

*A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of*

# **EUROPE AND NATO**

**Special Studies,  
1992–1994**

**Supplement**

**UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA**

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# EDITORIAL NOTE

The executive branch of the U.S. government requires a massive amount of information to make policy decisions. The many departments, agencies, and commissions of the government devote much of their energies to gathering and analyzing information. However, even the resources of the U.S. government are not adequate to gather all the information that is needed; therefore, the government contracts universities, colleges, corporations, think tanks, and individuals to provide data and analyses. Because the great majority of these studies are difficult to find and obtain, University Publications of America (UPA) publishes some of the most important ones in its Special Studies series. *Europe and NATO, 1992–1994 Supplement* collection consists of studies on Europe and NATO that became available during the period 1992–1994.

# ACRONYMS/INITIALISMS

The following acronyms and initialisms are used frequently in this guide and are listed here for the convenience of the researcher.

<b>AID</b>	Agency for International Development
<b>CEE</b>	Central and Eastern Europe
<b>CSCE</b>	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
<b>D.C.</b>	District of Columbia
<b>EC</b>	European Community
<b>EFTA</b>	European Free Trade Association
<b>EMU</b>	European Economic and Monetary Union
<b>ETA</b>	Euskadi ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Liberty Group)
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FLNC</b>	Front de Liberation Nationale de la Corse (Corsican National Liberation Front)
<b>FRG</b>	Federal Republic of Germany
<b>GAO</b>	General Accounting Office (U.S.)
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GDR</b>	German Democratic Republic
<b>IDF</b>	Irish Defence Force
<b>IRA</b>	Irish Republican Army

<b>NA</b>	Not Available
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NSC</b>	New Strategic Concept
<b>PFP</b>	Partnership for Peace
<b>SME</b>	Small- and Medium-Size Enterprise
<b>SwAF</b>	Swedish Air Force
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNPROFOR</b>	United Nations Protection Force
<b>USAREUR</b>	United States Army in Europe
<b>USITC</b>	United States International Trade Commission
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>WEU</b>	Western European Union
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organization



# REEL INDEX

## Reel 1

Frame

### Europe (General)

1991

- 0001 **What If the Russians Aren't Coming and the Americans Aren't Staying?**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Robert A. Levine. 1991. 45pp.*

This note is based on two principal premises about the next five years: The likelihood of a purposeful Soviet attack on Western Europe will have fallen so low that it no longer need be taken as a serious basis for Western policy; the United States will have withdrawn all of its military forces from Europe, or perhaps all but a symbolic few, leaving behind, say fewer than 50,000 troops, rather than the 325,000 of 1990 and before. The note has a dual purpose: to explore the American and European conditions that might bring the premises to pass; and to examine the implications for U.S. policy in the world as a whole during a radical shift away from the European focus of that policy.

- 0046 **European Security in the 1990s: Uncertain Prospects and Prudent Policies.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Robert A. Levine. 1991. 50pp.*

The rapid and extreme changes taking place in Europe—most prominently, the breakup of the Soviet empire and the reunification of Germany—have led to an environment of extreme, multidimensional uncertainty. This uncertainty demands a focus on adaptive short-run planning that is sensitive to the underlying factors and that responds to prudent policies. This note therefore has three purposes: to restate the case for adaptive short-run

planning for Europe at a time of rapid change and great uncertainty; to structure systematically a set of underlying factors that should be considered in all current planning for European security, whether short or long run; to suggest precepts for prudent policies appropriate to current uncertainties. By examining such factors rather than immediate events, the note's utility as policy analysis may last more than a month or two. The short-run emphasis advocated here is not present as a precept for all occasions. Europe is a much better place now that we have won the cold war. Nonetheless, the uncertainties stemming from the current radical turn in history are widespread, with many of them based on the economics of a continent reconstructing itself.

0096

**The New Europe: Challenges for U.S. Policy.**

*Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Francis Scott. October 1991. 63pp.*

The Air Force Academy Political Science Department will host the 34th Air Force Academy Assembly entitled "The New Europe: Challenges for U.S. Policy" from March 9 to 14, 1992. To assist participants, the Air Force Academy Library Reference Branch prepared this highly selective bibliography. Citations include books, journal articles, and government publications. The books have copyright dates no earlier than 1980, and, with few exceptions, journals and government publications have copyright dates no earlier than 1989. Citations exclude newspaper articles and report literature.

**1992**

0159

**Planning for the Future U.S. Army in Europe.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Robert D. Howe and Edgar Kleckley. 1992. 36pp.*

This note describes an approach to structuring the U.S. Army Europe in the mid to late 1990s as a function of its mission. It discusses the changing nature of Europe and its impact on the army. Given the current pace of events in Europe, the emphasis is on an approach, not an end product. However, possible mission statements are proposed, and examples of organizations to support those missions are provided.

0195     **The Evolution of the Security Order in Europe: Importance of Multinational Forces.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Fabrizio Castagnetti. February 25, 1992. 52pp.*

The events which began in November 1989 in East Germany and rapidly moved to the very midst of the Soviet Union have radically changed the reality and perspectives of European security. The disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of communism have transformed the cold war period into a more uncertain, complex, and likely less stable situation. While the Balkans and the former Soviet Union face historic ethnic strife and economic disaster, Western Europe moves slowly towards greater political integration and common defense policy. The possible future architecture of European security highlights the importance of a system in which three organizations must respectively maintain (NATO), improve (WEU), and possibly acquire (CSCE) a military relevance. This relevance, in a time of diminishing threat, increasing cuts in national military budgets, and need to foster greater international and regional consensus, can only be achieved with a multidimensional approach and the ability to operate militarily in concert. In this context, if a European army is currently unfeasible, every effort should nevertheless be made for the constitution of multinational forces with integrated commands in peacetime. Military multinationality can maintain NATO's cohesion and represents the pragmatic way to break the rhetoric of collective security and translate it into the substance of burden sharing.

0247     **European Military and Political Environment in a Post Cold War Era: Conference Papers.**

*Defense Intelligence College, Washington, D.C. Steven R. Dorr and Neysa M. Slater. May 1992. 97pp.*

Partial contents include: From Clear and Present Danger to the Risks of a Decay; The New Security Environment in Europe: American Interests, Strategies, and Policy Options; National versus Supranational Political Loyalties in Western Europe; Interaction of Political and Economic Change in the Soviet Union: Implications for Foreign Policy; Rival Nationalisms in the USSR: Reviving Political Discourse; Eastern Central Europe: Social and Economic Consequences of Political Change; Social and Economic Change, the Transformation of the Balkans, and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia; and Sensitivity and Vulnerability: European-North African Relations in the 1990s.

0344

**Future United States Role in European Security.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. James A. Moreno. August 26, 1992. 93pp.*

During the period 1989–1991, there were tremendous changes in the European security environment. The United States and its European allies are now faced with questions concerning appropriate security structures to meet the needs of post–cold war, post-Soviet Europe. The purpose of this study is to contribute to the debate about appropriate roles, missions, and capabilities for U.S. military forces in Europe. The study considers security threats, risks, and uncertainties pertaining to Europe; examines the response of the Bush administration to new security realities; and assesses the adaptation of the Atlantic Alliance to the absence of a direct threat. Both the United States and its NATO allies envision a continued significant U.S. military presence in Europe. The study also focuses on challenges from both sides of the Atlantic to the planned U.S. military role in Europe. Western Europeans have demonstrated increasing independence and assertiveness as they move toward the establishment of a European union and a common foreign and security policy. Americans have become increasingly focused inward on severe domestic problems. The appropriateness and implications of three different potential U.S. military roles in Europe are examined. The study concludes that a continued significant U.S. military presence in Europe is a sound hedging strategy for the United States during a period of tremendous change. The study also suggests compensating measures to enhance the effectiveness of a more modest U.S. military force, should a larger U.S. military presence in Europe not be acceptable.

0437

**U.S. Interests in European Security Following the Cold War.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Phillip M. Cochran. December 1992. 102pp.*

The need for U.S. involvement in European security affairs did not end with the cold war. History provides evidence to support this. Periods in which the U.S. pursued neutralist or isolationist policies towards Europe resulted in instability on the continent. However, since 1949, the United States has pursued an alliance policy and Europe has experienced relative peace. With the end of the cold war, the United States must reevaluate its interests in Europe. These interests include the future of Russia, the stability of Eastern and Western Europe, the future of European security institutions, and a place at the European economic and political table for the United States. These interests must be kept in mind as the United States analyzes

associated issues regarding further reductions in the defense budget and military presence in Europe. These issues include the U.S. security guarantee to Europe, the cost of U.S. involvement in the Atlantic Alliance, the search for a peace dividend, and European support for a continued U.S. military presence on the continent. After examining these issues, the thesis concludes that further reductions in the U.S. defense budget and military presence in Europe must proceed at a responsible rate, if the United States is to avoid past mistakes and preserve European stability.

**1993**

0539 **The Search for Peace in Europe: Perspectives from NATO and Eastern Europe.**

*National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Charles L. Barry. 1993. 332pp.*

Partial contents of this monograph include: European Security Challenges in Review; A View of Institutions and Security-Building in Europe; The Future of European Security: An Atlanticist Perspective; Greece and European Security in the 1990s; Italy Astride the North-South, East-West Axis; Turkey, Europe, and the Yugoslav Crisis; Russia's Security Concerns and Proposals for Regional Cooperation; Ukraine: National Security Perspectives; The Baltic Security Dilemma: How to Secure Independence; European Security Challenges and Systems: A View from East-Central Europe; A View of Central and East European Security from Warsaw; Security Perspectives of Central Europe: A View from Slovakia; Appendix I: The Marshall Plan Speech; Appendix II: Address by U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin; Appendix III: Address by German Federal Minister of Defense Volker Ruhe; Appendix IV: The Institute for National Strategic Studies; Appendix V: The George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies.

0871 **Peacekeeping in Europe: How Can the United Nations Do It?**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Terry L. Tucker. May 1, 1993. 59pp.*

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, no nation or organization has come forward to become the dominant peacemaker or peacekeeper in Europe. This study discusses the need for a country or a supernational organization to accept the lead role of making and keeping peace between independent states, as well as between warring factions or ethnic groups within states in Europe. Based on an examination of the UN charter, this study establishes authority for UN peacekeeping operations, analyzes expanding roles of the UN in peacekeeping and peace-building, and

analyzes the applicability of the Weinberger Criteria to peacekeeping operations. It then develops the need for continued U.S. world leadership and support for UN peacekeeping efforts around the world. Finally, this study closes with two major conclusions: first, that the United Nations has a significant role to play in making and keeping peace in Europe; second, that it can best accomplish that role by developing an organization under one Deputy Secretary-General which can effectively operate through all phases of conflict resolution and by convincing NATO to serve as its chief regional organization for operations in Europe.

## Reel 2

### Europe (General) cont.

#### 1993 cont.

- 0001 **The Helsinki Process: Negotiating Security and Cooperation in Europe.**

*National Defense University, Washington, D.C. John Fry. December 1993. 411pp.*

For years to come, historians will debate how the cold war was won, what effect the Strategic Defense Initiative may have had, and whether the Chernobyl disaster hastened its end. Some may conclude that the cold war was an extended contest of fundamental beliefs. Even in the civilized context of the series of meetings begun in Helsinki as the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" that became known as the "Helsinki Process," the conflict was intense. This book is a comprehensive account of that process, its formal agreements, and its place in promoting stability in Europe.

#### 1994

- 0412 **European Security After the Cold War.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Sabi I. Sabev. April 1994. 25pp.*

Each of the three great conflicts of the 20th century—World War I, World War II, and the cold war—has changed the international system. Each at its end has been accompanied by the hope for a collective security system in order to prevent future conflicts. The cold war lasted forty years. Today we are on the threshold of a new world order. The revolutions in Eastern Europe

in 1989 and the subsequent unification of Germany disrupted the postwar security order in Europe. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union has caused dramatic changes in the region. In the East, the Commonwealth of Independent States has emerged as a loose superstructure but with a highly uncertain future. In the West, we see more gradual adaptation to the new European situation. The end of the cold war has inspired European public opinion to call for the redesigning of Europe's security structure and has raised questions about the future relevance of NATO. The end of the cold war has inspired a serious discussion for the prospects of building a collective European security system without military alliances and dividing lines between nations or groups of nations. The purpose of this paper is to examine the current political and geostrategic environment in post-cold war Europe, the rising instability and threats to European security, and the necessity for a new collective security system.

0437

**Challenges of European Security: Redrawing the Line.**

*Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Jeffrey A. Fearing. June 1994. 56pp.*

The new world disorder has created new challenges and brought old ones to the forefront for European security. To be sure, some of the traditional cold war security agendas are still with us and are still important; confidence- and security-building measures, conventional force reductions, and arms control programs are ongoing. However, the search for a post-cold war security regime has presented Europe, both East and West, with challenges that have much broader foundations and potential to shape the future of the continent. The purpose of this paper is to define these dilemmas and try to discern what is now realistically achievable for pan-European security.

## Eastern Europe

1991

0493

**Soviet Foreign Policy and the Revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Ronald D. Asmus, J.F. Brown, and Keith Crane. 1991. 185pp.*

This report reviews the communist systems in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia; the reasons for their eventual failures; and their relations with the Soviet Union under the regimes of Nikita Krushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, and Mikhail Gorbachev. In terms of its previous domination, any future Soviet role in Eastern Europe is likely to be minimal. In fact, some Soviet leaders and many decision makers fear a total exclusion from

Eastern Europe, and by extension, from the new Europe itself. The only interaction with Eastern Europe, they feel, will entail the latter exporting eastward its destabilizing mix of nationalism, market capitalism, and liberal democracy. At present, the main characteristic of the Soviet–East European relationship involves the East Europeans seeking to extricate themselves as smoothly as possible from the multilateral organizations like the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact that were expressions of Soviet domination. Eventually, however, the mutual advantages to be derived from economic relations and even cooperation should be enough to ensure the Soviets a continuing role in Eastern Europe. And the uncertainties and possible changes of the new European order might ensure a political and diplomatic role also. But the Soviet role will be different, and it will be diminished.

- 0678 **Western Government Assistance to Eastern Europe: The First Steps.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Steven W. Popper. 1991. 30pp.*

The successful transformation of Eastern Europe to democracy and to market economics is not assured. Regional stability will depend upon resolving the general economic crisis. This makes the transformation process an object of policy interest for the West. The economic crisis in Eastern Europe stems from the inability of national economies to make efficient use of resources. The solution lies in the thorough transformation of economic systems. The crisis is aggravated by a legacy of debt. Eastern Europe needs assistance, not aid. Large aid grants have the potential to mitigate stock problems, the symptoms of crisis, but not the systemic problems that cause the stock problems.

- 0708 **The Economic Implications of Reductions in Military Budgets and Force Levels in Eastern Europe.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Keith Crane. 1991. 48pp.*

This note is part of a series on changes in the militaries and in the national security policies of the East European countries after the revolutions of 1989. It assesses the impact of the military budget and force reductions, for good or ill, on the economies of these countries.

- 0756 **Eastern Europe: Coming Around the First Turn.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. NA. September 1991. 36pp.*  
Economic reform programs are now in place in Eastern Europe, although progress is uneven across the region, and this year will be even tougher than last. The reform programs cover the gamut of economic activity: eliminating



price subsidies, abolishing centralized economic planning, creating a convertible currency, and establishing a legal framework for fostering private ownership, both domestic and foreign. Officials across the region have encouraged private investment by easing restrictions on the size of landholdings, on the percentage of foreign ownership in local firms, and on the repatriation of profits. Notable achievements have occurred in the region's external economic accounts. Economic output in 1991 is likely to decline as much as in 1990. The political euphoria of the "revolution of '89" is giving way to frustration over the slow pace of economic transformation. Western assistance will continue to be important to the region. As important as this assistance is, the key variable remains the will of East Europeans to persist in the face of further difficulties.

