requirements and recommends general directions that the army can take to meet strategic requirements. Analysis of the Western European region. Suggests new army force structures for dealing with future strategic requirements.

#### 1983

- 0238 **U.S. Participation in the NATO Infrastructure Program.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. International Division. January 27, 1983. 69 pp.*

U.S. participation in NATO's Infrastructure Program is a frequently used method of meeting some of the U.S. military construction requirements in Europe. However, unique programming policies and procedures, a large NATO civilian and military bureaucracy, and numerous U.S. organizations responsible for carrying out U.S. participation in the program, all combine to make programming, construction, and funding of infrastructure



projects a lengthy, complicated process. General Accounting Office's report answers some of the most frequently asked questions about how NATO carries out the program, how projects are funded and costs shared among the alliance members, and what benefits the U.S. obtains through its participation.

- 0302 **Report on Allied Contributions to the Common Defense.**  
*Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. March 1983. 103 pp.*  
This report seeks to describe allied contributions to the common defense and to indicate what is being done to assure that the defense of Western interests is shared equitably. The need for equitable burdensharing seems very clear. The growing Soviet threat to Western interests—as a result of the unremitting Soviet military buildup since the early 1960s—requires an increased defense effort by both the U.S. and its allies. In order to maintain adequate public and governmental support for this increased defense effort, equitable burdensharing is a *sine qua non*. Neither we nor our allies, especially at a time of economic difficulty for all, should expect any one nation to carry a disproportionate share of the common defense burden.
- 0405 **Report of Defense Science Board Task Force on Industry-to-Industry International Armaments Cooperation. Phase I: NATO Europe.**  
*Defense Science Board, Washington, D.C. June 1983. 97 pp.*  
This Phase I report provides the findings and recommendations of the Defense Science Board Task Force on industry-to-industry international armaments cooperation between the U.S. and the European NATO countries. A second phase of our task activities, now in progress, will apply to cooperation with Japan. The report is made up of reproductions of the viewgraphs used to brief the Defense Science Board, the Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, supplemented by amplifying text where pertinent. First, the starting point for the Task Force deliberations was the stated policy for increased industry-to-industry arms cooperation with our allies. Second, we concluded that there are several fundamental prerequisites for achieving a substantial increase in industrial cooperation. Our European allies must be persuaded to increase high quality investments in key military-oriented technologies for there to be a better balanced and more effective technological partnership. Third, out of all of our sixteen sets of findings and recommendations on various aspects to the subject, we feel strongly that the last one on U.S. investment in R&D is the most important by far.
- 1984**
- 0502 **NATO Politico-Military Consultation: Shaping Alliance Decisions.**  
*National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Research Directorate. T. J. Kennedy, Jr. 1984. 87 pp.*  
NATO politico-military consultation; U.S. participation in the consultative process; Other European consultative bodies; Improving U.S. consultative procedures; and Consultation outside the formal NATO process.
- 0589 **Transatlantic Policy Divergencies: Implications for the United States.**  
*Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts. R. L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. March 13, 1984. 530 pp.*  
Never in its troubled history has the Atlantic Alliance faced simultaneously such a large number of issues that divide its members and, in particular, separate the U.S. and some, if not all, of its allies in Western Europe. The purpose of this report is to identify issue categories that already divide, or are likely to be divisive, in the transatlantic relationship into the early years of the next decade for the following policy purposes: To take timely action to minimize such threats to Alliance cohesion; To indicate those issue areas in which the U.S., if necessary, must be prepared to act unilaterally in support of interests that are not as fully shared by West European allies; and To develop an understanding of issues in which one or more members of the Atlantic Alliance share interests and threat perceptions that furnish the basis for collaborative action based on a "coalition of the willing." Issues over

which the Atlantic allies may divide can be delineated into essentially three categories: East-West political and technology transfer questions; NATO force structure, military modernization, and arms control programs; and The out-of-area security problem confronting one or more Alliance members.

## Reel 7

### NATO cont.

#### 1984 cont.

0001 **NATO Two-Track Decision: The Impact of Public Opinion on Government Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany.**

*Texas University at Austin. S. E. Charkow. August 1984. 168 pp.*

The purpose of this thesis has been to find what influence using public opinion against the stationing of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles under provisions of the NATO Two-Track Decision has had on the government policies that have advocated such stationing. The thesis covers theoretical discussion of previous works in the general area of public opinion, followed by the construction of a model constructed from those works. West German government policy and public opinion are discussed. Both parties of Helmut Schmidt and Helmut Kohl proposed commitment to the NATO Two-Track Decision. Latest opinion polls showed a marked drop in those who felt that nuclear weapons and war were the most urgent problems of the time. Election results, however, could show from growing support that the Greens received that the young are less in favor of current policies than the older generation. The government has been able to continue implementing the NATO Two-Track Decision in the face of demonstrations. The areas are clear public consensus developing against the stationing by the polls even though nuclear weapons are not at all popular.

0169 **Analyzing Alternative Concepts for the Defense of NATO.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. M. G. Weiner. October 1984. 24 pp.*

The thrust of this paper is that: There are a number of different approaches to improving the defense capabilities of NATO; Within these different approaches, there are alternative defense concepts—several possible concepts have been described, some analysis of the effectiveness requirements of these concepts has been done, and some of the cost and political implications have been identified. The concepts, the analysis, and the issues that have been described should raise a host of questions. And, finally, the challenge of this presentation is to define the concepts and issues and the factors in them that the analytic community is capable of addressing in a coherent, credible, constructive, and contributing way.

0193 **Implications of Reduced NATO Nuclear Stockpiles.**

*Los Alamos National Laboratories, New Mexico. R. R. Sandoval. October 1984. 37 pp.*

After completing the initial deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe in the early 1960s, the U.S. maintained for the next twenty years a stockpile advertised at 7,000 weapons in the support of NATO. This number was not explained by any official statement of the roles of the weapons, which made the stockpile vulnerable to politically motivated decisions to reduce its size. Ensuing reductions have brought the number to a nominal 6,000 weapons, with an announced further reduction to 4,600 planned. The reduction of NATO's nuclear weapons stockpile reflects a weakening of the long-standing Alliance consensus supporting reliance on nuclear weapons as a key feature of NATO's military posture. The adequacy of the number of NATO's nuclear weapons is probably best judged by its likely effect on Soviet calculations for starting a war in Europe. It has been judged that 4,600 weapons will dissuade the Soviets if they are convinced that NATO would resort to nuclear weapons to forestall a military defeat. Smaller numbers might also dissuade the Soviets, but at some point substantive improvements in NATO's nuclear target-engagement systems would be required to preserve that dissuasiveness. Improvements could be made in both technology and in organizational methods of incorporating nuclear capability into NATO's forces.