### 1992

0792 **Progress in Privatization: Transforming Eastern Europe's Social Housing.**

*The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. G. Thomas Kingsley and Raymond J. Struyk. April 1992. 38pp.*

This paper reviews the progress of housing privatization in Eastern Europe through early 1992, focusing on four countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It indicates that the ownership of a significant number of social housing units in each of these countries has already been transferred into private hands, but more will need to be sold to reap the full benefits of privatization. Progress toward an efficient housing sector will also depend on several accompanying reforms: rent increases, ultimately leading to the removal of controls; legal revisions permitting landlords to evict tenants if they fail to honor their obligations; housing allowance programs, focusing assistance tightly on the poor; enabling legislation to permit the sale of social housing in a workable form; the availability of mortgage financing; the capacity to appraise properties and record titles efficiently; the encouragement of private building management.

0830 **Issues in Eastern European Social Security Reform.**

*U.S. Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. John C. Hambor. June 1992. 57pp.*

Economic and political reform is underway in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the former republics of the Soviet Union. The upheaval that is accompanying the transition from planned to market economies has been considerable and will be considerable for some time into the future. One key element in the reform process is the role of state-managed social

insurance systems. Retirement, disability, and other work-related benefit systems will need to be restructured to strengthen the "safety net" for workers and their dependents as they find themselves in a less paternalistic economic environment. Although the establishment of some form of unemployment insurance is the top priority, social insurance reform runs a close second. Despite irregular, partial adjustments for inflation, the public pensions and other work-related benefits that are the primary source of income for a large segment of the population have deteriorated markedly in real terms as prices have been decontrolled. This paper examines these problems and suggests possible alternatives.

0887

**Eastern Europe: Struggling to Stay on the Reform Track.**

*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. NA. July 1992. 52pp.*

Eastern Europe has made progress on reform in the past year. No country has yet achieved a market economy, and reforms have not yet lifted these economies out of recession. But gains have been made on a wide range of issues since mid-1991; the private sector has become larger, there are fewer price controls, currencies are more convertible, property rights are stronger, and most governments are more strongly committed than ever to reform. Efforts to shed state ownership and control of production continue to make progress. Although advances often seem slow and uneven, the rise of the private sector since 1990 has been dramatic. The private sector now accounts for half of production in Poland and one-third in Hungary. Entrepreneurs have also made important progress in Bulgaria and Romania in the past year. Entrepreneurs have opened or bought businesses by the hundreds of thousands to meet the demand—pent up for decades—for consumer goods and services. An important effect of the explosion of private-sector activity is its role in the spread of market forces through the economy.

0939

**Challenges to Eastern European Security in the Nineties.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Stephen Blank and Thomas-Durell Young. July 29, 1992. 46pp.*

The authors of this study present a sobering assessment of the difficulties faced by Eastern European countries. They argue that the principal problem is that of economic reform during a period of severe recession at home and unwelcoming export markets abroad. While such a problem does not lend itself to a military solution, the authors argue that unless countries are able to reform and restructure their economies, the reemergence of internal and external policies based on ethnicity, religion, nationalism, and ideology is

very likely. When one considers the historical propensity for European-wide conflicts to begin in this region, the need for economic reforms and stability has never been more important.

## Reel 3

### Eastern Europe cont.

#### 1992 cont.

- 0001 **Evaluator's Annual Report: United States Agency for International Development Management Training and Economics Education Program for Central and Eastern Europe. Year One.**

*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. Leslie Koltai. November 12, 1992. 196pp.*

AID successfully completed its first year of activities in the Management Training and Economics Education Program for Central and Eastern Europe. The \$14.8 million dollar program was administered by eleven American universities, offering training and counseling in six Eastern European nations: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. These emerging democracies have chosen to abandon their centrally controlled economic systems in favor of the market oriented approach. The fundamental purpose of this program is to transfer the knowledge and skills necessary for Eastern Europeans to successfully complete this unprecedented transition. This Year One Annual Report is an overview and analysis of the program.

#### 1993

- 0197 **East European Security After the Cold War.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. F. Stephen Larrabee. 1993. 218pp.*

This report was prepared as part of the project "Emerging Issues in the Debate over a European Security Identity and Implications for U.S. Policy" sponsored by the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. The project is being conducted in the International Security and Defense Strategy Program within RAND's National Defense Research Institute, a federally funded research and development center sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff. In addition to the sources cited in this report, the author conducted extensive interviews with govern-

ment officials and nongovernmental experts in Eastern and Western Europe during 1992 and 1993. The cutoff point for information on which this report is based is October 1993.

0415

**Environment Strategy for Central and Eastern Europe.**

*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. NA. January 1993. 30pp.*

The CEE countries are suffering the effects of the worst pollution in the world. Effects include increased respiratory diseases and mental retardation, shortened life spans, rivers too polluted for industrial use or drinking, and the degradation of conservation areas. It is estimated that the costs of environmental degradation are between 5 and 10 percent of individual countries' GDP, and it will cost hundreds of millions of dollars over the next twenty years to clean up past pollution. As CEE undertakes the structural adjustments necessary to transform centrally planned, noncompetitive economies into market-based economies, environmental issues must be addressed. The U.S. government's environmental objectives in CEE are to strengthen the capacity of CEE to improve environmental conditions in a market economy and to correct the root causes of environmental degradation. These causes are 1.) policy and price distortions, 2.) state monopolies and lack of a private sector, 3.) institutional weaknesses, 4.) lack of information about environmental conditions, and 5.) lack of public participation in environmental management. Program priorities in order of importance are: to support economic restructuring, reduce immediate threats to human health, and to improve conservation in the area with the highest biodiversity. AID is concentrating on two major areas in CEE: energy efficiency and urban and industrial pollution reduction. Conservation will receive limited support.

0445

**Agricultural Policies and Performance in Central and Eastern Europe, 1989-1992.**

*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. Nancy J. Cochrane et al. February 1993. 77pp.*

Central and Eastern European agriculture underwent dramatic change during the last three years. The introduction of market pricing, open borders, and increased freedom of entry and exit for firms occurred without the institutional and legal structures necessary for a market economy. The effect of market reforms on agriculture exemplifies both the positive and negative effects of these changes. Many of the countries shifted from pre-reform tight agricultural supplies or outright shortages to post-reform sur-

pluses. Farm financial performance has been poor, as the terms of trade have turned against agriculture. Land and asset ownership issues in the farm sector remain unresolved, leading to uncertainty for planting and production. Consumer demand for agricultural products is depressed due to the sudden rise in consumer prices, while nominal income growth has been restricted.

0522

**Agricultural Trade Policy for Central and Eastern Europe.**

*U.S. Department of Agriculture Foreign Agricultural Service, Washington, D.C. Abraham Avidor. April 1993. 37pp.*

This report provides summaries of U.S. exports to and trade policy regarding the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Information is also included on the relations of these nations with the United States, on the support given to them by the EC and the EFTA, on their economic and agricultural reform policies, and on whether or not they are participants in GATT and other international trade agreements.

0559

**A Future European Security Structure.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Zdzislaw Roman Wojcik. April 6, 1993. 41pp.*

While the bipolar division of the world is gone, the East European region, newly freed from Soviet domination, has to grapple with all the problems of the initial stages of freedom. The increasing internal political instability, economic crises, and unresolved ethnic disputes can seriously menace all of Europe. Post-cold war Europe seeks a new security structure to replace the old and no longer sufficient system of collective defense based on alliances. The current situation in Europe offers a unique opportunity to establish a collective security system. This study examines various threats to European security and tries to answer which organization or institution would best manage European security affairs. Assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the organizations currently available, the study attempts to define the shape of a future European security system, which would be capable of dealing with evolving complex issues. The essay argues that, despite its current shortfalls, the CSCE—because of its agenda and broad membership—can play a significant role in a future security system in Europe. The study proposes steps that would reinforce its political and security components in order to transform the CSCE into a UN regional security sub-organization.

0600 **International Conference on "The Role of Women and the Transition to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe" Held in Strasbourg, France on October 3-4, 1992.**

*GENESYS Project, The Center for Democracy and the Futures Group, Washington, D.C. NA. April 14, 1993. 231pp.*

This conference was organized to enable female political leaders from Central and Eastern Europe and their counterparts from Western Europe and the United States to discuss the role of women in the democratization and economic reform process. The first three sessions addressed women's role in the economic, social, and political process in Central and Eastern Europe; the impacts of Western government actions and policies on women's participation in politics and the economy; and strategies for building the organizational and leadership skills of Central and Eastern European women, especially by establishing action networks and improving women's access to the media. A final session discussed a range of concerns, including domestic and sexual violence, organization of women's caucuses within parliaments, job training and business financing, research on women's social and health issues, development of television programming featuring female role models, international networking of women's groups, and development of women's empowerment training workshops for parliamentarians and their staffs.

**1994**

0831 **Ethnic Conflict in Central Europe and the Balkans: A Framework and U.S. Policy Options.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Thomas S. Szayna. 1994. 78pp.*

This report provides an analytical framework for examining the potential for militarized ethnic conflict in the central part of Europe and the Balkans. It offers some ways for anticipating the likelihood and the probable intensity of ethnically based competition and its potential as a source of interstate conflict, and it proposes some policies the United States in general and the U.S. Army specifically might adopt to deal with the problem. The framework should serve to pinpoint the future flashpoints, and it may result in the adoption of certain policies that can prevent potential conflicts from becoming actualized. The research reported here was performed as part of a larger project, "After the Warsaw Pact; The Revolution in Military and Political Affairs in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Implications for the U.S. Army," conducted within the Arroyo Center's Strategy and Doctrine

Program and sponsored by the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, U.S. Army. The broader project assesses the security outlook in the former communist countries of Europe since the end of the bloc system. This report should be of interest to policymakers and analysts concerned with post-communist Europe and the overall transformation of the former communist states.

0909 **Enterprise Funds: Evolving Models for Private Sector Development in Central and Eastern Europe.**

*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. March 1994. 84pp.*

Enterprise funds are an experimental model of assistance delivery to the developing private sectors in selected countries of Central and Eastern Europe as they change from centrally planned to market-oriented economies. The enterprise funds are private U.S. corporations authorized by the Congress and staffed by experienced business managers. They have operated for nearly four years in the region. Authorized funding for the first four funds is \$250 million to the Polish-American Enterprise Fund, \$70 million to the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund, \$65 million to the Czech and Slovak-American Enterprise fund, and \$55 million to the Bulgarian-American Enterprise Fund. Federal contributions to enterprise funds represented about 28 percent of all budgeted U.S. assistance for the region between fiscal years 1990 and 1993.

## Reel 4

### Eastern Europe cont.

#### 1994 cont.

0001 **The Challenges of Incorporating the Visegrad Countries into the European Union.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Judith A. Wiser. May 1994. 130pp.*

The fall of communism which swept through Eastern Europe in 1989 brought euphoric energy across the European continent as newspapers splashed moving pictures portraying laughter, tears, confusion, and hope. The economic and political landscape was significantly altered, and yet it did not seem to matter, for change was good. Freedom was viewed as opportunity, prosperity, and finally, a chance for peace to mean more than merely the absence of war. Five years later, the dust has settled, the

euphoria has waned, and the smiles have been replaced by the ever-so-familiar weathered stone faces of hardship. This peaceful revolution removed the daily threat of mutually assured destruction from the EU's door, and yet, as a community, it has been done little to ensure the success of the infant democracies of Eastern Europe. Recognizing the lack of the EU's initiative to come to their aid, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic have each made it a major agenda item for themselves, that they become full members of the EU as soon as possible.

- 0131 **Agricultural Trade Policy and Trade for Central and East Europe.**  
*U.S. Department of Agriculture Foreign Agricultural Service, Washington, D.C. Abraham Avidor and Roger Mireles. July 1994. 38pp.*

This report provides summaries of U.S. exports to and trade policy regarding the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Information is also included on the relations of these nations with the United States, on the support given to them by the EC and the EFTA, on their economic and agricultural reform policies, and on whether or not they are participants in GATT and other international trade agreements.

- 0169 **Eastern Europe Reforms Spur Recovery.**  
*Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C. NA. July 1994. 49pp.*

This paper was prepared for hearings of the Subcommittee on Technology and National Security of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress. The past year has seen further progress in implementation of economic reforms in Eastern Europe. In no country and on no important issue has there been a retreat from the path toward a market economy. Reforms have become largely irreversible throughout the region as market forces have attained a momentum of their own. With private sectors accounting for such a large share of production—now over half in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—and most prices freed from regulation, market forces have replaced central government direction of economic activity. Increasingly, East European governments rely on the same economic policy tools—monetary and fiscal policies—used by Western counterparts. A review of 1993 shows that structural reforms and stabilization policies finally began to pay dividends in performance after several years of depressing economic news and hardship. Economic growth, spurred by a booming private sector that is now large enough to offset state sector decline, has spread to nearly all countries in the region. Poland's economy grew nearly 4 percent last year and is in its third year of expansion. Output elsewhere either stagnated or fell somewhat but was on the rise at the end



of 1993. Growth would have been stronger had it not been for the recession in key West European export markets and a poor crop caused by the weather.

0218 **Central and Eastern European Land Tenure Patterns: A Brief Historical Overview.**

*U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. Mark Lundell and Kathryn DeRemer. September 1994. 27pp.*

This report reviews the history of land tenure patterns in the seven CEE countries. Traditionally, land tenure patterns in these countries have included both small farms and large state and collective farms. CEE governments are more likely to reestablish an agricultural tenure system based on small individual holdings in countries where the pre-World War II population perceived itself as a peasantry. This self-perception was strongest in countries where feudal agricultural tenure was the least transformed into modern commercial farming before being organized under collective control. Familiarity with land ownership patterns in the region before and during the period of socialist rule provides a basis for understanding why land privatization and compensation policies that are practical in one country are not acceptable or effective in another.

## **European Community (European Union)**

### **1992**

0245 **The Evolution of the European Economy: Implications for Transatlantic Relations.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. C. Cooper, J. Steinberg, and M. Shires. 1992. 38pp.*

This note examines the economic performance of the United States and Western Europe in the years since World War II and the likely impact of recent political and economic developments (especially the movement toward Western European integration) on future U.S.–Western European relations. It should be of interest to U.S. and European policymakers and analysts concerned with transatlantic trade, financial, and political relations.

- 0283      **Going Global: How Europe Helps Small Firms Export.**  
*William E. Northdurft Associates, Bethesda, Maryland. William E. Northdurft. February 1992. 100pp.*  
In 1990, fully 90 percent of all growth in the U.S. economy was from exports. The challenge for those in both the private and public sector who recognize and seek to tap America's enormous potential for export-led growth is how to help the nation's small and medium-size firms become more frequent and more successful exporters. Ironically, the answers to this question are provided by the authors' competitors—specifically, the export-intensive nations of Europe. With small domestic economies composed primarily of small and medium-size firms and a long history of export market development, European public and private sector export assistance programs offer important practical lessons for Americans. The report outlines these lessons.
- 0383      **EC 92 and the United States.**  
*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Richard L. Freeman. April 15, 1992. 41pp.*  
The world is undergoing tremendous change in the 1990s. Instead of a bipolar world where military might was the power, we are now entering a multipolar world where economics is the power. The emergence of a single Western European market, commonly referred to as EC 92, will challenge the United States on the world market. The single European market, scheduled for completion in eight months, is an organization of twelve nations whose ambitious goal is to transform the EC into an area without internal frontiers for goods, capital, services, and people by December 31, 1992. The United States cannot afford to ignore this market of 320 million customers. To be able to compete with EC 92, the United States will have to make changes in the relationship between government and industry, and industry will have to become more innovative in cutting production costs and in improving the quality of the product. The United States also needs successful negotiation of the current Uruguay Round of the GATT talks. The voices of isolationism and protectionism are on the rise—both here and in Europe—strengthened by a stagnant European economy and America's search for a scapegoat. The world has changed to become a global marketplace and the United States just hasn't done enough to adjust to the new challenges of economic competition. American politicians and indus-

trial leaders need to begin focussing on the long-term improvement of American competitiveness and establish a strategy to successfully deal with this new economic giant.

0424

**European Economic and Monetary Union: Why Should We Care?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Roslyn M. Goff. April 15, 1992. 55pp.*

The efforts in the EC to bring about EMU will have a profound impact on all countries who do business with the community. Therefore, an understanding of the three stages of EMU and EMU's relationship to the EC's initiative for a single market by the beginning of 1993 is essential. This paper will discuss the background of the EC, the facets of EMU and how EMU is linked to the larger effort for European union. The EC's initiatives for economic harmonization are part of a larger vision of social and political union. It is uncertain how far and how fast European unity will proceed. Yet, by the year 2000, it is certain that the character of Europe will have changed. The significance of this change for the United States is substantial and must be reflected in U.S. policy toward Europe. It is possible that in the next century the world will know a new "European" citizen living in a federation called the "United States of Europe."

0479

**West European Defense Identity: Implications for U.S. Security Policy.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Douglas W. Mikatarian. June 1992. 212pp.*

This thesis examines whether the development of a West European defense identity could result in the marginalization of the United States in European security affairs. The fundamental changes in the European security environment since 1989 provide the starting point for the analysis. The thesis reviews U.S. and West European assessments of the risks and threats affecting European security and several of the other key issues associated with the quest for West European defense identity: motives for identity, prospects for West European nuclear cooperation, Germany's role, and NATO's future in the changing security environment. The thesis concludes that while many factors in European-American relations and international politics will shape the future of the Atlantic Alliance, the U.S. government, and the Congress in particular, will play perhaps the pivotal role in determining the extent of future U.S. participation in European security affairs.

- 0691      **The European Community's Presence in U.S. Agribusiness.**  
*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. H. Christine Bolling. September 1992. 34pp.*  
West European countries, especially the United Kingdom, are the principal source of foreign investment in U.S. agricultural land and agribusinesses. But, such investment amounts to less than 1 percent of the total value of U.S. agricultural land and about 10 percent of the total assets of the U.S. food and beverage industry. EC companies had \$29.4 billion invested in these sectors by 1990. EC investors' landholdings were concentrated mainly in timber (3.25 million acres) and pastureland (1.52 million acres). The EC investment in the United States is partially offset by U.S. investment in EC agribusiness.
- 0725      **Western Europe Agriculture and Trade Report: Situation and Outlook Series.**  
*Economic Research Service, Washington, D.C. NA. December 1992. 170pp.*  
Contents: Summary; General Economic Situation; EC 1992/93 Price Package and Related Measures; EC on Agricultural Support Continues to Climb; Agricultural Income in the EC; U.S.–EC Agricultural Trade; Commodity Market Highlights and Policy Developments; Western Europe Developments; List of Text Tables; List of Text Figures; Publications of Interest; Glossary; Appendix Tables.
- 0895      **Probable Trends in Terrorism in Western Europe.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Charles M. Heron. December 1992. 136pp.*  
Terrorism is a continuing international concern, which has particularly plagued the security of Western Europe. This thesis analyzes probable trends in terrorism in the 1990s in this region. The thesis examines the sources of terrorism affecting Western Europe: indigenous and foreign terrorist organizations. Semtex and nuclear materials that could contribute to future terrorist acts are discussed, as well as current nationalist-separatist movements in Western Europe, with particular emphasis on the ETA and the FLNC. The potential significance for terrorism of immigration and the implementation of the Single European Act in 1993 is considered. Finally, the thesis reviews cooperative efforts to combat terrorism within Western Europe. The cooperative effort by European governments to deter and deal with terrorism must be expedited to keep pace with the new challenges that are bound to arise.

## Reel 5

### European Community (European Union) cont.

1993

0001

**The Independent European Force: Costs of Independence.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. M.B. Berman and G.M. Carter. 1993. 74pp.*

NATO's announcement that it would form a Rapid Reaction Corps has reignited in several EC nations the desire for a similar capability that would allow employment out of area under pure Western European control. Given current European capabilities and what would be needed to deploy and support such an independent force, the Europeans would have to augment their force projection capabilities, enhance their intelligence capabilities (especially space based), and create new command and control mechanisms. This study examines the costs that the Europeans would incur to generate these incremental capabilities and the feasibility of these costs. The most important issue here is how "independent" such a force should be, and the study examines varying levels of capabilities and generates "back of the envelope" cost analyses, providing a gross estimate of the trade-offs available between capability and cost.

0075

**Transatlantic Collaboration: Government Policies, Industry Perspectives.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Rachel Kaganoff. 1993. 67pp.*

The defense industries in both Europe and the United States are currently in a state of transition. As the United States and NATO downsize their militaries, the firms that support these militaries on both sides of the Atlantic will undergo restructuring, both in how they function within their own countries and in their relationships across borders and across the Atlantic. In response to the changing world order resulting from the end of the cold war, Europe is struggling to redefine itself politically and strategically. Both of these issues are having a profound effect on the U.S. defense industry and how it thinks about and plans to develop collaborative relationships with European firms. This note reviews current government policies used to coordinate and oversee such collaborative relationships. In addition, it surveys U.S. industry plans for future collaborative partnerships with Euro-

pean firms, both in the context of government-sponsored programs, such as those funded in part by the Nunn Amendment of 1986, and partnerships that are or will be entirely industry initiated.

0142

**USAREUR Force Structure: Adapting to a Changing World.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Robert D. Howe and William D. O'Malley. 1993. 33pp.*

This report presents information regarding alternative force structures for USAREUR and suggests some modifications to the structure as it was designed near the end of Fiscal Year 1992. It further discusses reductions below the then-planned level of 92,000 army spaces, assesses alternative approaches to structuring at lower levels, and suggests a strategy for planning for reductions. The analysis on which this report is based was conducted in early Fiscal Year 1992, publication was delayed by a variety of factors, and the pace of events has made much of the discussion outdated. It is being published as a contribution to the discussion of army force structuring in general. The work supporting this report was conducted under the Strategy and Doctrine Program of the Arroyo Center and is part of a larger project assessing potential relationships between the United States and Europe. This report should be of interest to analysts and decision makers responsible for planning future U.S. involvement in Europe and for considering force structure in other theaters.

0175

**European Defense and the Future of Transatlantic Cooperation.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Scott A. Harris and James B. Steinberg. 1993. 74pp.*

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany, the demise of the WTO, and, ultimately, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States and its allies in NATO are facing a new security environment, requiring new structures and institutions, and a new definition of roles and responsibilities for mutual security. NATO has taken a number of steps in this direction, including reorganizing its military command structure, reducing the size of its standing military forces, and changing the way NATO forces are organized and deployed, with new emphasis on multinational formations and mobility. The United States and other NATO allies are reducing their forces. Simultaneous with the rapidly changing security environment, the twelve members of the EC moved to closer integration with the Maastricht Treaty on European Union in December 1991, which, inter alia, commits the EC to develop a common foreign and security policy, which will lead to a common defense policy and could result in a common

European defense. The need to restructure European security organizations and EC moves to strengthen economic and political unity have led to efforts to create a European identity in security and defense.

0249 **“An Ever Closer Union”: European Integration and Its Implications for the Future of U.S.–European Relations.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. James B. Steinberg. 1993. 181pp.*

Spurred on by the Single European Act of 1987 and by the plan to complete the single market by January 1, 1993, European integration has grown in scope and ambition with the profound changes in Europe’s political and security landscape over the past several years. The Maastricht Treaty, agreed to at a meeting of the European heads of state and government on December 9–10, 1991, was a further step in the evolution of the EC that in turn triggered a far-reaching debate on the future of European integration. This report examines how the process of European integration has shaped and will shape the future European economic, political, and security environment and assesses the implications of these developments for U.S. policy. It covers developments up to the EC summit in Edinburgh on December 11–12, 1992. It contributes to a larger project on the future U.S. role in Europe and implications for the United States Army. The broader project examines Europe’s evolution since the end of the bloc-to-bloc system and the future U.S. and U.S. Army role in and contribution to European security.

0430 **The Employment Effects of European Economic Integration: Background Study.**

*National Commission for Employment Policy, Washington, D.C. John C. Gartland. March 1993. 160pp.*

This study on European economic integration, with its primary focus on EC 92 (the economic integration of the EC that was scheduled for completion in 1992), provides fascinating insights into the very progressive and fluid economic and political developments occurring in Europe over the past few years. The report looks at the expansion of European economic integration beyond the well-known EC 92 and into the inevitable merger of EC 92 with the countries of the EFTA and the newly democratic Eastern European countries. It demonstrates that the changes needed to accomplish complete economic integration are overwhelmingly complex. The report also offers some very interesting conclusions on the effects of European economic integration for the U.S. economy and U.S. workers.

- 0590 **The Effects of Greater Economic Integration within the European Community on the United States: Fifth Followup Report.**  
*U.S. International Trade Commission, Washington, D.C. NA. April 1993. 229pp.*

This report, which covers developments during 1992, is the fifth update and the sixth in a series of USITC reports that has monitored the issuance of these directives and assessed their impact on U.S. trade and investment. Each report addresses three major areas: (1) a background on, and description of, the operation of the 1992 program and a review of U.S. trade patterns with the EC; (2) information on, and an analysis of, the possible effect on the United States of directives proposed or adopted since the last report; and (3) an analysis of the implications of the 1992 program for the Uruguay Round and other member-state obligations and commitments to which both the EC and the United States are parties. In addition, this report assesses for each of the categories of directives (e.g. standards, public procurement) the progress the EC made in meeting its goal to complete its internal market by December 31, 1992.

- 0819 **European Community Defense Industries: Threat to U.S. Competitiveness?**  
*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C. Deborah D. Logsdon. April 1993. 49pp.*

This paper looks at the issue of competition between the U.S. and European defense industries as we move toward the year 2000. It is a survey of literature addressing the developing relationships between the United States and Europe, relationships within Europe itself as it wrestles with the processes of unification, and possible U.S. policies to strengthen its own defense industries and meet the potential challenge from Europe. The paper presents a broad scope of alternative views held by the many experts on these issues. Based on these views, the paper lays out a set of policy recommendations reflecting the majority views of the experts surveyed in the literature. There is a broad spectrum of opinion about the challenge the Europeans can potentially present to the United States and our ability to meet that challenge. At one end are the believers in the resurgence of the United States as a capitalist power—the “bound to lead” syndrome—which can take on any challenge and win. At the other end are the believers in the inevitable relative decline of U.S. economic and military power despite efforts we might take to prevent such a course.



0868 **Growing Interdependence in Europe: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. James B. Engle. April 19, 1993. 43pp.*

There is a lot going on in Europe. The security situation is complex and unstable. Yet a number of events are taking place that suggest that the region is moving in a positive direction. There is restraint among the nations. NATO has developed the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which is developing rapidly into an excellent security forum. The EC has expanded into the European Economic Area and sits on the threshold of further expansion. CSCE continues to develop, and almost all see a place for it in monitoring governmental activity, and many would like to see it develop as a regional security forum. All of this suggests a general movement toward greater interdependence between sovereign states. It is this increased level of interdependence that will ultimately have the greatest impact on the United States as it tries to shape a new foreign policy in the aftermath of the cold war. A reasonable model that could develop and should be encouraged suggests that this interdependence will draw the United States away from policies that emphasize unilateral actions and toward policies that encourage a greater sharing of power.

0911 **The Western European Union in the 1990s: Searching for a Role.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Peter Schmidt. May 6, 1993. 30pp.*

The growth in European defense integration since the latter 1980s has become a vexing issue for U.S. policymakers. U.S. policy has long supported European integration as a means to underwriting stability on that important continent. However, with the end of the cold war, the value of NATO as an agent and means for pursuing U.S. security and diplomatic objectives in Europe has increased, at a time when its inherent value is continuously being questioned. It is little wonder, therefore, that initiatives to expand and increase Western European defense activities and prerogatives are seen as being inimical to NATO and, therefore, U.S. interests. A better factual understanding of the WEU, and of initiatives for European defense integration and associated problems, is of interest to the defense community and to the U.S. Army as well.

## Reel 6

### European Community (European Union) cont.

#### 1993 cont.

- 0001     **A Plan for the Reduction of U.S. Ground and Air Forces in Europe.**  
*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Henry M. St. Pierre. June 4, 1993. 104pp.*  
For the past forty years, the threat posed by the Soviet Union and its allies on our national security had forced the United States to take a direct role in the defense of Europe. This commitment required the United States to permanently station large numbers of ground and air forces in Europe to deter against the threat of a Soviet-led invasion of Western Europe. Since 1989, the demise of the Warsaw Pact and the dissolution of the Soviet Union has changed the security paradigm which governed our military posture since 1949. American focus has now turned inward to devote time and resources to the domestic agenda foreseen by the Clinton administration. This turning inward has forced military planners to relook the need to station a large number of forces overseas. A major point of this look is our need to station a large number of forces in Europe. This thesis will study the feasibility of reducing our ground forces from one full up corps to one corps headquarters with selected combat support and combat service support assets intact, one division, and one air assault brigade. In addition, Air Force strength would be reduced to two composite air wings. The total number of combat forces stationed in Europe would be between seventy thousand and seventy-five thousand personnel.
- 0105     **European Community: Regulatory Issues in Creating a Single Insurance Market.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. August 1993. 63pp.*  
This report was written in response to a request by John D. Dingell, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation for information on insurance regulation in the EC. The increasing globalization of the U.S. insurance industry has heightened the need to understand the regulatory systems of foreign insurance markets, such as that of the EC. Collectively, insurance markets of the EC member states accounted for approximately \$363 billion, or over one-quarter of all insurance premiums collected worldwide in 1990. An integrated EC insurance market would thus rank as the world's second largest after that of the United States. This review

(1) describes the framework of insurance regulation developed by the EC to create a single insurance market and (2) identifies regulatory issues concerning the development and implementation of this framework.

**1994**

0168 **U.S.–West European Cooperation in Out-of-Area Military Operations.**  
*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Richard L. Kugler. 1994. 197pp.*

During the cold war, the United States and its Western European allies focused their military planning on defense of NATO's borders. The arrival of the out-of-area era, an era in which military intervention may be required outside the alliance area, confronts these nations with new and troublesome questions: Under what circumstances will Western interests dictate military intervention in crises outside the alliance area? To what degree will the United States and its allies be able to cooperate together when military force is required? How can political cooperation among these nations best be nourished? Now that downsizing is under way, will U.S. and West European military forces be adequate to the task, and how can their forces be improved to make them better? Focusing on these and related questions, this study conducts a political-military appraisal of the out-of-area era now rapidly drawing. It analyzes the issues surrounding out-of-area military operations and offers options for making improvements. Its goal is not to prescribe future policies, but rather to illuminate and inform.

0365 **Force Structure: Basis for Future Army Forces in Europe.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. January 1994. 56pp.*

This report was written in response to a request by Ike Skelton, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Military Forces and Personnel, that the GAO determine the basis for the size and composition of U.S. military forces planned for Europe at the end of fiscal year 1996 and the major U.S. military capabilities that will be affected by force reductions in Europe. A separate classified annex to this report discusses U.S. commitments to the NATO in more detail.

0421 **Implementing the European Community Single Market: Sixth Followup Report.**

*U.S. International Trade Association, Washington, D.C. NA. January 1994. 147pp.*

This report is the last in a series of reports that the USITC has prepared in response to a congressional request. On October 13, 1988, the USITC received a joint request from the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance for an investigation to provide objective factual information on the EC's single market initiative and a comprehensive analysis of its potential economic consequences for the United States. The USITC has already issued an initial report and five followup reports. This current report is the sixth followup report and the first in the series to focus strictly on the status of implementation of EC measures by the member states. The aim is to complete the USITC assessment of EC progress in attaining its single market objectives by measuring how far EC legislation has been given effect, or been implemented, in member states. This information will allow readers to better anticipate the effects of integration.

0568 **The European Transportation System: Adoption of a Market-Oriented Approach.**

*Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Craig R. Reistad. January 1994. 102pp.*

As Europe moves toward the twenty-first century and the realization of a continent without internal frontiers, the importance of a transport policy which supports the goals of an economically united Europe increases dramatically. No longer can the EC simply rely upon the twelve member nation's individual transport policies to support the transport needs of a united continent acting as a single economic market. It is important to implement an efficient transport policy, under one unified transport body, which will allow the free movement of persons, goods, and services. While the existing transport systems and policies of member countries more or less satisfactorily supported their respective countries' transport requirements and regulation, the systems and policies were never intended to be merged together. Transport infrastructure, equipment, and regulations differ from country to country and do not always work efficiently together. The task of unifying Europe's transport policies and systems into one efficient unit is extremely difficult and complex. Will Europe eventually transform into one transport market through deregulation and privatization with the EC as the main catalyst? To answer that question, it is necessary

to look at the beginnings of the EC's Common Transport Policy, the road blocks already hurdled, and the current results of deregulation and privatization within Europe's transport market.