- 0230 **Emerging Security Considerations for NATO's Northern Flank.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. P. deLeon. December 1984. 16 pp.*  
 Since the inception of NATO the Northern Flank nations have played quite conspicuous roles in East-West politics, although in very different ways. Norway and Denmark are charter members of NATO, Iceland joining shortly thereafter. All have been consistently supportive of NATO, albeit exercising low military profiles (e.g., neither Norway nor Denmark permits the peacetime location of nuclear weapons on their soil). Finland has traditionally acted as a buffer and broker between the Soviet Union and the other Scandinavian states, while Sweden has deliberately pursued a policy of strictly observed and well-armed neutrality. Although there have been some deviations from these general patterns, on the whole, they have held relatively constant in the postwar years and need not be recounted at length here. The consensus regarding the Northern Flank is that it represents a stable geographic area, the quiet corner of Europe, one relatively devoid of the East-West volatilities and tensions that have characterized other parts of the continent over the past thirty years.
- 0246 **Europeanization of Defense: Prospects of Consensus.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. P. Schmidt. December 7, 1984. 48 pp.*  
 The concept of Europeanization of defense has seen renewed interest in the last few years. However, there are many important differences in security views that are of special importance because the European system of states requires a real consensus to change the current security and defense structure. This discussion distinguishes four models: the European approach, the two pillar approach, the transnational cooperation approach, and the diffusion approach. Whether any of these approaches has a chance of realization may be explored by an examination of: The motives, impulses, and aims behind the general public debate; The attitudes of European elites; The general political-strategic interests of important European states; and The history of efforts toward Europeanization. The variety of incentives and motives behind the goal of Europeanization can hardly lead to a consensus for the first of the models: Controversial ideas exist about the difference with the U.S. in the overall strategy toward the East; It is uncertain whether Europe has enough resources to play a much more self-sufficient role in defense matters; and There is no common threat perception, and different understandings and assessments of the general idea of deterrence characterize the debate.
- 0294 **Unexpected Response.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. T. R. White. May 8, 1985, 22 pp.*  
 This paper reviews the NATO mission of deterrence and the threat of its use of nuclear weapons. It suggests that the threat is viable until a war starts, but then becomes meaningless because the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) would opt for a different course of action—its "Unexpected Response." The conclusion is that conventional forces are the essential deterrent given strategic parity. Then strategic mobility is addressed as it provides greater conventional reinforcement potential than generally assumed. An "Unexpected Response" by the Congress which could be counterproductive to the use of our new mobility is then discussed.

## FRANCE

### 1984

- 0316 **French Strategic Dilemma.**  
*Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia. Naval Planning and Management Division. R. F. Laird. March 1984. 34 pp.*  
 This paper identifies a basic strategic dilemma for France. On the one hand, French leaders identify the political purpose of nuclear weapons as the defense of French territory or, at best, of France's "vital interests." On the other hand, a number of external pressures are inducing a need for France to provide a more explicit definition of the role of French nuclear

weapons in the West European security system. In particular, the central tension in French doctrine revolves around the emphasis on protecting the national "sanctuary" with nuclear weapons and the growing recognition of the need to include West Germany in the French security concept.

## GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (WEST)

### 1980

- 0350 **Theater Nuclear Force Modernization as an Issue in West German Politics, 1977-1980.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Thomas Carl Glad. December 1980. 144 pp.*

This thesis reviews the dominant opinions within the main political groupings of West Germany regarding the two major theater nuclear modernization issues of the recent past—enhanced radiation weapons (ERW) and long-range theater nuclear force (LRTNF). The broad strategic context of both the ERW and LRTNF questions sets the scene for exploration of the major hypothesis: whether differences in the capabilities of proposed new theater nuclear systems are a principal variable in explaining the positions adopted by each of the three major political party groupings in West Germany—the Christlich-Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union, the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands-Freie Demokratische Partei government, and the left wing of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands. The thesis concludes that weapons characteristics did influence the government. Characteristics of the political balance in the West German political system, however, as well as perceptions of Soviet threat and reliability of American guarantees to Europe, were also significant.

### 1981

- 0494 **The Allies and the West German Parliamentary Council: The Crisis of April 1949.**

*Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Virginia. Phillip J. Linn. September 8, 1981.*

The thesis examines the impact of personalities, issues, and events on the drafting of the West German Basic Law between July 1948 and May 1949. Special emphasis is given to the development and resolution of the crisis that erupted in the Council in April 1949, almost forcing its dissolution. Military and diplomatic records in the National Archives of the United States provided the primary sources of evidence, supplemented by British, American, and German memoirs and secondary works. The study provides new insights into the resolution of the April crisis, viewed from both the Allied and German perspective. Ultimately the U.S. desire to bring the Berlin Crisis to an end and the Allied concern to re-establish a strong Western Europe combined with a German willingness to accept the political realities in Europe enabled the process to be concluded successfully.

### 1982

- 0675 **The German Army and NATO Strategy.**

*Control Data Corporation, San Diego, California Aerospace Division. S.M. Kanarowski. 1982. 98 pp.*

An economic giant, West Germany now fields the largest ground component of the NATO Central Europe forces. The German Army's role in NATO strategic planning, therefore, is of keen interest to Western defense analysts, and is the general subject of this monograph. The author reviews the evolution of NATO strategy, using recently declassified materials from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Security Council that are now available at the National Archives. As he organizes, then sifts through this wealth of material, he focuses on the interaction between the evolution of NATO strategy and the development of the German Army. An appreciation of the German Army contribution, which is the focus of this study, can lead to a better understanding of NATO. Is Germany on the path to an increased leadership role in NATO? How will planned increases in German Reserve Forces affect

NATO strategy? How might German strategic thinking affect the design of future forces? The author explores these and other questions in his study of an important European ally in a crucial U.S. alliance.

**1983**

- 0773 **Navies of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic: A Comparison and Analysis of Structures, Alliance Relations, Doctrine, and Capabilities.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. John M. Tindall. June 1983. 94 pp.* Since 1967, when NATO adopted "flexible response" as the Alliance strategy, reliance upon the conventional leg of the NATO triad has increased, including reliance upon the West German Navy. The West German Navy's principal mission is to implement the alliance's strategy of "forward defense" in the Baltic. During the same period of time, the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact naval forces in the Baltic, including the East German Navy, have also been strengthened. Thus two well-equipped German navies of differing ideological and social systems face one another. This thesis surveys the following topics in relation to both navies; German maritime traditions; origins of the present German navies; organizational structure and relationships to alliances; doctrine and strategy and missions; and capabilities.