0670 **Can Europe Survive Maastricht?**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Douglas T. Stuart. February 4, 1994. 56pp.*

The author analyzes the current status of European integration and how it may affect U.S. interests. He examines the implications of the Maastricht Treaty, particularly in the areas of security and defense, and maintains that Western European leaders have lost sight of the true meaning and potential value of European integration. This, he explains, accounts for the EU's seeming inability to respond effectively to international crises. The author concludes that unless the EU reassesses its priorities and policies, the fundamental aspiration of maintaining European unity may be lost.

0726 **The Politics of Counterterrorism in Western Europe.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Tracy Higgins. April 1994. 94pp.*

European nations, the victims of left- and right-wing, separatist, and transnational terrorism, share a desire to deter terrorist violence within their own borders. This provides an incentive to develop effective domestic counterterrorist policies, as well as to coordinate counterterrorism programs among European nations in order to be more effective in the prevention of terrorist violence. Some attempts have been made to improve police and judicial cooperation both within the EU and internationally, and this has had a positive effect on counterterrorism operations. However, progress in the area of counterterrorism strategy in Europe continues to be unsatisfactory, as it is still the source of internal policy battles and many diplomatic disputes.

0820 **The Role of Small and Medium Size Enterprises in Regional Economic Development: The European Experience and U.S. Comparative Analysis.**

*University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Niles M. Hansen and Dan Y. Dabney. April 1994. 73pp.*

SMEs have advantages and disadvantages compared to large firms. Evidence from Western Europe shows that sustained economic development is more a local or regional than a national phenomenon. It results from settings with information richness, entrepreneurial vitality, a dynamic, innovative SME sector, and the use of flexible production and interfirm networking by SMEs. U.S. case studies show that SMEs play a vital role in

successful local and regional development, especially in high-technology manufacturing and producer services. Educational institutions have played a large role in creating and sustaining strong technical cultures. Government policies should not be biased in favor of SMEs, but they should create environments that promote innovation and entrepreneurship.

0893

**New Superpower: The European Union.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Agustin Macias. May 1994. 25pp.*

Will the early years of the next century see the birth of a new economic and military superpower in the form of the European Union, or will the old nationalisms destroy the new political union? The end of World War II was the turning point for a successful reconstruction of Europe, and at that time there was a clear conviction among European leaders that the old system of competition between states must be replaced by cooperation that would not allow any country to threaten the others. The success of reconstruction was so big that companies and commercial activities became small countries from the economic point of view. It was necessary to expand the economic boundaries by one hand and by the other to increase cooperation to affront enterprises that transcended individual nations. The process started slowly and sped up with time. Today the integration process goes faster, and soon the trespassing competencies from the nations to the Commission will require the sovereignty renounce in some parcels of the power. Here there is the same question: Will the European nations give up their financial and political sovereignty? What will be the power of this new supernational? There are reasons to think that sooner or later there will be a supernational in Europe that becomes, probably not a military superpower, but without a doubt an economic power.

## Bulgaria

1991

0918

**The Bulgarian Banking System and the Housing Market.**

*The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. R. Marisol Ravicz: October 1991. 54pp.*

Bulgaria's housing industry, like most sectors of the economy, has experienced severe dislocation. The report explores one aspect of the sector—housing finance. It discusses the current state of the banking and housing finance systems, explores housing finance issues that must be addressed over the short to medium term, and briefly suggests areas in which the

system might benefit from technical assistance. The report concludes that the Bulgarian housing finance system could benefit greatly from the introduction of alternative mortgage instruments such as the dual-index mortgage and the price level adjusted mortgage. It could also benefit from training in internationally accepted underwriting and collection procedures.

**1993**

0972

**Bulgaria's Quest for Security after the Cold War.**

*National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Oscar W. Ciyatt Jr. February 1993. 113pp.*

This report analyzes Bulgaria's relations with Russia and the potential threats to Bulgarian security both internally and externally. It also documents Bulgaria's efforts to seek U.S. and Western European military and economic assistance for protection from its neighbors.

## Reel 7

### Czechoslovakia

**1992**

0001

**Housing Allowances and Czechoslovakia's Social Safety Net.**

*The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. Jeffrey P. Telgarsky, G. Thomas Kingsley, and Peter Tatian. April 1992. 97pp.*

The study examines the implications of implementing a housing allowance approach in Czechoslovakia. The report finds that a surprising number of renters (94 percent) can actually afford the proposed 100 percent rent increase scheduled for July 1992. Subsidies to support the other renters would amount to only 52 million Korunas annually. Even if rents are brought up to market rates, only 18 percent of renters would not be able to afford them. It is thus possible to reduce government subsidies by at least 87 percent while avoiding the creation of true budgetary hardships for any family. Short- and long-term recommendations are presented in conclusion.

## Finland

1994

0098

### **Defensive Defense in Finland—Will It Work?**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Oistein Vinja. April 1994. 30pp.*

This report contains an analysis of Finland's past, present, and future security policy and an assessment of the effectiveness of this policy.

## France

1992

0128

### **France and the 1995 Non-Proliferation Treaty Extension Conference: An Initial Assessment.**

*Science Applications International Corporation, McLean, Virginia. Ioanna M. Iliopoulos. October 30, 1992. 22pp.*

On August 3, 1992, France formally acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Complementary steps for arms control and disarmament in 1992 have included the acceptance of full-scope safeguards as a condition for nuclear exports, a moratorium on nuclear testing until April 1993, and ratification of Protocol No. 1 to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Through its accession to the treaty, France reflects its understanding of the important role the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will play in the new security order of Europe and the world.

1993

0150

### **Franco-German Security Accommodation: Illusion of Agreement.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William T. Johnsen and Thomas-Durell Young. January 11, 1993. 28pp.*

The authors have attempted to explain the developments in the evolution of European integration by focusing on the Franco-Germany relationship. They argue that Paris and Bonn remain strongly committed to the concept, principally as a vehicle to overcome their collective past. A constant and, at times, irritating characteristic of this drive is their almost obsessive need to be in agreement, particularly when they are not. When stymied in attempts to initiate greater integration, the two countries invariably turn to military cooperation (e.g., the Eurocorps) to promote greater consensus. The authors conclude that Washington needs to appreciate better the rationales behind these French and German initiatives and adopt a coherent policy towards a future European Defense Identity.



0178 **The French Rapid Action Force: An Original Concept Which Has Proven Its Effectiveness.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Guy Huchet de Quenetain. February 1993. 42pp.*

Created in 1983, the French Rapid Action Force appears to be a new military tool France needed, built to answer two major problems: in Europe, the early and strong commitment of forces to NATO, while preserving the French freedom of action to support its strategy of "dissuasion," and the disposal of forces immediately available for overseas involvements. The present study explains the development of the concept, describes the current situation of the Rapid Action Force in French national defense policy, in NATO strategy, and in overseas operational preparation and control. Command, organization, and components are also described.

0220 **The French Polemic: Nationalism, Racism and Atlanticism in the Past, Present and Future.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Nannette Sherry Roberts. December 1993. 98pp.*

This thesis offers an overview of French nationalism, racism, and Atlanticism in the country's past, present, and future. It argues that nationalism and racism lie at the root of the French socio-political polemics and that the contemporary problems draw from French history. This explanation places particular emphasis upon the evolution of France as a cohesive nation-state and the subsequent development and definition of the French citizen, as well as the corollary concept of the foreigner. This study also discusses the repercussions of nationalism as exhibited through xenophobic tendencies and racism throughout French history and into the present. The French integration model, further explored, reveals nationalist proclivities that intertwine with the assimilation process of immigrants. This thesis seeks to unknot the issues of French nationalism as a basis for better understanding and more effective U.S. policy with France.

## Germany

1991

0318

**German Unification and Its Ramifications.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Ronald D. Asmus. 1991. 101pp.*

This study is part of a broader project on the future of the USAREUR conducted within the Policy and Strategy Studies Program of RAND's Arroyo Center. The study assesses the political, economic, and security ramifications of German unification and the future of German-American relations. It should be of interest to U.S. government officials dealing with NATO and Central European affairs.

0419

**A Preliminary Analysis of German Arms Transfer Rationales.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Charles K. Pickar. June 7, 1991. 98pp.*

This study is an initial, country-level analysis of the German government rationales for allowing the transfer of arms. The study divides arms transfer rationales into three distinct areas: political, economic, and military. At present, there are no indications the German government is selling/transferring arms for military reasons. Political rationales for transferring arms include international stature, national pride, and influence. The political rationale is expressed in declaratory foreign, defense, and industrial policy. The evolution of these policies and their results provides a perspective for future actions. The German government is starting to express an independent foreign and defense policy for the first time in the postwar era. This independence will figure in the decision to sell arms in the future although there is no evidence of present influence. Economic rationales common to European countries include employment, lower unit costs (economies of scale), and arms for oil. Aggregate analysis of general trends in arms transfers indicates a positive correlation between arms transfers and exports suggesting economic rationales as a factor in weapons sales. Additionally, with the tremendous costs involved in the unification, coupled with an ever-increasing demand for quality weapons, the German government may be tempted to alleviate economic problems with these sales.

**1992**

0517 **Emerging German Security Policy: The Dispute on "Out of Area" Employments.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Hans-Georg Atzinger. March 10, 1992. 46pp.*

The Gulf War forced Germany to face the question of their responsibility in world affairs. Germany was asked to contribute to the security and stability of the Middle East region. They declined to do so. Germany was fixed on unification. Therefore the request of the allies for military assistance came as a surprise. A violent debate then emerged on whether unified Germany should take increased responsibility in the world. The debate is still in progress. The war in Southwest Asia was a crossroads of German security policy. The government now desires to deploy German forces "out of area" for international peace and conflict resolutions. However, the opposition party still insists on "blue helmet" missions only. There are different reasons for Germany's reluctance to commit forces alongside its allies. Pacifism and anti-Americanism, represented by a politically active minority, strongly influenced the public opinion during Desert Storm. These rigid and self-righteous morals were not the major reason for military reluctance. Recent German history and a political interpretation of the "Basic Law" (constitution) were the real reasons for Germany's hesitancy. The Basic Law is ambivalent regarding guidelines for security policy. However, experts in constitutional law hold the position that there are no legal constraints. Therefore, the government must solve a political rather than a constitutional problem.

0563 **The New Germany in a New Europe: The Domestic Political Dimension.**

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C. Len Campbell. April 1992. 40pp.*

This paper investigates the political environment of Germany since reunification and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Significant aspects of German society are discussed, including Germany's history, strength of its democratic institutions, education, integration of the East, guestworkers and refugees, and German tendencies toward nationalism, patriotism, and Europeanism. The paper concludes with a discussion of future implications for U.S. policy. At issue is whether Germany should be feared or embraced and what role the United States should and can play in guiding Germany toward satisfaction of its national interests, as well as our own, in the decades ahead.

0603

**The New Germany in a New Europe: The Global Dimension.**

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C. David L. Sonnenberg. April 1992. 34pp.*

Since German reunification on October 3, 1990, one fact has emerged: Germany is Europe's local superpower. Despite the economic and social problems brought on the meshing of the two very different societies of the east and west, Germany has not faltered. The demise of the Soviet Union and the chaos encompassing the Commonwealth of Independence States has left a political vacuum on the European continent. Germany, under the leadership of Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, has shown itself both capable and determined to step in and assume a position of leadership. Germany displayed its new political confidence most clearly in the decision to recognize Croatia and Slovenia in January 1992, against the objections of the United States and a number of fellow EC members. The Germans, however, refused to be dissuaded from what they saw as the only way to end the bloodshed in what was formally Yugoslavia. The United States and the other EC nations reluctantly followed suit and recognized both Croatia and Slovenia.

0637

**German Economic and Monetary Union.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Edwin P. Goosen. April 15, 1992. 59pp.*

At midnight on October 2, 1990, the GDR (East Germany) was reunited with the FRG (West Germany) forming a single German state and ending over forty years of political, economic, and cultural separation. Political union came with relative ease, occurring less than one year after the coming down of the Berlin Wall. Economic union, however, is proving to be much more difficult. The initial euphoria has been replaced by the painful realization that the process of economic integration is going to be very expensive and take a lot longer than originally anticipated. High unemployment, difficulties in privatizing the formerly state-owned enterprises, infrastructure deterioration, environmental pollution, and massive immigration are problems associated with reunification which are straining Germany's social, political and economic systems. This paper discusses the impact that these problems and the enormous cost of unification are having on Germany, the EC, eastern Europe's emerging market economies, and the United States.

0696 **The Impact of German Reunification on Changing U.S. National Security Interests in Central Europe.**

*Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Edward J. Majewski. May 5, 1992. 124pp.*

U.S. relations with Central Europe are largely driven by our policies towards modern Germany. Those policies comprise the weighing of various objectives, issues, and concerns, old and new, and prioritizing them so as to promote U.S. national interests in our relations with Germany. Revisions of existing U.S.-German positions are necessary, due to the recently completed and ongoing changes occurring in Central Europe and in the United States, and in a vastly different international system. The United States should pursue objectives which provide for immediate safety of our public, property, and resources and promote U.S. economic vitality and prosperity. We should seek Central European stability, since we are inexorably tied to Europe, while supporting a greater German role in the region, the European order, and the Western world. We must maintain a watchful eye for historic German tendencies to destabilize Europe, enhanced in her reunified potential, which could jeopardize our interests. Our policies should be consistent though malleable when necessary to enable us to select the options to attain our objectives. Relations with a reunified Germany are influenced by remnants of past U.S.-German conflicts, by uncertainties of present circumstances and by anticipation of how global system changes will affect the future. U.S. policy towards Germany must also recognize the ominous possibilities of certain characteristics of German society, aim to promote common interests, purposes, and values, and take into account nonsecurity concerns like the environment and human rights.

0820 **German Unification's Impact on a United States of Europe.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Joe H. Parker. June 5, 1992. 157pp.*

This study investigates the emergence of a unified Germany within the context of European integration, and the security effect it has on an increasingly interdependent world order. These issues are very fluid, yet their nature will be critical to United States' interests. Central to this thesis is the assertion that whatever course European politics take, Germany will be the pivotal nation. Its wealth, technology, and geopolitical position provide Germany enormous power. This study establishes that German unification is complete and will last for the near future. In America there is a hope that a unified Europe will provide increased business opportunities.

The EC may become a restrictive trading bloc. Security relationships will be redefined based on the perceived interests, which will be increasingly affected by economic interests. The roles of NATO, the WEU, and the CSCE are not clear.

## Reel 8

### Germany cont.

#### 1992 cont.

- 0001     **The "Normalization" of the Federal Republic of Germany's Defense Structures.**  
*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Thomas-Durell Young. September 1, 1992. 51pp.*  
The unification of the two German states on October 3, 1990, signified the end of the cold war and the beginning of a new phase in European diplomatic and security affairs. The author argues that despite accusations that Bonn is attempting to follow an independent diplomatic agenda, the FRG is not nationalizing its defense structures. Rather, the coalition government has decided that its future security can only be achieved within the context of defense structures integrated with its Western allies. This direction in security policy is driven by severe limitations placed on defense spending and by political considerations that German national power can only be legitimized through continued integration of its diplomacy and defenses within the EC and NATO. If there is a matter with which Bonn's allies should be concerned; it is the inability of the FRG to reach agreement on the projection of military force.
- 0052     **German Women in the Five New Lander: Employment and Entrepreneurship.**  
*Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Maella Blalock Lohman. December 1992. 120pp.*  
The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was the visual sign to the world illustrating the internal collapse of the economic, political, and social systems of the German Democratic Republic. Creating a new economic base from the ruins of the collapsed GDR system is proving to be an extremely hard task for the governments of Germany and the EC, as well as the German citizens. Particularly hard hit by the economic reforms are the

women of the east. The changes in economic structure have coincided with social change, which have brought unemployment and loss of social benefits for GDR women.