- 0867 **Protest Movements and the Security Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany Since 1950.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Arthur Neil Black. December 1983. 130 pp.*

This thesis presents an analysis of selected West German protest movements from the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 to the present. The purpose is to test the hypothesis that public opposition to security policies of the Federal Republic of Germany, as a continuing process, has enjoyed an increasing amount of success in affecting national decision making, and may play a key role in shaping West Germany's future in the NATO alliance. Social problems related to the effects of radical counter-cultures are discussed, as well as speculation about Soviet involvement in West German protest movements. The recent success of the Greens/Alternative Party in several local elections in West Germany raises the possibility that public attitudes may become less hospitable to the U.S. military presence in West Germany. This trend could have serious implications for NATO and for U.S. interests in Western Europe as a whole.

## Reel 8

### GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (WEST) cont.

**1984**

- 0001 **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Modernization and Soviet-West German Relations.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. L. A. Turrentine. September 1984. 90 pp.*

NATO's decision to modernize its intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) by deploying 108 Pershing IIs and 464 Cruise Missiles has created friction between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Following the NATO decision of December 12, 1979, the Soviet Union staged a monumental propaganda effort in West Germany against the modernization, with special attention to the Pershing IIs, which are to be stationed solely on West German soil. This effort, however, was not sufficient to cause the Federal Republic of Germany to reject the deployment although there were heated Bundestag debates and massive public demonstrations against the deployment. Since the deployment began in November 1983, no dire consequences have come to pass for the Federal Republic of

Germany. The Soviet Union, in fact, needs to retain positive relations with the Federal Republic because of its need for hard currency and Western technology, and the FRG is the USSR's most valuable Western trade partner.

## GREECE

### 1980

- 0091 **Military Dictatorship in Greece (1967–1974): The Genesis of Greek Anti-Americanism.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Donald C. Munn. June 1980. 230 pp.* The years following the April 21, 1967, Greek coup d'état have been marked by a considerable degree of anti-American sentiment felt and expressed by people in Greece who have been staunch allies of the U.S. since the end of the Second World War. A major consequence of this anti-American sentiment has been a serious degradation in relations between the U.S. and Greece. This thesis examines the American relationship with the military rulers of Greece between 1967 and 1974 in order to better understand the origins of Greek grievances with the U.S., the cause of the present estranged relations, and the implications Greek anti-American sentiment may have on future Greek-American relations.

- 0321 **Greece and NATO: Problems and Prospects.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Rosario Nicholas Palarino. June 6, 1980. 71 pp.*

This study analyzes the relationship between Greece and NATO. The investigation focuses on Greece's accession into the Alliance, its eventual departure from the Organization, the current situation between Greece and NATO, and an assessment of the reasons Greece is important to the defense agreement. Investigation reveals that Greece's accession into the Alliance was directly linked to American involvement in that country. However, Greece's departure was caused by a variety of reasons, the most important being that of Cyprus. Current negotiations are ongoing between Greece and NATO to reintegrate it into the military structure, however many disagreements are hindering the talks. The main issue concerns the control of airspace over the Aegean. Further examination reveals Greece is a very important member of the Alliance and if not reintegrated quickly, a possible further disintegration of the southern flank could occur.

### 1984

- 0392 **Party Politics and Greek Security Policy from 1974 to 1984: Change and Continuity.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. J. L. Haines. December 1984. 271 pp.* This thesis explores the effects of political change on Greek security policy during the period 1974 to 1984. This period encompasses significant change in Greece's foreign relations including those with the U.S. The central question is: Are the elements of Greek security policy based on long-term basic interests that find consistent expression, or are they a function of domestic political factors, more ideologically motivated and therefore variable according to the governing political party? The fundamental issues include: relations with the Eastern Bloc, Cyprus, the Aegean Sea, relations with NATO, and U.S. military installations in Greece. These issues are analyzed for three periods: the 1974–1981 New Democracy Governments, the 1974–1981 opposition policies of Panhellenic Socialist Union (PASOK), and the 1974–present PASOK government. Although some expected a radical departure in policies with the 1981 change to a socialist government, practical policies have shown very little change. The basic requirements of a developing and maturing country influenced by the conditions of its regional environments and general world conditions seem to lend consistency and rationality to Greek security policy and should be considered in forming Western policy for the region.

## IRELAND

### 1981

- 0663 **Ireland in the Year 2000. Proceedings of a Colloquy Held at Kilkea Castle, April 1981. Technology and the Infrastructure.**

*Foras Forbartha Teoranta, Dublin, Ireland. April 1981. 81 pp.*

Ireland in the Year 2000, the AFF Annual Colloquy/Conference series explores policy options open to the Irish people over the next two decades. It also identifies primary areas of research necessary to support these policies. The organization of government emerged strongly as a theme from the 1980 Conference: a particular subject for scrutiny was the way in which government effort is brought to bear on aspects of infrastructural provision. The inertia of administrative systems in a period of rapid change (the counterpoint of "dynamic change and persistent stability") was seen as a central issue. Against this background, the present Conference examines more deeply infrastructural requirements, looking particularly at the contribution of science and technology to the provision of these requirements.

### 1982

- 0744 **Ireland in the Year 2000. Proceedings of a Colloquy Held at Kilkea Castle, 1982. Infrastructure, Finance, Employment, Organisation.**

*Foras Forbartha Teoranta, Dublin, Ireland. 1982. 78 pp.*

The Ireland in the Year 2000 series is based on the concept of a continuous refinement and updating of perceptions of the options open to Irish society in the next two decades, of the problems likely to be encountered in that period, and of the actions necessary if particular options are to be pursued. In furtherance of this concept the 1980 Colloquy/Conference suggested that the population of the state would exceed four million persons with about 66 percent resident in urban areas and over 40 percent living in the East Region. To provide for this growth in population and a further decline in agricultural employment, 230,000 and 300,000 additional job opportunities will be required in the manufacturing and service sectors. The cost of providing the major infrastructural elements to accommodate this growth (land, energy, roads, ports, and telecommunications) but excluding social infrastructure, water supply, and sewage and waste disposal was estimated at 24,000 million pounds at the 1981 Colloquy and Conference.

### 1983

- 0822 **Ireland in the Year 2000: Towards a National Strategy. Issues and Perspectives.**

*National Board for Science and Technology, Dublin, Ireland. February 1983. 97 pp.*

It has been the business of the Ireland in the Year 2000 series to consider what action should currently be undertaken to provide the necessary physical, economic, and social infrastructure up to the end of the century. The 1983 colloquium was concerned with the need for a national strategic plan. In particular it was concerned with the necessity to identify national goals, the issues which such a plan should address and the institutional framework required to effect them.

## ITALY

### 1984

- 0919 **Changing Role and Capabilities of the Italian Navy.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. D. D. Lucas. June 1984. 155 pp.*

The Italian Navy is presently undergoing an extensive modernization and reconstruction program. The ultimate goal of this thesis is to provide an assessment of the potential impact of Italy's evolving force improvements on NATO's maritime capabilities in the Mediterranean. To accomplish this goal, four potential factors that may have governed the process leading to the Navy's recent improvement efforts are investigated. The influence of historical forces, NATO commitments, domestic economy and politics, and commercial

interests are the key elements considered. A brief review of the three services and their present force structure deployment and missions is necessary to attain a proper perspective on the Navy's role, objectives, and associated problems. All of the above factors have had some influence on the changing role and capabilities of the Italian Navy. Under current conditions, the Navy is capable of adequately accomplishing its assigned mission. Any added burden placed upon it by a change in NATO's strategy (a decrease in regional forces) or a sudden downturn of the economy, would probably degrade its capabilities considerably.