0172

**Germany and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence in Europe.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Edward G. Gunning. December 1992. 198pp.*

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the unification of Germany have fundamentally changed the politics of security in Europe. This thesis analyzes German perspectives on the international security environment and offers judgments about the probable future role of nuclear deterrence in European security. The thesis begins with a survey of the role of nuclear deterrence in the security policy of the FRG during the period prior to reunification in 1989–1990. This is followed by an analysis of German views on the West European nuclear powers: the United Kingdom and France. German views on the U.S. nuclear presence and U.S. commitments to Europe are then examined. German views on nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union and the potential for proliferation on Europe's periphery complete the survey. For the short term, Germany will not change its present policies regarding nuclear deterrence in Europe. The German nation is likely to remain preoccupied with the reunification process for several years, and German politicians are not disposed to seek a debate on nuclear deterrence. The Germans generally consider Britain and France incapable of providing adequate nuclear protection for the Federal Republic in the near term, so the Germans will continue to rely on the United States for a nuclear guarantee.

**1993**

0370

**The Economic Strategy for German Unification.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Roy A. Brooks. February 19, 1993. 34pp.*

German unification occurred at midnight on October 2, 1990 with the hope for a fully integrated and developed social and economic union between the former East Germany and West Germany. The two countries developed with basic political ideological differences that profoundly impacted on each country's economic, social, and cultural systems. The government coalition headed by the Christian Democratic Union party, with Chancellor Kohl as Federal Chancellor, was required to develop both a vision and a supporting strategy to facilitate the union. Political motivation and pressure, however, led Kohl to develop a short-sighted but politically acceptable short-term

program that adversely impacted economic development in the east. As implemented, the plan produced high government debt, high interest rates, and a resultant prolonged recession within the united country. Secondly, investors disappeared and high unemployment plagued the east. More important to its European trading partners who are tied to Germany's currency through the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, a conservative German monetary policy exported recession throughout the EC. Non-European countries, including the United States and Japan, found they were also restricted in dealing with their own sluggish economies because of Germany's internal economic policies. This study examines Kohl's plan from a macroeconomic vantage point. It shows that today's world economies are interdependent and that unilateral government actions by one major power can adversely impact the entire world economic system. The paper recommends a course of action Germany must follow to benefit unification and economic integration, to support the basic goals of the Maastricht Treaty.

0404

**West German Education in the Global Village.**

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C. Donna K. Lackman. April 1993. 94pp.*

In today's global village, with its worldwide economy, a highly skilled and well-educated workforce is critical to national competitiveness, growth, and long-term survival. The West Germans understand this concept well. Their educational system is structured to meet this goal and provides many lessons for U.S. educational reform. Brief summary: (1) introduces the above thesis and describes the framework of the sections to follow; (2) describes the general concepts, policies, and structure of the educational system; (3) examines the characteristics and curricula of the various schools in some detail; (4) identifies some current issues that affect the functioning of the educational system, followed by a brief agenda for future German action; (5) suggests lessons to be learned from the German system and recommendations for U.S. educational reform.

0498

**A Study of Opposition Movements in East Germany: Impacts of American Foreign Policy during 1953 and 1989.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Shawn Daryl Pederson. May 1993. 109pp.*

History books are filled with accounts of popular uprisings of the masses against their government. All too often, these accounts prove to be short sighted in their perspective, and consequently they do not look past the



obvious facts to the heart of the sentiments driving the uprising. The first half of this study seeks to examine the East German uprising of June 1953 in an attempt to shed long-overdue light on the historical and political significance of this early occurrence in the annals of communist Germany as it relates to world history, and in particular, the course of the cold war. This study further focuses keenly on the anemic nature of the American foreign policy response to this uprising, and the possible roles these actions played in dictating the ultimate fate of the East German riots of 1953. Having examined the 1953 uprising this study then examines the East German uprising of 1989–1990. This uprising, better called a revolution, in contrast to the events of 1953, was successful. As with Part I, an understanding of the revolution and the underlying sentiments and actions driving it are discussed. This is followed by an examination of the external influences on the revolution, particularly those of U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. The study seeks to show that with some foresight, determination, and a whole lot of luck, U.S. foreign policy avoided many of the mistakes made in 1953, and was successful in aiding, or at the very least in not hindering, the cause of freedom in East Germany.

0607

**Germany's Unification and Its Implications on U.S. Security Strategy.** *Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Stephen D. Kretschmer. May 19, 1993. 30pp.*

Germany's unification was a major event that changed the political scene in Europe and worldwide. It had been a goal of U.S. policy for decades and was supported by the Bush administration. Unification brought Germany full sovereignty and changed institutions and relations both in Europe and with the United States. NATO lost the common interest of deterring communism. The alliance is struggling with the search for a new strategy and mission and with ongoing troop reductions. NATO has also to adapt to an increased European integration which led to the revitalization of the WEU and the creation of the Eurocorps. European nations now try to compensate for increased German influence by speeding up the integration process also in the EC which caused the partial failure of the Maastricht treaty. Germany is often trapped in a position between the United States and European nations, especially France. A major effort of both the United States and Germany will be necessary to adapt their relations to new realities and to find new common ground.

- 0637      **National Unification and Transition in the German Armed Forces.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Eric Hugh Brandenburg. June 1, 1993. 81pp.*  
This study analyzes the factors that have contributed to the contemporary reshaping of the German armed forces. It describes the burdens of history prior to 1945, treaty and constitutional restraints on armed forces, the establishment of the armed forces in the 1950s and 1960s, and the culture of reticence in military affairs that cannot easily or even willingly be modified. Further sections address national unification, the contemporary determinants of German security policy, the complications of absorbing the veterans of the East German military, and manpower and budgetary considerations. Lastly, from a national defense posture aligned within NATO forward defense, the German armed forces are making a transition into highly mobile, rapid-reaction units that can be deployed at short notice to world trouble spots. These rapid-reaction units may eventually conduct peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, and crisis-reaction missions under the auspices of the UN, NATO, or WEU. Internal and external anxieties about German military participation in such missions have produced a confused defense policy. Germany is nonetheless restructuring its military to demonstrate the achievement of sovereignty and to improve its ability to defend national and allied interests in a new international context.
- 0718      **1993 German Health Reforms: New Cost Control Initiatives.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. July 1993. 56pp.*  
Germany's health care system provides nearly universal coverage for a comprehensive range of health services and has a better record than the United States in constraining the growth of health care costs. Since 1980, Germany has kept health spending below 8.9 percent of GDP while U.S. spending escalated from 9.3 to 13.5 percent of GDP. Initiated in 1993 as a three-year emergency measure, mandatory global budget limits were imposed by the German government on spending in the physician, hospital, dental services, and prescription drug sectors of its health care system. The imposition of these caps represents a marked departure from its previous approaches in two ways. Previously, global budget targets for physicians and hospitals were negotiated among nonprofit associations of health care providers and the sickness funds that administer health insurance for most Germans. For the next three years, the budgets covering hospitals and physicians are set in law. In addition, the German reforms establish global budgets for pharmaceuticals and dental services for the first time.

0774 **How German Unification Mistakes Damage West European Economies.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Leif Roderick Rosenberger. August 4, 1993. 75pp.*

The overly optimistic perception of economic developments in Western Europe depended heavily upon the successful economic and political incorporation of eastern Germany into a prosperous, united Germany. In this study, the author argues that the Germans have badly mismanaged unification, thereby challenging the earlier optimistic assumptions. The German Bundesbank has responded to the Kohl government's lax fiscal policy with an excessively tight monetary policy, which has retarded European economic growth and which triggered financial chaos in September 1992 and again in July/August 1993, thereby undermining political unity in the EC.

## Reel 9

### Germany cont.

#### 1993 cont.

0001

**The German Debate over Military Peacekeeping Missions: The First Step toward an Eventual Combat Role.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Richard Michael Schmitz. December 1993. 188pp.*

This study analyzes the steps taken by the German Federal Government to transform the character of German security policy from the inter-German border to the strategic reality of the present. While this author believes quite firmly that the time is drawing near when German soldiers will participate in combat within the framework of collective defense and security in a future conflict, considerable obstacles to such a contingency remain. The study interprets the interaction of the elements of government, the military, political parties, and the international system in the transformation of German defense policy since the shock of the post-cold war world has overwhelmed Atlantic security institutions. This thesis describes the strategic interaction of how Germany's political leaders have adjusted themselves to an unfamiliar and uncomfortable world of war and peace. In the process, Germany is discarding the security policy of so-called reticence, but what policy will replace it remains unclear.

**1994**

0189

**German-American Security Relations within NATO and the UN.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Jobst Schonfeld. March 1994. 146pp.*

The war in the Balkans suggests that despite the end of the East-West conflict, general instability casts a pall of doubt over hopes of enduring peace in Europe and beyond. As one sees in southeast Europe, post-communism creates nationalism, which can lead to war. The former Yugoslavia is the test case. In east-central Europe, where former Soviet satellites are facing a similar power vacuum and Russian imperialism celebrates its possible rebirth, war could be the consequence if NATO is not able and willing to provide security and stability in this region. This thesis investigates the factors which define the current crisis in NATO and transatlantic security relations. This in turn brings up the question of structural realities in German-American strategic interaction. This thesis examines how lasting internal conflicts gain new explosive force today and presents conclusions regarding the survival of NATO. In the end, the thesis suggests that NATO and the tantamount security partnership with the United States is vitally significant for Germany and for stability in Europe. This maxim applies to the past and it holds equally true for the future.

0335

**Trends in German Defense Policy: The Defense Policy Guidelines and the Centralization of Operational Control.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Thomas-Durell Young. June 14, 1994. 37pp.*

The author examines the restructuring of Germany's armed forces. Owing to the planning uncertainties caused by the impending Bundestag elections and the inability of the ruling coalition to provide consistent budgetary guidelines, assessment of the numerical parameters of the Bundeswehr is impossible. Accurate estimation of the peacetime strength of the Bundeswehr or whether it will consist of conscripts to the degree that it has until now will also be difficult to foretell. Yet, in view of this uncertainty, the political importance of Germany in Europe, as well as the lingering anxiety over the unified Germany, it is essential that trends in that country's defense policy be ascertained and assessed. Defense policy guidelines and operational control restructuring are critical indicators of national intention.

0372

**Right Face: Understanding German Political Developments.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Ronald E. Draker. June 16, 1994. 135pp.*

Before unification in 1990, Germany experienced a rise in right-wing violence and political popularity. The trend has continued until the present. Many scholars attribute the phenomenon to the economic and social impact of unification and the wave of immigrants pouring into Germany. This is only partly true. Since the trend began before unification, then the real roots lie somewhere else. This thesis suggests that the rise in right-wing extremism is linked to the growing pressures of post-industrialization. Changes in modes of production, further globalization of economies, the information explosion, and the mobility of the world's capital, are causing new opportunities and dangers for people. Lost jobs or pay cuts are resulting in the West from the move to robotics, and to businesses heading for cheaper labor markets. Germany is not alone in facing these challenges. Most Western states are confronting the same problems. However, Germany's Nazi past make it seem very different.

## Greece

**1994**

0507

**To Megali Idea—Dead or Alive? The Domestic Determinants of Greek Foreign Policy.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Mary A. Jenkins. March 1994. 70pp.*

This paper discusses *to megali idea*, or "the great idea," which is at the origin of modern Greek nationalism. The idea was to regain lands which formerly belonged to the Greek empire. The current Greek government's official line disavows any expansionist views, but the idea has never really died. In amplification of this idea and its ramifications, the origin and character of Greek nationalism are examined, especially as they pertain to the formation of Greek foreign policy. The problems of minorities within Greece, the Greek diaspora, and the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church on foreign policy issues are also analyzed. The findings aid in a greater understanding of Greek foreign policy, both in today's Balkan crisis and in Greece's ongoing conflict with Turkey, as well as illuminating the potential for Greece's involvement in future Balkan crises. Many of the conclusions presented in this paper were based on primary language research and interviews throughout mainland Greece and eighteen of the major islands, from

September through November 1993. National elections which brought to power a socialist Prime Minister were held during October 1993, amid much rhetoric and international debate over questions of an independent Macedonia and minorities in Northern Epirus.

## Hungary

1991

0577 **The Hungarian Revolution of 1989: Perspectives and Prospects for Kozotteuropa.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Ricky L. Keeling. June 20, 1991. 78pp.*

The concept of *Kozotteuropa* (Central Europe) is becoming much more prevalent in literature. This paper will deal with the experience of the Hungarian people, how that experience will impact on the idea of *Kozotteuropa*, and what the prospects are for a political entity in the Danubian Basin based on the *Kozotteuropa* concept. The paper focuses on Hungary as the key link, and possibly strongest member, of such a union. The paper will discuss Hungarian history, Hungary's relationship with the superpowers and its neighbors, both past and present, and will propose some policies for the government of the United States to help improve our relations with this small, but important piece of Central Europe. In 1918, the European security system underwent a fundamental change. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, one of the great powers, disintegrated. A power vacuum existed in central Europe until the rise of Nazi Germany. This historical situation is now coming to an end. The question which then arises is: What shall replace the existing security system in Central Europe? One of the possible answers to this question is the *Kozotteuropa*. This concept involves the evolution of at least a regional economic order, with the potential of a political union, in the upper Danubian Basin. The countries involved include specifically Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary, with the potential involvement of Croatia and Slovenia if Yugoslavia were to break up, and also the possible involvement of Italy.

0655 **Country Profile: Hungary.**

*Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois. NA. September 1991. 91pp.* Country Profile: *Hungary* has been prepared as a background document for use by U.S. government agencies and U.S. businesses interested in becoming involved with the new democracies of Eastern Europe as they pursue sustainable economic development. The focus of the profile is on energy

and highlights information on Hungary's energy supply, demand, and utilization. It identifies patterns of energy usage in the important economic sectors, especially industry, and provides a preliminary assessment for opportunities to improve efficiencies in energy production, distribution, and use by introducing more efficient technologies. The use of more efficient technologies would have the added benefit of reducing the environmental impact which, although it is not the focus of the report, is an issue that affects energy choices. The profile also presents considerable economic information, primarily in the context of how economic restructuring may affect energy supply, demand, and the introduction of more efficient technologies.

**1992**

0746

**Strategic Appraisal of Hungary.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Jozsef Bali. April 13, 1992. 58pp.*

During the years of the cold war Hungary was a member state of the WTO. From the very beginning of the foundation of this organization, Hungary's foreign policy, structure, and development of its economy, military strategy, etc., were determined by the common interests of this politico-military bloc. Because of the immense Soviet power and its role within the WTO, it exerted a powerful influence on Hungary's national security policy. Actually, in most cases she was told what to do and how to do it. Fortunately those times are over. Hungary regained her independence and sovereignty and freedom of action. This changed situation demands that a new strategic assessment be developed. This study provides an appraisal of what is at stake, what the problems are, how Hungary is doing, and provides some policy recommendations.

**1993**

0804

**Hungary's Emerging Security Policy in the 1990s.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Ferenc Vegh. April 6, 1993. 52pp.*

Hungary is situated in a region where national animosities, deep-frozen under socialism, are still running high, and tolerance for ethnic and religious minorities has not yet become the rule. The changed international environment requires a new security policy. In the history of the countries of Eastern Europe, a new chapter was opened with the political and economic changes of the past four years. The security system built up and accepted by the two military alliances—NATO and the WTO—and based on military force, has

broken down, and the ideological struggle—based on the division of Europe—practically ceased. The cold war era, which followed World War II and lasted for forty years, is over. Political events in Hungary have speeded up. Hungary has made a gradual, peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy, but the economic miracle, the transformation of a rigid, planned economy into a prosperous one, is still far from accomplished. This study will examine the developing concept of Hungarian security policy.

## Ireland

1992

0856

**The Advent of Representative Associations in the Irish Defense Forces.** *Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Michael P. Gannon. June 5, 1992. 150pp.*

This study seeks to identify the factors that underlie the establishment of representative associations in the IDF. The thesis establishes the nature and history of military representation. It further finds that the IDF were almost totally unaware of, and had no policy on, military representation prior to 1988. By 1991, representative associations were legally established in the IDF. The greater part of the thesis studies and analyses the interactions of the parties involved in this remarkable evolution in such a short period of time. In addition to the government, the military authorities and IDF personnel, the study finds the printed media and a pressure group composed of military wives to be significant players in the process. The study concludes that a number of intertwined factors led to the establishment of representative associations in the IDF. Critically, many of these factors arise from poor management of manpower, the IDF's most important resource.



# Reel 10

## Italy

### 1992

- 0001 **The New European Order: Historical Perspectives and Prospects for an Italian Role.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Anthony M. Migliore. June 1992. 67pp.*

This thesis begins by examining the history of Italian participation in Europe's southern flank since 1945, focusing upon the reasons for their apparent weakness in taking a leading role. It then considers Italy's present posture within the new European order and attempts to make informed judgements as to the course of its role in European security. Europe has had two restructurings in recent history. This thesis examines the development of Italian statecraft after the first changes in 1945 to see if anything can be gleaned and applied to Italy's posture after the changes in 1991.

- 0068 **The Dynamics of Institutional Reform in Contemporary Italian Politics.**

*Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Gene A. Catena. December 1992. 128pp.*

The overall intent of this work is to examine the current debate on institutional reform in Italy and, in so doing, answer the question: "Can and, if so, will political changes be instituted in Italy?" The author first looks at the data from Italy's most recent parliamentary elections to explore both the elements of continuity and the elements of change from preceding elections. Once establishing the current political climate in Italy, the author pursues the various determinants for reform. Beginning with how Italy's political system is structured, several proposed reforms are reviewed and their potential for success evaluated. Then the need for political reform and its future prospects are considered in the light of the ever-widening socio-economic disparity between north and south. Finally, the author focuses on the Lombard League and its meteoric rise on the Italian political scene as a specific case study in the ongoing political reform debate.

**1993**

0196

**The Role of Italy in the New European Order.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Luciano Neri. April 30, 1993. 33pp.*

The end of the cold war and dissolution of the Soviet Union has introduced a situation of great risk and uncertainty in Europe, as is demonstrated by a review of the political and economic difficulties of Eastern Europe. Several European security structures are attempting to calm and stabilize the situation, but it is not clear that any of them will suffice. In this cloudy situation, Italy will continue to support all structures that will help modernize and stabilize Europe. Italy will support NATO while upgrading the WEU and working within the EC and CSCE. Occasional Italian initiatives to supplement these structures may be called for, such as the "Pentagonale" approach and special relationships Italy has as a Mediterranean nation. An independent Italian policy, however, is out of the question.

**NATO**

**1991**

0229

**NATO's Nuclear Forces: Maintaining Deterrence in the Face of Uncertainty.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Glenn C. Waltman. May 20, 1991. 35pp.*

This paper is based on a premise that, by the mid-1990s, political and economic considerations will force the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe to maintain theater nuclear deterrence with dual-capable aircraft alone, rather than the triad of aircraft, artillery, and short-range missiles he employs today. The paper briefly reviews today's force structure and strategy, then moves to the future with a forecast of NATO's likely mid-1990s tactical nuclear force structure and the role of these forces in future NATO strategy. The bulk of the paper deals with a list of potential force enhancements the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe might employ to maintain deterrence in the face of deep force structure cuts and reliance on a single delivery system. It concludes with a potential framework to make decisions between these various alternatives.

**1992**

0264 **Planning Considerations for a Future Operational Campaign in NATO's Central Region.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William T. Johnsen and Thomas-Durell Young. January 31, 1992. 49pp.* With the demise of the WTO, the withdrawal of former Soviet forces from Central Europe, and the disintegration of the USSR, some might question the need to examine planning considerations for a future campaign in NATO's Central Region. The short answer to that pertinent question is that such an analysis is needed precisely because of the magnitude of the tumultuous changes of the past two years. Indeed, the current European security environment bears little, if any, resemblance to the long-familiar security landscape of Central Europe. Risks to the alliance have been reduced dramatically and warning times have been greatly extended as former foes strive to become partners and numerous arms control treaties, agreements, and initiatives are implemented. The alliance recognized these fundamental changes and recently agreed on innovative political and military strategic concepts to accommodate the new conditions that will rely heavily on crisis management activities, mobilizable forces, multinational formations, and intra-European reinforcements.

0313 **The WEU, What Potential to Replace NATO?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. John M. Hutchison. April 15, 1992. 36pp.*

The WEU has today the legal and political basis necessary to develop the institutional capability to eventually replace NATO as the European regional security organization. There is currently a debate on what form post-cold war European security arrangements will take. There are countervailing forces of, on the one hand, ever-increasing domestic pressure in NATO member states to curb defense spending. These forces are balanced by a perceived need by all the nations of the region to sustain the security and stability that have been afforded by that same organization the past half century. The need to create a viable security arrangement for the new Europe is generating changes in both the institutions capable of providing the necessary military power, NATO and the new EC and its defense arm, the WEU. NATO has recently redefined its strategic concept. The new concept attempts to accommodate fewer armed forces by creating a secure, stable environment. The EC has also committed its membership to a political union. As this union matures, it will require a common foreign and

security policy. This would entail a commitment to develop a European-only security identity. The WEU is the most obvious institution capable of evolving into a force-projecting organization capable of protecting European interests.

0349

**The Northern Area of NATO: Status and Challenges.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Sigurd Frisvold. April 15, 1992. 42pp.*

This study examines the status and challenges to the security of NATO's Northern Area following the rapid and fundamental changes in the political, economic, and military structures which Europe has experienced since 1989. Due to an exposed geostrategic position and the momentum of the Europe integration process, Norway faces the challenge of being partly isolated from the emerging security architecture. The study concludes that Norway should apply for membership in the EC/WEU, but continue to strongly support NATO's transatlantic link and primacy in a system of several interlocking security institutions. The study also concludes that future reduced national defense spending should give priority to North Norway and a force structure aimed at controlling the land territory, anti-invasion and air defense.

0391

**The Security in Europe in the New Order Era: The Future of the NATO.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Leonidas Ikonomopoulos. April 30, 1992. 42pp.*

This paper is a study of the security of Europe and the future of NATO after the tremendous changes which have recently occurred in Europe. The changes were very rapid and covered all of Europe. The collapse of the communist world and the demise of Soviet Union dominate Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the unification of Germany and the integration of EC dominate in Western Europe. Perhaps most importantly, for the first time of all its history, Europe is not divided and there is not considerable enmity among European states. So the security of the new Europe must be changed in order to cope with the new challenges, but at the same time, a new security equation must recognize that U.S. interests in Europe continue to be vital. This paper notes the changes, the current conditions, and the trends in Europe, and suggests some ideas about the security framework in Europe, and the transatlantic link.

0433

**A Strategic Planning Process for NATO for the 1990s.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Mehmet Mete Doganay. June 1992. 164pp.*

This thesis deals with the possible shifts in NATO's strategy for the rest of the 1990s. It uses a strategic planning model to explore these possible shifts in strategy. Strategic planning is a systematic process of defining the mission and the objectives and creating action plans, policies, and resource allocations to achieve them. Every organization should initiate strategic planning in order to address the evolving needs of its stakeholders. NATO, which was founded as an organization in 1949, has to do the same thing. The general mission of NATO was to protect the freedom and the well-being of its member people. During the period of 1949–1989, NATO faced a massive Soviet threat and so defined objectives and formulated strategies to contain it. NATO's environment has radically changed since 1989. Although the general mission of NATO has not changed, it needs to identify new objectives and formulate new strategies in order to cope with the current and potential threats and to exploit these opportunities afforded by the new environmental shifts.

0597

**NATO's New Troops: Overcoming Obstacles to Multinational Ground Forces.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Richard Seitz. June 1, 1992. 43pp.*

This study examines the implications of NATO's strategic transformation for the U.S. Army and NATO allies and investigates their ability to achieve its envisaged future multinational force structure. The July 1990 NATO summit declaration in London recognized that a promising new era in Europe has begun and stated the Alliance's integrated force structure and strategy would fundamentally change. The November 1991 NATO Rome summit subsequently endorsed sweeping changes in the ground force structure. The author provides a review of the political and military context behind these dramatic and ambitious changes, shifting from eight national-level corps organizations in the Central Region to six multinational corps. He then turns to the challenges that current national-level NATO ground forces will face in the next few years as they begin to reshape themselves and transform into multinational forces. He concludes with identifying some proposed principles to guide the creation of multinational formations, and thoughts on future policy considerations.

- 0640      **NATO: A Changing Alliance Faces New Challenges.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. July 1992. 41pp.*  
NATO provides for Europe and North America's collective defense against armed aggression. Until recently, the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact constituted the primary threat to NATO. However, since the Soviet Union broke up, the Warsaw Pact dissolved, and East and West Germany unified, NATO is changing its strategic concept and force structure to address the evolving security situation in Europe. In response to the challenging security environment, NATO has been defining the security risks to alliance members and developing the strategic concept, military strategic guidance, command and force structures, and operational concept. As part of NATO's defense planning process, members annually submit responses to a questionnaire in which they define their defense plans. France does not submit a response, as it withdrew from NATO's integrated military structure in 1966. Although Spain is not in the integrated military structure, it participates in NATO's collective force planning.
- 0681      **NATO's New Front Line: The Growing Importance of the Southern Tier.**  
*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William T. Johnsen. August 1, 1992. 122pp.*  
World attention is focused more and more on violent events along NATO's Southern Tier. Given the rising scale and intensity of violence in and around the Mediterranean Basin and the continued withdrawal of the Red Army from Central Europe, the center of gravity of the North Atlantic alliance is shifting to the Southern Tier. The author analyzes the risks facing the Southern Tier of Europe, assesses the degree to which new U.S. and NATO strategic concepts apply to the conditions of that region, and evaluates the ability of the alliance to carry out and emerging operational concepts in those areas of the Southern Tier with the greatest potential for violence. More specifically, the author highlights the importance of Turkey and the consequences for the United States should Turkey perceive inadequate NATO support for its security.
- 0803      **NATO's Out of Area Disputes: Prospects for Common Western Strategies in the Middle East.**  
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Dale G. Fuller. December 1992. 113pp.*  
This thesis traces the origins of NATO's out-of-area debate and suggest that the Middle East was a major strategic concern from the outset. However, NATO has been unable to formulate a common security policy to protect

Western interests in the Middle East. The thesis suggests that out-of-area contingencies in the Middle East might be dealt with more effectively through United States-WEU cooperation than under NATO auspices. This assessment is made in view of the successful ad hoc coordination of Western naval operations in the 1987–1988 “Tanker War” and in the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War. Cooperation between the United States and the WEU, both pillars of NATO, seems to be more practical politically than through NATO itself. The thesis concludes that the allies concerned must develop improved institutional links between the WEU and NATO in order to respond to future contingencies beyond Europe. In this way, the United States and the WEU can utilize all of their capabilities and assets effectively.

## Reel 11

### NATO cont.

1993

0001

#### **NATO Airpower: Organizing for Uncertainty.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Willard E. Naslund. 1993. 62pp.*

In the future, NATO will have to adapt to the realities of decreasing defense budgets and to changing and expanding the areas of responsibility brought on by German unification and the growing linkages with the former Warsaw Pact nations. NATO will need to have forces ready to manifest its new *strategy of reaction to uncertainty*. This new requirement for rapid reaction will greatly impact the nature of future NATO military organizations, especially those that will be needed to plan, deploy, and employ air forces across its regions and beyond. This research is focused on the concepts for these future organizations. To provide a basis for this work, we examined two major scenarios that would stress NATO to the extreme: (1) an attack by Russia on Poland, which would be out of NATO's treaty area, and (2) a Syrian-Iraqi attack on Turkey, which would require NATO forces to deploy out of NATO's Central Region. From the scenarios, concepts of operations were developed for the employment of air forces that included basing, command, control, and communications (C3), and logistics. Requirements for air organization were derived from these and were used as a basis for alternative organization concepts.

0063

**The New Strategic Concept and NATO Crisis Management.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. David L. LaSalle. January 1993. 63pp.*

NATO refused to accept the proposal that its role had ended with the fall of the Iron Curtain and affirmed its desire to adapt to the new geography of the European security landscape. Some may classify this will to carry on as merely an institutional self-preservation instinct, but others recognized that an end to the cold war did not imply an end to all hot ones. Fortunately and unfortunately, events in the summer of 1990 and the following year supported this contention and underscored the need for regional security arrangements of which NATO represented a unique model of success. The alliance's NSC is one of the most significant indicators of how NATO plans to refashion itself for the challenges of the future. Published in November 1991, the NSC describes a shift in direction that reflects the new security environment but remains largely grounded in the alliance's original principles and objectives. Crisis management and a renewed stress on political activities as the means for promoting and defending NATO interests represent the hallmarks of the new strategy. This paper examines in detail the relevant sections of the NSC and relates the concepts contained therein to general crisis management principles.

0126

**EuroNATO: An Alliance for the Future.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Edward M. Whalen. April 1993. 36pp.*

The security threat facing the West was called the Soviet Union and was concentrated in Europe; now that the cold war has ended, the threat has many names and is diffused throughout the region. NATO will become irrelevant if it does not adapt to the changed international situation. A revised alliance, which I call EuroNATO, should be established using NATO's structures and processes but should (1) include all European nations willing to join, and (2) go beyond NATO's collective defense to collective security. At NATO's birth in 1949, its first secretary-general said that the simplified purpose of the alliance was to keep the U.S. in, the USSR out, and Germany down. EuroNATO would update that remark with the "Triple-In" characterization: keep the United States in as an honest broker, keep Germany in to fulfill its responsibilities, and bring Russia in to avoid dangerous isolation. American and Western leaders should take advantage of the opportunity presented by the transition from the cold war to a new international order and adopt EuroNATO to provide security and stability for the future.



0162 **Bi-National Corps of NATO's Main Defense Forces in Central Europe: Creating Interoperability.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Koen A. Gijsbers. June 4, 1993. 173pp.*

This study investigates the problems that might occur, when combining units of two nations in binational corps. The study focuses on three new corps of NATO's Main Defense Forces: a U.S.-led U.S.-German corps, a German-led German-U.S. corps, and an integrated German-Dutch corps. To ascertain the challenge of these new units, the study analyses the new operational environment in Central Europe, the force development of the units involved, and the plans for the binational corps. Furthermore, the study evaluates the capabilities of national divisions and the binational corps. Creating the combined corps is not only a feasible concept, it is an essential concept for the future. The concept is a strong trigger to create better interoperability, essential for combined operations in any future contingency. The most critical areas of concern are differences in the concept of fighting with and structuring the corps, and conceptual and doctrinal differences concerning combat support and combat service support.

0335 **NATO: The Challenge of Change.**

*National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, Washington, D.C. Jeffrey Simon. September 1993. 259pp.*

It is in some ways ironic that, in the wake of victory in the cold war, NATO should be facing serious challenges to its future. Challenges to NATO fall into three categories: dealing with areas of instability, expanding security architectures, and peacekeeping and peace enforcing. Major areas of instability are Central Europe, Russia, and North Africa. Central Europe is no longer an East-West buffer zone as in the cold war, but keeping this new status alive could prove difficult. Russia could develop into a state along Western lines or it could regress and attempt to reclaim parts of its former empire such as nuclear Ukraine. North Africa, torn by religious extremism and debilitating poverty, looks across the Mediterranean at an affluent Southern Europe that may appear to have closed its doors to migration, its markets to free trade, and its mind to Arab problems. Expanding security architectures also challenge NATO. New arrangements, such as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, have yet to prove their effectiveness. Existing structures, such as the WEU and the CSCE, have yet to carry out their theoretically improved mandates to manage crises. Peacekeeping and peace enforcing problems are apparent in the unfolding tragedy of the

former Yugoslavia. Here, despite nearly universal condemnation, aggressive forces with sufficient power have done pretty much what they want. How NATO contributes to peacekeeping and enforcement in the Balkans may well determine whether that conflict spreads. These critical issues formed the program for the sixteenth annual NATO symposium. This volume gathers the keynote address and twelve papers presented by distinguished authors from NATO countries and areas outside the alliance. Because of the breadth, depth, and timeliness of the arguments presented here, this volume may well serve as a casebook on the challenges facing NATO and the ability of the alliance to meet those challenges.