## Reel 9

### NETHERLANDS

1981

0001

**Monetary Policy and Exchange Rate Policy in the Netherlands.**

*London Business School, London, England. Econometric Forecasting Unit. A. P. Budd and P. Warburton. September 1981. 89 pp.*

In section I, a brief general account of exchange rate movements and other economic developments in the Netherlands in recent years is presented. Section II sets out a general theoretical framework within which exchange rate policy in the Netherlands can be examined. Section III examines monetary and fiscal policy in the Netherlands in relation to exchange rate policy since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods System. Section IV considers the relationship between this policy and the economic performance of the Netherlands. Section V evaluates the Netherlands experience and considers alternative exchange rate policies.

### PORTUGAL

1976

0090

**Proceedings of a Series of Seminars Conducted in Cooperation with the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs) on National Security Policy Issues and Contemporary Portugal on January 26, February 9, February 17, March 2, and March 9, 1976.**

*Department of State, Washington, D.C. Office of External Research. Riordan Roett. 1976. 134 pp.*

With the support of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research sponsored a Seminar Series on Portugal during the first three months of 1976. Five papers were commissioned to serve as a focus for the discussion during each seminar. The papers' titles were: "The Soviet Union, Western Europe and Détente: Russia's Role in Portugal"; "Portuguese Politics since April 1974: Political Groups and Personalities"; "NATO, Portugal, Spain: Iberian Strategic and Defense Issues"; "Portugal and Africa: Political and Strategic Considerations in Decolonization"; and "United States Foreign Policy and the Iberian Peninsula: Strategic Alternatives."

1979

0224

**Administrative Reform in Portugal: An Assessment of the Crisis in Public Management with Recommendations for Action.**

*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. John Macy, Jr., et al. April 1979. 153 pp.*

That the financial management of the Portuguese government requires immediate and serious attention is the crux of this report prepared by five senior U.S. public administrative



consultants. The consultants report that government estimates of revenue are frequently incorrect, resulting in too high expenditures and large deficits. Budgets are formulated without regard to the goods and services they are to accomplish. Six basic actions were recommended. This report consists of an overview report, followed by five supporting papers on financial management: Decentralization, deconcentration, and devolution; Rural development; Personnel policies, manpower development and management training; and Public enterprise management.

## SPAIN

### 1980

0377 **Maritime Forces Affecting Iberian Security.**

*Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia. Institute of Naval Studies. Bradford Dismukes and Charles C. Petersen. October 1980. 26 pp.*

Enduring geopolitical realities have given special weight to maritime affairs in the history of security planning for the Iberian Peninsula. This paper will review the threats to Iberian security that would arise directly or indirectly from maritime axes in the context of a major war between East and West today and in the near future. This context is selected, not because it is the most probable, but because it provides the most severe and comprehensive threats against which to assess military requirements and, more important, because it is exactly the eventuality whose occurrence state security policy should be designed to prevent. Time and space do not permit attention to conflicts of lower intensity nor indeed to the "peacetime" threats to the Iberian region that arise from the politico-military actions of other states, and this is regrettable because the latter, especially, are much more likely to occur and are in the aggregate, in the author's opinion, equally threatening to the world balance of power.

### 1981

0403 **Spain: Democracy and the Military.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Charles Douglas Voros. December 1981. 123 pp.*

Since the death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in November 1975, Spain has undergone a remarkable political transformation in which King Juan Carlos I, Franco's handpicked successor, inherited the authoritarian powers of a dictator and promptly used them to turn his country into a constitutional monarchy rooted in liberal democratic principles. The initial phase of Spain's democratic evolution was characterized by euphoria and good will in which a series of firm and decisive steps were taken to replace the old regime with new democratic institutions and norms. Since 1979, however, the pace of Spain's democratic progress has slowed, as the problems of regional autonomy, terrorism, and a disaffected military have threatened to disrupt Spain's democratic evolution. Prime Minister Suarez' abrupt resignation in January 1981 and the military coup attempt a month later brought into sharp focus the fragile state of Spain's democracy. The present government has pursued a mixed program of reform and appeasement to defuse the danger of a military takeover in Spain. Elements within the Spanish military, however, remain a potential threat to Spanish democracy.

### 1982

0526 **The International Politics of Spanish Accession to NATO.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Edward McKim Sniffin. March 1982. 160 pp.*

This thesis examines four important international bilateral relationships that were significant during the process of Spanish accession to NATO. Focusing is on one particular issue in each of the four relationships.

- 0686 **Spain at Europe's Crossroads: Prospects for Spanish Integration to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community.** *Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Shannon Theresa Keenan. March 1982. 115 pp.*

This thesis examines the implications of Spain's integration into Western Europe through membership in NATO and the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC is discussed to provide background for analysis of key issues pertaining to Spanish membership. The ramifications of future NATO membership, given Spain's strategic importance in the Mediterranean, are considered.

### 1983

- 0801 **"Sixteenth Nation": Spain's Role in NATO.** *National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Research Directorate. William L. Heiberg. 1983. 82 pp.*

In 1982, Spain became the first nation in more than a quarter of a century to join NATO. This historic event, however, has not silenced discussion on the implications of Spanish membership on the future of this security alliance. The author examines the benefits accruing to the Alliance as a result of Spanish membership. From the military standpoint, Spanish ground, naval, and air forces will moderately increase NATO strength. Spanish territory adds substantially to NATO's rear area for conventional war-fighting purposes. Other gains are longer-range and more geopolitical in nature: possible improved relations with the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America; a bolstering of the image of NATO as a viable alliance; and new strategic options for NATO planners. On the other hand, were Spain to withdraw from the Alliance—perhaps as a result of Spanish politics—the damage may outweigh the gains offered by NATO's sixteenth nation.

## UNITED KINGDOM

### 1979

- 0883 **A Neoclassical Analysis of Employment and Wage Rates in the U.K.** *London Business School, London, England. Econometric Forecasting Unit. M. Beenstock and P. Warburton. September 1979. 31 pp.*

Within a neoclassical framework of the labor market there would be nothing particularly surprising to such an observation since the exogenous variables that influence the supply and demand for labor would be expected to influence the long run volume of employment. Nevertheless the conventional approach to employment analysis in Great Britain assumes that employment is entirely demand-determined and that even in the longer run supply effects do not influence the long run level of employment. In particular, employment is assumed to depend upon the level of economic activity to the exclusion of virtually every other consideration with the exception of a time trend that reflects underlying productivity growth.