0594

**Preparing for the NATO Summit: What Are the Pivotal Issues?**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William T. Johnsen and Thomas-Durell Young. October 8, 1993. 44pp.* As executive agent of the Chief of Staff of the Army's Strategic Outreach Program, the Strategic Studies Institute sponsored a roundtable discussion on "The Western European Union in the 1990s: Searching For a Role," in May 1993. The centerpiece of this meeting was a discussion of a paper presented by the widely known expert on European defense integration and the WEU, Dr. Peter Schmidt of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Ebenhausen, Germany. In addition to his extensive background and writings on these issues, Dr. Schmidt also had spent six months at the WEU's Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Capturing the ensuing discussion of experts at this roundtable was Dr. Wolfgang Schlor of the Matthew B. Ridgway Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh. An edited version of Dr. Schmidt's paper as well as Dr. Schlor's summary are contained in this report.

0638

**European Official and Media Comment on the NATO Summit.**

*Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C. NA. December 27, 1993. 17pp.*

Monitored European official and media comment on the planned January 10, 1994, NATO summit has focused on the U.S. PFP initiative. In general, senior officials in Germany and France have cautiously welcomed the proposal, while those in the Visegrad states of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary have reluctantly accepted it as their country's best chance for eventual NATO membership. Media commentary has generally been less positive, especially in the Visegrad states, where disappointment has sometimes been mixed with concern or resentment over the West's perceived deference to Russian security interests.

0655

**NATO Contributions to European Environmental Security.**

*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Kent Hughes Butts. December 30, 1993. 60pp.*

Environmental issues are promoting instability and conflict at an increasing rate. Forward-thinking international security strategists are suggesting that these catalytic issues be addressed before they lead to costly conflict. The U.S. Department of Defense has committed itself to using its assets to address environmental problems that could contribute to instability. This study builds upon these visionary concepts to recommend that NATO develop an environmental security assistance program to address environmental issues that threaten stability in regions strategically important to European security. With NATO searching for the new mission to demonstrate its relevance in the post-cold war era, the concept of a NATO environmental security assistance program has great potential benefit. Such a program would also demonstrate how the new alliance strategic concept can be executed, while helping to mitigate significant and well-publicized environmental problems. This would allow NATO to promote military-to-military contacts and enhance communication with former adversaries.

**1994**

0715

**NATO Moves East.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Robert B. Bailey. 1994. 30pp.*

The question of membership in NATO for the former members of the Warsaw Pact countries, to include Russia and the "new democracies" formed from the collapse of the USSR, has been thoroughly debated. Historically, membership has been based on furthering the security needs of the alliance and countering the Soviet threat. Several areas are investigated in this paper as they affect the membership question. These areas include previous membership requirements, French withdrawal, conflicts between allies, burden sharing between members, the German unification experience, the Russian reaction, and the recently introduced program called PFP. A large security vacuum was caused by the implosion of the Soviet Union. NATO must move quickly and decisively if it is to play a role in the future of East Europe.

## Norway

1991

0745

### **Norwegian National Security Policy in the New Europe.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. David A. Larson. November 15, 1991. 110pp.*

This paper asserts that Norwegian national security policy should integrate into the new, emerging European security order and focuses on the immediate and long-term challenges to Norwegian national security, the establishment of Norwegian security options within a unified Europe, and the development of military alternatives for northern regional stability. Immediate security challenges, the need to shield Norway from crisis and instability in the Soviet Union/Russian Republic and the need to maintain links to an increasingly integrated Europe, are examined. Long-term security challenges, the need to maintain a transatlantic military link to the United States, and the need to develop a Eurostrategic perspective in Nordic security matters are also discussed. Norwegian security options in the new Europe, the revitalized use of the CSCE, EC, European Economic Area, and WEU, are analyzed. Military alternatives to promote regional stability in the north, including the use of a revised NATO strategy, multinational ground forces, and multinational naval forces are identified. The use of NATO Rapid Reaction Forces and Multinational Maritime Forces, coupled with Norwegian political support, military commitment, and logistic support for reinforcements, is recommended. This paper concludes that Norway should not pursue WEU membership but integrate into an emerging European security order based upon three pillars—the Atlantic alliance, the EC, and the CSCE.

## Poland

1991

0855

### **The Military in a Postcommunist Poland.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Thomas S. Szayna. 1991. 60pp.*

This document examines the evolution of the Polish armed forces since the political changes in Poland in mid-1989. It concentrates on tactical and operational developments that have taken place. It also discusses the political-military changes that have shaped the evolution of the Polish army. Material in this document is based on a review of the indigenous military press and on conversations with Polish civilian and military officials. The

study was completed in February 1991, and it is based on information available at that time. This note is the first in a series of studies of East European militaries. The author is a RAND consultant.

0915

**Economic Reform and the Military in Poland, Hungary and China.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Keith Crane and K.C. Yeh. 1991. 147pp.*

This report is an empirical assessment of the economic reforms of three centrally planned economies: those of Poland, Hungary, and China. It contributes to the empirical foundations of the debate about the effects of economic reforms in these systems and the extent to which centrally planned economies are reformable. Because of the central role the state sector plays in these economies and the importance attached to industry, the study focuses on assessing the economic reform in state-owned industrial firms. In exploring the question of these systems' reformability, it also assesses the military's role in the implementation and operation of economic reforms.

## Reel 12

### Poland cont.

#### 1991 cont.

0001

**Polish National Security Thinking in a Changing Europe: A Conference Report.**

*RAND/University of California at Los Angeles Center for Soviet Studies, Santa Monica, California. Ronald D. Asmus and Thomas S. Szayna. 1991. 46pp.*

This report analyzes the discussions between Polish and U.S. security experts during a workshop on "The Military and National Security Policy," held in Warsaw, Poland, on June 11–13, 1990. The workshop was one of a series of gatherings sponsored by RAND in Eastern Europe and designed to establish a broad dialogue between American policymakers and the new democratic security elites in the region. The Polish cosponsor of this workshop was the Senate Center of International Studies. This report should interest U.S. policymakers and analysts concerned with the Polish military and with the evolution of East European foreign and security

policies. Funding for the workshop was provided through a grant from The Ford Foundation to the RAND/University of California at Los Angeles Center for Soviet Studies.

0047

**Communal Housing in Poland: Management and Privatization.**

*Abt Associates, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland. Sally Merrill, Stephen Kennedy, and Anthony Phipps. November 1991. 78pp.*

This report evaluates the financial and physical condition of Poland's communal housing in the context of the transformation of the housing market from central to private control. A major finding is that a substantial portion of the communal housing stock is physically deficient, overcrowded, and undermaintained. The report cautions that the transition to a private housing market must be a long-term one. Even in countries where functioning housing markets, adequate credit markets, and housing subsidy programs already exist, the sale of public housing has not been an unqualified success. The report then recommends what technical assistance should be provided to local governments in their efforts to manage and privatize communal housing.

0125

**Poland: Gender Issues in the Transition to a Market Economy.**

*Coopers and Lybrand Associates, Ltd., Bridgetown, Barbados. NA. December 1991. 96pp.*

As Poland shifts to a market economy, it is important to consider how this transition may affect Polish women. The study examines gender issues in four critical areas. Chapter II illustrates the different roles women and men play in the labor force in terms of the sectors in which they are employed, their roles in management, and their incomes. Chapter III looks at emerging trends in unemployment and reemployment. Chapter IV describes opportunities for and constraints to women entrepreneurs. Chapter V examines institutional change from a gender perspective, covering changes in law, policy, administration, and decision-making processes. Chapter VI provides recommendations for integrating gender issues into U.S. assistance to Poland. Appendices include a list of contacts and profiles of women in business.

## 1992

0221 **Poland's Cooperative and State-Enterprise Housing: Options for Privatization.**

*The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C. G. Thomas Kingsley, Phillip Mayfield, and Roman Rewald. February 1992. 31pp.*

After reviewing Poland's housing problems and the progress of housing reform to date, the paper presents general recommendations and specific strategy options for privatizing the nation's cooperative and state-enterprise housing stock. The general recommendations are: (1) Legislation should be enacted to allow families to purchase their housing units in the form of condominiums; (2) a housing allowance program should be established to provide limited assistance only for the poor. With reference to state-enterprise housing, the report recommends that rent controls be removed and term leases permitted (with evictions for nonperformance), once a condominium law and housing allowance program are in place. Finally, in the interest of efficient and responsive management, the report suggests the division of larger cooperatives (those over one thousand units) into smaller condominium units. A final section presents a six-step approach to implementing the suggested strategy options.

0252 **Lech Walesa on Economic and Political Issues.**

*Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Washington, D.C. NA. March 4, 1992. 29pp.*

Lech Walesa's public pronouncements as president have more consistently supported radical free-market reforms than his earlier rhetoric—especially during his campaign for the presidency—would have suggested. The tone and content of Walesa's remarks concerning Polish economic, political, and foreign policy have differed markedly between his presidential campaign speeches, which were harshly critical of the government, and his tempered pronouncements as the country's president.

## 1993

0281 **Energy Use in Poland, 1970–1991: Sectoral Analysis and International Comparison.**

*Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Berkeley, California. Stephen Meyers, Lee Schipper, and Jurgen Salay. July 1993. 79pp.*

This report provides an analysis of how and why energy use has changed in Poland since the 1970s, with particular emphasis on changes since the country began its transition from a centrally planned to a market economy

in 1989. The most important factors behind the large decline in Polish energy use in 1990 were a sharp fall in industrial output and a huge drop in residential coal use driven by higher prices. The structural shift away from heavy industry was slight. Key factors that worked to increase energy use were the rise in energy intensity in many heavy industries and the shift toward more energy intensive modes of transport. The growth in private activities in 1991 was nearly sufficient to balance out continued decline in industrial energy use in that year. We compared energy use in Poland and the factors that shape it with similar elements in the West. We made a number of modifications to the Polish energy data to bring it closer to a Western energy accounting framework, and augmented these with a variety of estimates in order to construct a sufficiently detailed portrait of Polish energy use to allow comparison with Western data. Per capita energy use in Poland was not much below Western European levels, despite Poland's much lower GDP per capita. Poland has comparatively high energy intensities in manufacturing and residential space heating, and a large share of heavy industries in manufacturing output, all factors that contribute to higher energy use per capita. The structure of passenger and freight transportation and the energy intensity of automobiles contribute to lower energy use per capita in Poland than in Western Europe, but the patterns in Poland are moving closer to those that prevail in the West.

#### **1994**

0360

#### **Poland in NATO? A Case Study of the United States Foreign Policymaking Process.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Leszek Soczewica. June 1994. 73pp.*

The opportunity for nations such as Poland to enter NATO is of vital concern for their security. Indeed, the problem of inclusion into the Western alliance is the key issue for the majority of former Warsaw Pact members. After the dissolution of the Soviet bloc, these countries are no longer members of a security alliance. Yet, with the end of the cold war, Poland confronts significant new security risks, making the need to join an alliance such as NATO all the more important. The United States plays a key role in determining whether Poland will be invited into NATO. What will guide that decision? What lessons can be learned about U.S. decisionmaking from the creation of the PFP, and what are the implications for possible Polish entrance into NATO? This thesis is based on interviews with U.S. policymakers on NATO expansion. The history of that policy, especially the



creation of the PFP as an alternative to immediate alliance expansion, offers a case study for drawing broader conclusions about the U.S. policymaking process. This thesis outlines that history and argues that bureaucratic politics theories of U.S. policymaking are inadequate to explain the issue of NATO expansion. With the end of the cold war, and scrambling of previous institutional interests within the U.S. government, those interests provide only limited help in accounting for the policymaking process that led to the PFP. The fear of hostile Russian reaction to NATO expansion provides much of the rationale for U.S. opposition to inviting nations such as Poland into the alliance. However, significant disagreements persist over this issue, both within and between key U.S. policymaking groups.

## Spain

1993

0433

### **Basque and Catalan Nationalism: A Comparison.**

*Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Frank V. Mastrovito. May 1993. 109pp.*

Nationalism as a form of societal integration has been problematic in Spain for at least one hundred years and arguably longer. The problem is a lack of or the weakness of a collective Spanish identity at the state level and the intensity of distinct, territorial collective identities at the sub-state level. The concept of nationality as a form of collective identity is of fairly recent origin, generally accepted as dating from the French Revolution, when sovereignty was transferred from a monarch to the people. Many have argued that nationalism is born of the intersection between traditionalism and modernization and thus merely a transitory phenomenon which will fade as a country modernizes.

## Sweden

1993

0542

### **Facing the Future: The Swedish Air Force, 1990–2005.**

*RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Richard A. Bitzinger. 1993. 68pp.*

This report examines (1) the current and future state of the SwAF as it embarks on a major modernization program and (2) the implications that this has or may have both for Swedish defense and for Western security interests. It discusses overall Swedish security policy and defense doctrine

and the role that the SwAF plays in Swedish neutrality; the current structure and missions of the SwAF operations, plans, and programs; and the likely impact that future SwAF force structure developments may have on regional security. The study should be of interest to individuals and organizations concerned with Nordic and northern European security issues, with the future of European air forces and aerospace programs, and with NATO planning in response to the evolving security environment in Europe.

0610 **Sweden after the Cold War: Implications for U.S. Regional Strategies.** *Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Jon A. Skinner. September 1993. 136pp.*

In support of U.S. regional strategy requirements, this thesis focuses on Sweden. The change in Sweden's neutrality policy coupled with an increased defense budget are the two most apparent developments. Less visible are changes in Swedish defense doctrine, missions, and capability. This thesis will attempt to predict the degree and character of Sweden's move toward integration into broader security arrangements and to identify the relevant implications. Further, this thesis contends that the two developments that are shaping Swedish security policy in new directions are the end of the cold war and Sweden's integration into the EC. In the short term, this implies for Sweden a security policy more closely paralleled with U.S. objectives. In the long term, what has been largely a bilateral Swedish-U.S. strategic relationship will be engulfed in larger U.S.-European questions. Within an integrated Europe, Sweden will be, in a grouping of European states, the most favorable to U.S. policy.

0746 **Energy Use in Sweden: An International Perspective.** *Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Berkeley, California. Lee Schipper et al. December 1993. 147pp.*

This report analyzes the evolution of energy use in Sweden since the early 1970s. The purpose of the study, which is sponsored by NUTEK, Department of Energy Efficiency, the Swedish Agency for Technical and Industrial Development, is to shed light on the future path of energy use in Sweden by quantifying and understanding changes in past energy use. Energy efficiency has been identified by Swedish authorities in countless official studies as a key element in Sweden's efforts to restrain oil imports, reduce reliance on nuclear power, reduce environmental impacts of energy use, and reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. To understand the role or performance of energy efficiency in the 1970s and 1980s in Sweden, and what this performance means about the future, the authors seek answers to three

broad questions: (1) How has the structure and efficiency of energy use in Sweden evolved since the early 1970s, and where data permit, since even earlier? What caused these changes? (2) How does the structure of energy use in Sweden differ from that of other countries, and how has the evolution of energy use in Sweden differed from developments in other countries? (3) How much energy has Sweden saved, and why? Are these savings permanent? To what extent were they offset by changes in the structure of energy use? And to what extent is the magnitude of these savings dependent upon the way we measure energy use? The report reviews the long-term evolution of Swedish energy use, focusing on developments in five sectors of the economy: residential, service, industrial (manufacturing and "other industry" defined as mining, agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and construction), travel, and freight. The authors then examine Swedish energy use in a broader perspective, drawing detailed comparisons to other nations. Finally, they discuss a series of issues that hover over the future of energy demand in Sweden.

## Turkey

1994

0893

### **An Appraisal of U.S. Security Assistance to Turkey Between 1950 and 1992.**

*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Alpar Karahmet. June 1994. 114pp.*

This thesis analyzes U.S. security assistance to Turkey between 1950 and 1992. It describes historical trends in U.S.–Turkey arms transactions by examining statistical expenditure data on seven components of the U.S. security assistance program. The thesis identifies the impact of four key factors on U.S. arms sales to Turkey during this period. These factors are the Korean War, NATO, Greek-Turkish relations, and the Gulf War. Three different aspects of arms sales—military, political, and economic—are taken into consideration. The roles played by Congress and the executive branch in influencing U.S. aid to Turkey are examined. The thesis concludes that the Korean War, NATO, and the Gulf War supported closer military ties between Turkey and the United States, while disputes between Greece and Turkey tended to weaken it.