### 1981

- 0914 **Does Monetarism Fit the U.K. Facts?** *London Business School, London, England. Econometric Forecasting Unit. Alan Budd et al. September 1981. 67 pp.*

Section I discusses definitions of "monetarism" and proposes a very general meaning that can be derived, with minimal restrictions, from a widely accepted model of the economy. The two principal propositions to be tested are that there is a stable demand for money and that changes in the money supply have been an independent source of changes in prices. Section II examines the long run relationship between money and nominal income. It reports previous empirical studies and also presents long-run graphical evidence. Section III examines in more detail the question of "causality." The conclusions are summarized in the final section.

- 0981 **Science and Technology Indicators for the U.K. Innovations in Britain since 1945.** *Sussex University, Brighton, England. Science Policy Research Unit. J. Townsend et al. 1981. 135 pp.*

An experimental survey identifying characteristics of more than 2,000 innovations in British industry from 1945 to 1980 was carried out. Thirty sectors were investigated, which in 1975 accounted for 58 percent of manufacturing output. Innovations were identified and examined by experts within the different sectors. The survey revealed information about sources of innovations, including for industrial sources the size and sector of the innovating firm, the type of innovation (product, process or material), and the impact of innovations. Patent and research and development statistics were also used to evaluate the distribution of British innovative activities amongst sectors. It was concluded that there was no indication of an increase in small-firm-based innovation in the 1970s but there was a continued increase in innovations from large firms. A regional split existed with innovations in chemicals and electronics concentrated in the South, those in metal manufacture, mechanical engineering, and traditional industries in the North, and foreign-owned firms were responsible for a significant proportion of innovations. No apparent trend from product to process innovations was evident. Suggestions for future analysis were given.

## Reel 10

### UNITED KINGDOM cont.

#### 1982

- 0001 **Public Sector and the Private Alternative.**

*Adam Smith Institute, Leesburg, Virginia. 1982. 106 pp.*

Eight seminar papers and subsequent discussion evaluate the undesirable growth of government control and initiative over ever expanding sectors of once private industry in Great Britain and similar trends in the U.S. The keynote paper divides British nationalized industries and services into three types: traditional (postal service, garbage collection), major industries nationalized by the Labor Party after 1945 (railways, coal, electric power, oil), and assorted minor businesses and the health care industry. Reasons for the inefficiency of the nationalized system are analyzed with emphasis on ambiguous lines of responsibility, failure to identify declining industries in the long-range, and the growing power and irresponsibility of public service labor unions. Subsequent papers discuss the government perspective, analyze the record of both public and private service administration, and compare the public sector unions in Britain and the U.S. One paper reports on the successful private refuse collection practices of some British localities as a case study in the private supply of public service. Political aspects of government provided public services and areas where the American public sector appears to be entering a competitive relationship with the private sector are discussed in terms of the Postal Service, the Federal Reserve System's electronic payments network, and the National Library of Medicine's effort to market information services. Another contribution traces the evolution of the U.S. government's policy of contracting out for commercial or industrial services as procurements from private enterprise and evaluates the methods of cost comparison by which contracting is done. The concluding paper presents arguments for the privatization of the public sector in Britain. A list of participants is provided.

#### 1983

- 0107 **Government Financial Targets and the Fight against Inflation: Some Analytical Results.**

*London Business School, London, England. Centre for Economic Forecasting. B. Haque. October 1983. 27 pp.*

The Conservative Government was elected in May 1979 with a commitment to cut taxes, support the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (PSBR), and reduce inflation rates through reductions in monetary expansion. The authors wish to assess the Medium Term

Financial Strategy (MTFS) pursued by the Thatcher Government in the U.K. within the model of monetary and fiscal policy under explicit microfoundations. The government budget constraint is explicit and limits the independent choice of government policy decisions.

0134 **Royal Navy and British Security Policy.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. J. E. Oldham. December 1983. 114 pp.* This thesis examines the roles of the Royal Navy in British security policy. Since World War II Britain's role in the international system has changed and so has its security policy. Today Britain plays a part in the nuclear balance of power; is a major contributor to NATO and West European collective security; and has diminished but still retains significant interests beyond Europe. The Royal Navy contributes to each of these dimensions of Britain's defense policy. It operates Britain's strategic nuclear deterrent. Its conventional forces contribute to Britain's European commitment, though the Navy's role is currently considered less significant than that of the British Army and the Royal Air Force. Finally, the Royal Navy plans a role in protecting Britain's residual global interests such as the Falklands. The future of the Navy is ultimately dependent upon the constraints which limit defense resources. In the future the Royal Navy will continue to operate the strategic nuclear deterrent; will contribute to Britain's European role with diminished capability; and slowly but inevitably further reduce its commitments beyond Europe.

**1984**

0248 **Wage and Employment Determination in the U.K.**

*London Business School, London, England. Centre for Economic Forecasting. P. Smith and S. Holly. 1984. 38 pp.*

Providing an explanation of the behavior of wages and employment in the U.K. has proved to be an elusive pursuit. Yet the labor market is a crucial part of the transmission of disturbances through the economy. In many models the problem is seen as one of modelling wages and prices separately from employment but if one wishes to consider the response of wages to an exogenous change one cannot do so without taking account of the simultaneous determination of employment. The model that the authors base their results upon is one of collective bargaining between firms and workers' representatives, mainly trade unions.

0285 **Employment, Real Wages and Unemployment in the United Kingdom.**

*Bank of England, London. 1984. 30 pp.*

The paper is concerned with the thesis that in Britain in recent years one principal cause of unemployment has been an excessively high level of real wages, which has "priced the workers out of jobs." The statistics of prices, wages, profits, and productivity for the U.K. do not give any substantial support to the idea of a powerful and general force acting to discourage production through higher real wages depressing profitability, as required by the theory of "unwillingness to supply." Nor do the figures for after tax return on capital demonstrate that there has been substantial discouragement to investment outside and beyond the effects of low demand and (at times) low international competitiveness. It's concluded that the case for the High Wage Induced Unemployment thesis, as a major explanation of mass unemployment in the United Kingdom, has not so far been properly made out either on theoretical or on empirical grounds.

## NEUTRAL/NONALIGNED COUNTRIES MALTA

### 1980

- 0315 **Malta: A Paradigm of Small Power International Negotiation Strategy.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. James Stewart Cooper. December 1980. 100 pp.*

This thesis examines the recent foreign policy of Malta within the analytical framework of international negotiation theory. The island may be seen as a paradigmatic test-case of small-power international negotiation strategy in that Prime Minister Mintoff seems so far to have been unable to repeat his 1971 success in negotiating. The Zartman Structural Paradox that prevailed in 1971 has yielded to a more typical small-power situation as circumstances have changed. Malta's current status of unarmed neutrality is unlikely to persist. Maltese decision making and negotiations are examined as resulting from several determinants, including: Malta's historical pattern of international relations; the island's economic history and prospects; nationalism; the personal characteristics of the Prime Minister; and the external influences exerted by other states involved in the Mediterranean affairs. Mintoff's Malta will probably pursue a foreign policy of nonalignment with economic and military guarantees provided by Italy, and perhaps other West European states.

## SWEDEN

### 1980

- 0415 **National Security in an Interdependent Environment.**  
*Foersvarets. Forskningsanstalt, Stockholm, Sweden. Bengt Sundelius. June 1980. 73 pp.*

This study attempts a broad, structural analysis of an important part of the Swedish security environment. It focuses on the relations among the Western advanced, industrial states. These nations are said to form an international system characterized by interdependence. The Swedish security position can partly be defined within the structure of this system. It is the purpose of this study to help clarify how Swedish participation in this interdependent system may affect the country's national security position. Once the concept of interdependence is dissected, the study offers a broad analysis of the structures and processes prevalent in an international interdependent system. Following this overview, some national effects of participation in an interdependent system are outlined. Both risks and opportunities for enhancing national security are included. Finally, some alternative strategies for coping with participation in an interdependent system are presented. Emphasis is given to means that may be relevant to Swedish security.

### 1981

- 0488 **Changes in Comparative Advantages and Paths of Structural Adjustment and Growth in Sweden, 1975-2000.**  
*International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Laxenburg, Austria. Lars Bergman and Lennart Ohlsson. 1981. 37 pp.*

The study identifies development paths for the Swedish economy by taking into account world market conditions, domestic factor accumulation, and technical change.

### 1984

- 0525 **Sweden: NATO's Silent Partner.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. J. E. Keys. December 1984. 130 pp.*  
In 1949 Sweden elected not to join NATO and declared a security policy that remains in effect today: nonalignment in peace, neutrality in war. To conduct this policy, Sweden must have a credible deterrent. In this context, the defense doctrine is one of "total defense," in

which all aspects of Swedish society (military, civilian, economic) are coordinated in a total effort to ensure the survival of the nation. But the doctrine may not be effective without the support of outside forces, and some Swedish military planners admit that they rely on NATO support within seven days of any outbreak of hostilities with the Warsaw Pact, making Sweden a "trip-wire" for NATO. This paper examines the Swedish defense doctrine in terms of military force structure, framed in the political debate of the past decade. It discusses the difficulties facing Sweden in regard to modernizing her armed forces, and suggests that Sweden is now, and will continue to be, a silent partner in NATO.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### 1980

- 0655 **Yugoslavia: The Non-Leninist Succession.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. A. Ross Johnson. January 1980. 11 pp.*  
 The Yugoslav Communist system was once, to be sure, a Leninist system, and the Leninist model of political succession did apply. As late as the mid 1960s, there was a single heir-apparent, Aleksandar Rankovic, who owed his position (apart from his wartime association with Tito) to his control over the Party's organizational levers of power as Central Committee Secretary responsible for organizational and cadre questions and as former chief of the secret police. But since the late 1960s, the Yugoslav system, and the resulting prospects for political succession, have changed profoundly for reasons that will be reviewed. At the end of the 1960s, Tito himself recognized the imperative of a new approach to the succession issue. Expressing these concerns, Tito initiated and oversaw the construction of new, less personalized mechanisms intended to provide Yugoslavia with leadership 'after Tito.' The resulting process has now been underway for about a decade and has (particularly in the past year) achieved considerable success. This paper outlines the highlights of that process.
- 0666 **Stability in Post-Tito Yugoslavia: Implications for U.S. Policy.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Milan Zimer. May 27, 1980. 168 pp.*  
 The question examined was with the mounting political, economic, ethnic, and cultural problems as factors of instability, could Yugoslavia continue the policies of nonalignment, self-management, and independence? These factors were examined and their implication for U.S. policy was further expanded. The evolution of the factors was historically traced to provide a background for understanding how these elements affect Yugoslavia today. The factors for instability: nationalism, politics, and economics were examined along with the military, Yugoslav nonalignment movement, and U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia. The study concluded: Yugoslavia is of interest to the U.S. for geostrategic reasons related to NATO's security; for economic, political, and cultural reasons it is important that Yugoslavia remain independent to reduce the likelihood of her returning to the Soviet sphere of influence thus upsetting the balance of power in the Mediterranean; and based on the above interest the U.S. should foment political, economic, military, and humanitarian policies to foster Yugoslav independence within the bounds of U.S. integrity, values, and beliefs. The nationalistic animosities, coupled with a faltering economy, could trigger a Soviet attempt to bring back Yugoslavia to the Eastern Bloc countries. Thus, American policies should be designed to prevent this from happening.
- 0834 **The Yugoslav People's Army: Its Military and Political Mission.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Richard Clinton Herrick. September 1980. 108 pp.*  
 The Yugoslav People's Army is a function of the defense needs of a medium size state and the political needs of a Communist regime attempting to unite a multiethnic society. This study examines four areas of the Yugoslav military system. It examines the factors that have influenced the development of the "total national defense" concept which Yugoslavia

is using to integrate its citizenry into the active defense of the country. It examines the relationship between the operational army and the territorial defense units, the major components of total national defense. It examines the political role of the army in support of the League of Communists to Yugoslavia. And, it examines the Yugoslav arms industry as influenced by defense needs, economic realities, and foreign policy. The army leadership recognizes that its most important task is the preservation of the Yugoslav state and they have made a commitment to support the post-Tito efforts to maintain a stable government.

## 1981

- 0942 **The Yugoslav All-People's Defense System: A Pessimistic Appraisal.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Douglas A. Frazee. June 1981. 88 pp.*  
 The Yugoslav All-People's Defense System is designed to project cooperation and unity, to prepare the society for long-lasting resistance, and to equip and to train the entire nation for defense, while deterring all possible invaders. The two most important factors in the All-People's Defense System are will power and fire power: the intangible and the tangible. This study examines these factors and evaluates their impact on the All-People's Defense System. The willingness to fight for Yugoslavia—rather than the constituent republics and regions—is always in doubt. Fire power—the ability of the Yugoslav economic system to project material strength through agriculture, communications, industry, and transport—is questionable. The All-People's Defense System suffers from various deficiencies as do other defense strategies. It is, however, the strategy that best fulfills the economic, political, and military demands of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
- 1030 **Yugoslavia and the Soviet Policy of Force in the Mediterranean since 1961.**  
*Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia. Institute of Naval Studies. Milan N. Vego. August 1981. 194 pp.*  
 Yugoslavia has an important, although not a paramount, role in supporting the Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean, through granting Soviet combatants and auxiliaries access to its naval ship repair facilities. However, from the outset it played a crucial role, and still does, in the Soviet quick-reaction and crisis-related airlift of arms and material over its territory. It is the intention of this report to describe and analyze how politico-military cooperation between Belgrade and Moscow began and developed after 1961, when the matter of granting access to Yugoslav ports and ground air facilities and overflight rights was first raised. Also, changes over time are explained and an analysis attempted of the similarity or identity of ideological, political, economic, and military interests that made cooperation between Belgrade and Moscow and other "progressive" Arab regimes. Some of the internal developments and crises in Yugoslavia that affected relations between Belgrade and Moscow are described. Finally, the changing attitudes and policies of the Yugoslav leadership toward the Soviet and U.S./NATO military presence, respectively, are discussed, because these implicitly justified Belgrade's support of Moscow's policy of force in the Mediterranean.

## 1982

- 1224 **Impressions of Post-Tito Yugoslavia: A Trip Report.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. A. Ross Johnson. January 1982. 18 pp.*  
 Post-Tito Yugoslavia is a more open society than was the Yugoslavia of the 1970s. The media displays considerable criticism and autonomy. Yugoslav foreign policy has been marked by continuity in the period since Tito's death. Good relations with the West have continued, and Soviet-Yugoslav relations have been clouded only by the Polish unrest. Relations with Albania have deteriorated as a result of the Kosovo Unrest. The collective successionist institutions in Yugoslavia have worked because in the quasi-confederation that is Yugoslavia, and in the League of Communists that rules, power flows up from the constituent republics and provinces, not down from the center. Kosovo was shaken by severe unrest earlier in the year. Kosovo notwithstanding, the main challenge confronting post-Tito Yugoslavia is resolution of the country's serious economic problems. These may

be tackled more or less successfully, but they will be approached on the basis of inter-republican consensus, not centralized decisions.

## Reel 11

### WARSAW PACT

#### 1984

- 0001 **Warsaw Pact: The Question of Cohesion. Phase II, Volume 1: The Greater Socialist Army: Integration and Reliability.**

*Operational Research and Analysis Establishment, Ottawa, Ontario. T. Rakowska-Harmstone et al. February 1984. 365 pp.*

The question of the cohesion of the Warsaw Pact forces is analyzed from the point of view of interaction between national attitudes and the integration mechanisms of the Alliance. Functional and attitudinal aspects of integration are correlated with the reliability factor. The years of joint operations and indoctrination are weighed to measure the impact they have had on shaping overall perceptions and identification (or lack thereof) with common goals, and thus on patterns of future combat performance. In the final assessment three crucial components of the Warsaw Pact forces analyzed: the servicemen, the professional cadre, and the military-political environment in which they interact. Their relative impact on the attitudes/performance mix in peacetime is evaluated and projected for wartime conditions. This is Volume I of a two-volume study.

- 0366 **Warsaw Pact Baltic Fleet.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. K. W. Veitch. September 1984. 128 pp.*

This thesis provides an examination of the threat posed to NATO by the Warsaw Pact Baltic Fleet and its capability to accomplish its maritime missions. The history of the Soviet Baltic Fleet is discussed in order to demonstrate previous Russian actions and interests in the Baltic region. The missions of the Warsaw Pact are delineated and supported by evidence from the Warsaw Pact exercise. The constraints caused by political and natural geography, oceanographic factors, and climate are reviewed. The character and types of operations necessitated by these constraints are proposed. The force structures of the Warsaw Pact nations (East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union) that make up the Warsaw Pact Baltic Fleet are examined. Trends in modernization and capabilities are discussed in particular depth. The navies of the NATO opposition (Denmark and West Germany) are presented in the same manner. The ability of the Warsaw Pact Baltic Fleet to accomplish its missions in the face of the constraints and opposition is analyzed.

- 0494 **Warsaw Pact: The Question of Cohesion. Phase II, Volume 2: Poland, German Democratic Republic and Romania.**

*Operational Research and Analysis Establishment, Ottawa, Ontario. T. R. Harmstone et al. November 1984. 416 pp.*

Volume II of Phase II of this Canadian study contains the first part of an analysis of the individual military contingents of the member states of the Warsaw Pact. It discusses the national armies of two countries in the Northern Tier of the Warsaw Pact (Poland and the German Democratic Republic) and of Rumania, which is in the Southern Tier of the Warsaw Pact. The first two are "loyal" armies and are fully integrated into the military coalition system of the Pact. Rumania's armed forces are considered to be an independent entity, which is coordinated but not integrated with the other members of the system.

#### 1985

- 0910 **Creditworthiness of Eastern Europe in the 1980s.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. K. Crane. January 1985. 195 pp.*

This report develops various scenarios to analyze the hard currency debt problems of Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. It considers the effect of adjustment policies on: those



countries' struggles with their balance of payments; their ability to generate more rapid increases in output through increased hard currency exports; and their levels of military expenditure while there is so much pressure on their balance of payments. It concludes that, if Rumania and Hungary manage to service their debts in the next few years, they should be creditworthy borrowers by the end of the 1980s, but that Poland has little prospect of restoring solvency even in the 1990s. Output growth in all three countries will be constrained by their ability to finance hard currency imports and to increase hard currency exports. Western credit policy is not likely to affect either the independence of these countries from the Soviet Union or their military expenditures.

## Reel 12

### ALBANIA

1980

- 0001 **Directory of Officials of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; a Reference Aid.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. December 1980. 78 pp.*  
The directory is a functional reference guide to officials of the Albanian government, the Albanian Workers' Party, and other prominent public organizations.

### BULGARIA

1984

- 0079 **Directory of Officials of the Bulgarian People's Republic.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. June 1984. 120 pp.*  
The directory identifies individuals who hold positions in selected party, government, economic, scientific, and public organizations. It also provides a guide to the internal structures of some of these organizations. An index to major organizations and a personality index follow the directory listing. Duplicate names in the personality index refer to different individuals. A map of major administrative subdivisions appears at the end of the directory.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1982

- 0199 **A Survey of Czechoslovakia's Agriculture.**  
*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. International Economics Division. Robert Cummings. March 1982. 23 pp.*  
Czechoslovakia is one of the most industrialized countries in Eastern Europe, and agriculture plays a minor role in the economy, contributing only 10.5 percent of national income in 1980. Of the arable land, 94 percent is held in socialized ownership, but private production supplies a large share of meat, livestock products, fruits, and vegetables. The emphasis of current agricultural policy is on attaining self-sufficiency in grain production to reduce costly imports. Furthermore, under the seventh Five Year Plan (1981-1985), crop production will grow faster than livestock production, and cattle and sheep raising will be stressed rather than pig and poultry raising. Czechoslovakia is a net agricultural importer. The U.S. ranked as its thirteenth largest trading partner in 1980, providing most of the corn and a large portion of the oilseed and meal imports.

## 1985

- 0222 **Directory of Czechoslovak Officials.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. May 1985, 155 pp.*  
A guide identifying officials holding positions in the Czechoslovak government and organizations.

# HUNGARY

## 1985

- 0377 **Hungarian Economic Reforms, 1971-1985.**  
*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. International Economics Division. T. A. Vankai. May 1985. 22 pp.*  
Hungary's market-oriented economic reforms in 1968 were followed from 1973 through 1978 by strict government controls, centralization of enterprises, and heavy foreign borrowing. The expansionary policy financed with foreign loans brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. An austerity program introduced in 1979 with return to the 1968 reform principles led to significant reduction of rate of economic growth. After a financial turnaround, the policy makers initiated a management reform in 1985 with emphasis on workers' participation. In contrast with industry, the agricultural sector operated under the reform principles throughout the seventies and enjoyed fast production growth. But since 1979, because of higher production cost and reduced investment, the rate of growth and profits declined.

- 0399 **Directory of Officials of the Hungarian People's Republic.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. December 1985. 118 pp.*  
A guide identifying officials holding positions in the Hungarian government, Communist party, and other prominent organizations.

# POLAND

## 1980

- 0517 **The Polish Crisis of 1980 and the Politics of Survival.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Jane Leftwich Curry. November 1980. 42 pp.*  
The collapse of the Gierek leadership in Poland followed a two-month siege of workers' strikes ostensibly triggered by selective meat price increases. In fact, however, the collapse more accurately reflected the degree of political and social bankruptcy of the Party and state in Poland. The repercussions of the strikes have been devastating for the Party and its old leadership. Yet, in spite of the turmoil within the Party and its old leadership, as well as the search for alternatives which is now going on, Poland is still at a state where radical change in the political system is seen by the population as both absolutely necessary and completely impossible. The problems and paralysis in Poland are far more acute than elsewhere in the Soviet Bloc, but all these countries have similar problems. None of the Bloc nations has entered the 1980s free from the specter of real economic crisis. Poland's is the first and most severe case but will certainly not be the last.
- 0559 **If the Soviets Invade Poland.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Alex Alexiev et al. December 1980. 10 pp.*  
Once again, there is in Europe "a smell of gunpowder in the air." This time the crisis spot is Poland. The Poles remain optimistic that Soviet military intervention can be avoided. As a Polish intellectual noted recently, "The Soviets' analytic ability must not be underestimated. They know Poland well." Certainly, the Soviet leadership has tolerated developments in Poland that it has not tolerated elsewhere in Eastern Europe or in the USSR itself. Yet, the

Soviets will not permit dismantling of Communist rule in Poland, for that would constitute a fatal weakening of the Warsaw Pact and a fatal blow both to the Soviet empire and to the legitimacy of the Soviet system itself. The fundamental problem for the USSR is not the existence of independent trade unions, easing of censorship, or other reform measures. The issue for Moscow is whether or not the Polish Communist leadership remains in control of events. If the Soviet leadership concludes that the erosion of Party control has reached the point of no return, it will intervene with military force, but only as a last resort, for it has some understanding of the costs. We, too, need to be clear about those costs in thinking about how the U.S. and its allies should respond if the Soviets invade Poland.

## 1982

### 0569 **Poland in Crisis.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. A. Ross Johnson. July 1982. 68 pp.*  
This Rand Note analyzes the rise of the Solidarity Trade Union in Poland, its suppression by martial law, and the effect on Soviet interests in Eastern Europe. The Note concludes that the martial law regime established in Poland in December 1981 is not a stable system of rule. The Soviets can hardly consider the Polish Crisis over. The Jaruzelski regime has made little progress in developing a viable normalized political system. The Polish crisis has further undermined the legitimacy of Soviet-style political systems elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The Polish military has overshadowed the Polish Communist Party while being distracted from its external Warsaw Pact missions. And the Polish Crisis has increased the potential for violent instability in the Eastern part of Europe.

### 0637 **Chronology of the Polish Crisis, January 1–August 31, 1982.**

*Bureau of Intelligence and Research (State), Washington, D.C. Current Analyses. J. Miller. September 1982. 21 pp.*

The attached chronology of the Polish Crisis, covering January 1–August 31, 1982, is issued as a research aid. It continues the chronology contained in INR Reports 34–CA of December 5, 1980 (covering July 1–November 30, 1980), 194–CA of August 12, 1981 (December 1, 1980–July 31, 1981), and 336–CA of March 3, 1982 (August 1–December 31, 1981).

## 1983

### 0658 **Polish Military after Martial Law. Report of a Rand Conference, October 14, 1982.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. A. Ross Johnson and Barbara Kliszewski. June 1983. 41 pp.*

On October 14, 1982, The Rand Corporation held a workshop conference in Washington, D.C., on "The Polish Military." The workshop was convened as part of the research on Poland and the Warsaw Pact being conducted for a Project AIR FORCE study, "Soviet Vulnerabilities in Eastern Europe." The aim of the meeting was to consider the role of the Polish military after the proclamation of martial law on December 13, 1981; the military and political background to the events of 1981; and the implications for the future of the Polish armed forces, both in the Polish Communist system and in the Warsaw Pact. The workshop discussion provided information and views on the past, present, and possible future roles of the Polish military, both domestically in Poland and in the Warsaw Pact. The body of this Note contains a summary of the discussion, including differences of view. Six major theses emerged from the discussion. These theses may serve to enrich current appraisals of developments in Poland and the Warsaw Pact and to guide subsequent research.

### 0699 **Directory of Officials of the Polish People's Republic.**

*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. August 1983. 213 pp.*

The directory is a functional reference guide to officials of the Polish government, political parties, and other prominent public organizations.

- 0912 **Polish Armed Forces: Warsaw Pact Reliability in Question.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. M. E. Duffy. December 1983. 80 pp.*  
The December 1981 imposition of martial law in Poland and its lifting in 1983 have been indicative of the turmoil that has existed in Poland over the last few years. As the largest member geographically and demographically of the Warsaw Pact, the domestic unrest has placed the reliability of the Polish armed forces as Warsaw Pact members in question. This thesis concludes that the Polish armed forces can be considered reliable members of the Warsaw Pact in foreseeable circumstances, despite some qualifications. This conclusion is reached through a review of the postwar history of the Polish armed forces and an analysis of other pertinent factors, including the burden of governing and the economy's effect on the armed forces. Various other issues favoring and opposing reliability are also analyzed.

## RUMANIA

### 1982

- 0992 **Directory of Officials of the Socialist Republic of Rumania.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. November 1982. 152 pp.*  
The directory is a functional reference guide to officials of the Rumanian government, the Rumanian Communist Party, and other prominent public organizations.

# SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first Arabic number refers to the reel, and the Arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular study begins. Hence 3: 0018 directs the researcher to the study that begins at Frame 0018 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index that comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this study.

- Acquisition systems**  
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