## Reel 13

### Turkey cont.

#### 1994 cont.

- 0001 **The Imprimatur of Europe: Turkey, Europeanization and the European Union.**

*Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. Frederick Leo Baier. August 1994. 247pp.*

The present study examines Turkey's efforts to fulfill one of its key national interests—Europeanization. Europeanization, for the Turks, implies Europe's acceptance and recognition of Turkey's self-professed European identity. Turkey seeks Europe's imprimatur through a number of strategies, but chiefly through its diplomatic efforts to join the EU and its associated defense arm, the WEU. This paper examines other Turkish national interests in the 1990s as they impact on Turkey's Europeanization goal, and discusses the two main factors which has shaped Turkish diplomacy—state tradition and ideology. It concludes with a review of significant barriers to Turkey's admission to the EU, the EU's position on Turkey's accession, bilateral views of key EU members, and assessment of the likelihood of Turkey's admission in the coming decade.

### Yugoslavia

#### [Includes Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia]

#### 1992

- 0248 **The Implications for Yugoslav Borders of the Dissolution of the Yugoslav State.**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Gunther Wolfram. March 31, 1992. 69pp.*

Yugoslavia, the artificial contrivance of countries that once were part of the Austro-Hungarian or the Ottoman Empires, has fallen apart. In 1991, nations and ethnic groups who were forced to live in that state became independent or at least expressed their desire to live free from Belgrade's tutelage and in some cases to join their fellow countrymen who dwell across the borders. This brings up border claims by neighboring states and desires for a revision of the boundaries drawn in the aftermath of World War I. While Italian fascists demand the restitution of former Italian territory in the independent Republic of Slovenia, Austria complies with her southern

border, valuing Slovenia as the buffer towards the turbulent Balkans. Hungary expresses her intention to help her minority in Serbia and at the same time is looking across the border where the Serbo-Croatian civil war destroyed the order of the area established after World War II. Romania is a factor of insecurity in the region: While Romance speaking groups, closely related to the Romanians, live across the border, Romania has to deal with the discontent of ill-treated minorities at home. Serbia is confronted with the wish of millions of Albanians not only to separate from the country but to join Albania. Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania are in contention for parts or all of Macedonia, because of historical ties or of requests that result from modern movements of population. Those wishes and claims produce an atmosphere of tension and political unrest, which might conjure up the danger of a Third Balkan War, followed by a chain reaction the extent of which nobody can predict.

### 1993

0317

#### **United Nations Intervention for Humanitarian Relief in Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Michael F. Haffner and Robert B. Wieners. February 22, 1993. 66pp.*

The current conflict in the former Yugoslav republic is outlined from a political, economic, and ethnic perspective. A comparative model for intervention is provided through an examination of U.S. operations in the Dominican Republic from 1965–1966. The Dominican model should be viewed cautiously in determining its applicability for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The operational framework proposed in this paper is focused on U.S. participation as a component of UN coalition forces. The operational emphasis of this proposal is joint-maritime operations to provide humanitarian relief for Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is assumed that NATO or the U.S. European Command will serve as the military organization through which the UN imposes, supervises, and enforces a cease-fire agreement. This paper concludes that stability in the post-cold war world can be managed through the UN; however, short-term U.S. leadership and assistance will be required to build UN credibility and confidence in solving regional crises.

- 0383      **Intervention in the Balkans: The Unified Commander's Perspective.**  
*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. V.G. Warriner Jr. February 22, 1993. 54pp.*  
The crisis in the Balkans is examined from the perspective of the unified commander. Specifically, it analyzes three forms of intervention the unified commander could recommend to the National Command Authority, and the likelihood of each in achieving the national strategic objectives. This crisis represents the most likely form of conflict in the future. As the first serious test of U.S. foreign policy in a truly multipolar world, it has the potential to define the boundaries and character of U.S. foreign policy and with it, the role of the military in future regional conflicts of this kind. The forms of intervention analyzed include nonmilitary intervention (military in supporting role only), limited military intervention, and overwhelming force. The results of the analysis indicate that the national strategic objectives outlined for the crisis in the former Yugoslavia cannot be achieved by the use of military force. Furthermore, the most effective form of intervention is nonmilitary in nature, however this would demand compromises in the national strategic objectives in order to be a suitable recommendation of the unified commander. The conclusion is that the unified commander should recommend a nonmilitary form of intervention (with military in supporting role only) recognizing its shortfalls, as the only option with enduring qualities and not in and of itself destabilizing to the region.
- 0437      **Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Yugoslavia: A Conference Report.**  
*United States Institute for Peace, Washington, D.C. NA. March 1993. 41pp.*  
This report is based on discussions that ensued at a conference sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace on July 13–15, 1992, entitled “Dialogues on Conflict Resolution: Bridging Theory and Practice.” The conference brought together a wide range of conflict resolution experts, diplomats, and specialists concerned with ongoing conflicts. The report offers a brief history and overview of the Yugoslav conflict and explores the discussion that transpired when the conferees turned their attention to the crisis unfolding in the former Yugoslavia. Material for the report is drawn from the conference transcripts. These were taken in a number of sessions involving a substantial number of participants, some involving prepared remarks by the eighteen key participants and others involving discussions among key participants and between them and the some two hundred audience members who attended the conference.

- 0478 **Assistance for Victims of Atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.**  
*Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. C. Ross Anthony et al. March 3, 1993. 96pp.*  
This report recommends programs to assist victims of atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It does not chronicle the atrocities that have occurred. The magnitude and nature of the atrocities are horrendous. They include systematic rape and impregnations of women—some of whom have been literally raped to death—rape of men and children, cruel and sadistic treatment of prisoners, murder of children, and intentional mental torture of families as they are forced to watch the rape, murder, and mutilation of family members and friends. These acts are well described elsewhere. It is clear that they have occurred on a massive scale affecting tens of thousands of people. Atrocities have been committed on all sides, but the vast majority appears to have been committed by the Serbian army and militia. The team visited refugee camps and communities throughout Croatia and in parts of southern and central Bosnia and makes numerous recommendations to assist the victims of trauma described here.
- 0574 **Deciphering the Balkan Enigma: Using History to Inform Policy.**  
*Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. William T. Johnsen. March 25, 1993. 101pp.*  
The author uses historical examination to shed light on the origins and bases of current conflicts in the Balkans. The study first addresses the long history of conflict that has plagued the region and led to violence becoming an accepted agent of change. The author then examines the religious, ethnic, and cultural divisions that undergird the ongoing conflicts in the region. He next explores the evolution of political institutions within the Balkans and how these political developments influence current events. Historical perspective gained is used to conduct a brief assessment of potential policy options for the region. He concludes that, while a number of options are possible, there are no “good” options—all are flawed and fraught with drawbacks, risks, and costs.
- 0675 **Serbia-Montenegro: Implementation of UN Economic Sanctions.**  
*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. April 1993. 33pp.*  
In response to a request by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the GAO obtained information on the implementation of the United Nations economic sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro, including the extent to which the sanctions have been violated, and identified options the United States and others are considering or could consider to further strengthen the sanctions. The

information obtained relates primarily to actions taken in countries bordering Serbia-Montenegro to prevent embargoed commodities from entering that country, and actions taken to block Serbian-Montenegrin assets abroad. The GAO did not examine the policies and procedures instituted by major exporting and importing countries to enforce the sanctions or to investigate and take legal action on suspected violations.

0708 **Bosnia and Collective Security: UN, EC, NATO, CSCE, WEU—Which Task for Whom?**

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D.C. Raymond R. Johns, Jr. April 1993. 34pp.*

The resurgence of regional instability is an apparent manifestation of the post-cold war era. Regional instability manifests itself in a wide range of behaviors, from small border disputes to ethnic conflict and in some cases wars of independence. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a gruesome example of how devastating post-cold war regional instability can become. Because of this rapid rise in regional instability, a mechanism is needed which helps prevent or resolve these crises. Our global and regional security organizations possess such mechanisms, but are they capable of responding adequately to such instability? The Bosnian situation may provide some insight. This paper examines the ability of the UN and the European regional security organizations—EC, CSCE, NATO, and WEU—to deal with the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Specifically, the paper reviews pertinent aspects of the region's history. It analyzes the national security interests of the major western states capable of influencing the conflict (Britain, France, Germany, and the United States) and their preferred multilateral approach in Bosnia and the surrounding European region. It examines the roles of the EC, CSCE, UN, NATO, and WEU, and the effectiveness of each in dealing with Bosnia. Finally, the paper addresses the strengths and weaknesses of the EC, UN, CSCE, NATO, and WEU as revealed in Bosnia.

0742 **U.S. Military Involvement in the Balkans: In What Interest...At What Cost?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. Philip R. Lindner. April 15, 1993. 35pp.*

This paper examines the plausibility of U.S. military involvement in the Balkans. After a brief overview of the political situation in the region, it examines three national interests which proponents of intervention have advanced: the threat to regional stability, a moral imperative to stop crimes against humanity, and the need to exercise U.S. leadership. It analyzes



potential military involvement in terms of ends, ways, and means, and identifies potential scenarios for conflict expansion. The paper concludes that there is at present no compelling national interest in committing U.S. forces to the Balkans.

0777 **Survey Report: Humanitarian Assessment Team on Bosnia-Herzegovina, February 24–March 10, 1993.**

*Humanitarian Assessment Team on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Washington, D.C. NA. April 19, 1993. 67pp.*

International humanitarian relief efforts and an unusually mild Balkan winter are the two primary factors which combined to avert the predicted, much larger losses of life in war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina. As the Bosnia-Herzegovina economy continues to decline, dependence upon international relief for survival is mounting rapidly. The Bosnian Muslims are the overwhelming victims of the current war. This report concentrates on identifying ways in which the U.S. government can both augment and improve its own relief effort and contribute to enhancing the major, ongoing international programs. However, it also reconfirms the limits imposed on humanitarian relief that must be conducted in a war environment, especially one focused on civilian populations. In such an environment, there are no magic formulas to prefect the international relief effort in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

0844 **Bosnia: A Question of Intervention.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Brett D. Barkey. May 10, 1993. 36pp.*

This paper analyzed the propriety of military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Using four general categories of rationales (security, influence, moral, and ideological), the author submits nine analytical questions to three strategies for the use of force: (1) use of ground forces, (2) use of air strikes, and (3) imposition of the no-fly zone. The strategies were assessed in-terms of whether they would meet the military objectives inferred from the four rationales for intervention, given the historical and military situation in Bosnia. The author concludes that they would not.

0880 **Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Continuing Crisis.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. David E. Mosca. May 17, 1993. 40pp.*

The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a complicated and difficult situation. The violence and atrocities committed by both sides have led to an international cry for action. The prospect of the United States involving itself militarily brings to mind similarities to the conflicts in Vietnam and Lebanon.

Any action or involvement will require much preparation and forethought. This paper investigates the background to the conflict, considers military objectives and force structures, and presents several possible nonmilitary and military options in the case of U.S. intervention. These considerations are structured around an operational-level commander's concerns, examining recommendations to pass up the line well, as possible courses of actions to pursue when the general planning order comes down. No final solution has been discovered as a result of this research. What is presented is a wide variety of ideas and considerations to aid in the military leader's decision-making process.

## Reel 14

### **Yugoslavia cont. [Including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia]**

#### **1993 cont.**

0001 **What Strategic Considerations Should Affect a Decision by the United States to Intervene with Military Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina?**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Mark R. Seastrom. June 4, 1993. 196pp.*

This study begins by examining the pressures which might lead to a U.S. deployment of military force to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Concluding that U.S. military forces might well find themselves committed to Bosnia without an appropriate mission, the study seeks to determine what measures might be taken to restore strategic rationality once such a decision has become policy. The path chosen to meet this challenge includes a detailed examination of the problems of Bosnia, some of the myths and realities associated with military intervention in the area, and an assessment of U.S. interests. The thesis concludes that feasible, suitable, and acceptable peace enforcement options exist that would very probably achieve a desired political end. These would include acceptance of a Vance-Owens-type peace accord by the major parties involved. This study further concludes that the range of military options short of peace enforcement in Bosnia have little to recommend them, except to mitigate a decision by the United States to accept the division of most of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia.

0197 **UN Peacekeeping in Yugoslavia: Background, Analysis and Lessons Learned.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. NA. June 4, 1993. 139pp.*

This study seeks to answer the question: How effective were UN peacekeeping operations in the disputed areas of Yugoslavia in 1992? In doing so, the study embraces three themes. First, it explores the causes of the Yugoslav conflict. Second, it analyzes the peacekeeping operation in terms of change over time, focusing on changes to conditions, objectives, and resources. Finally, it assesses the performance of UNPROFOR on each of its eleven missions. The study concludes that UNPROFOR was not very effective. Of the eleven missions assigned, it achieved complete success on but one of them, and it failed outright on three. The Serbian Knin authorities and Serbian militia forces were largely to blame. The UN itself made several critical mistakes: failing to identify and address the causes of the conflict, assigning UNPROFOR an impracticable mandate, and failing to achieve a cease-fire over Bosnia-Herzegovina or to gain cooperation between the three sides fighting there. The study also concludes that if the United States wants the UN to be effective in the future, the United States should incorporate peacekeeping into its national security strategy. It should also address shortfalls in both peacekeeping doctrine and training within its military.

0336 **The Yugoslav Crisis: A Strategic Estimate.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Randall G. Banky. June 1993. 47pp.*

Strategic estimates are prepared by every combatant commander on the countries or regions within their area of responsibility. The fighting that began with the former Yugoslavia's disintegration in 1991 continues to rage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hope for a settlement in the near future does not seem to be a reality. This paper outlines the course of action, utilizing specific flexible deterrent options, the Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command should pursue in planning actions for the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The strategic estimate will include a discussion of the current Yugoslav strategic situation (military geography, sociology, politics, economics, military, and global/regional implications) prior to outlining the recommended course of action. Humanitarian reasons alone warrant U.S.

intervention. Intervention, however, should consist of implementing this paper's diplomatic, political, economic, and military flexible deterrent options prior to considering direct intervention with combat forces.

0383

**Should We Be in Bosnia? Operational Considerations for Using Military Force.**

*Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. C.L. Christman. November 1993. 68pp.*

The Bosnia conflict is very complex; history, nationalism, religion, and ethnicity are discussed as key factors in understanding the depth of hostilities. A brief overview of United Nations peacekeepers, UN Security Council actions, and the Vance-Owen peace plan is provided. Operational-level considerations include problems in defining the mission, the nature of the enemy, and the effects of geography, terrain, and infrastructure. Also detailed are the constraints of time, force composition, and whether military forces can win in Bosnia. Recommendations concerning employment of American military forces include no employment as peacekeepers unless there is an established cease-fire, and if diplomacy fails, any offensive action should be taken by a European coalition force sanctioned by the United Nations but under European, preferably NATO, command. Other recommendations include support for negotiations, greater economic pressures, war crimes hearings, withdrawal of peacekeepers, and lifting the arms embargo. Balkans history shows that foreign domination and military forces are not very effective in establishing long-standing borders. Military intervention by European and United States forces may temporarily suppress hostilities; only the Balkan people may solve the problems caused by ethnic diversity.

**1994**

0451

**Actions and Options in the Bosnian Conflict: A Strategic Analysis and a Strategic Approach Towards Conflict Resolution.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Andrew S. Dichter. 1994. 57pp.*

Despite its duration, intense violence, and constant media attention, the conflict in Bosnia remains a bewildering mystery to most Americans. This essay serves three purposes. First, in combination with its appendix, it provides important historical and political background information required to properly analyze the Bosnian debacle. Second, it traces the Bosnian policy trail of two administrations and analyzes the strategic framework the United States and its allies have applied. Further, the essay explores

important questions on whether, when, and how the United States should use military force (emphasizing airpower) to resolve the Bosnian conflict. Finally, the author offers a strategic approach towards conflict resolution and illuminates those elements and opportunities that hold the most promise for a favorable outcome in the future.

0508

**Bosnia-Herzegovina: The First of the Little Wars.**

*Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Stephen E. Bozarth. April 1994. 29pp.*

In 1991, a secessionist revolt and prolonged ethnic fighting began to push Yugoslavia into the final crisis of its turbulent history. Yugoslavia was comprised of six republics—Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia—and two provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo. From the country's inception in 1918, Yugoslav history has been marked by continual tension between Serbian efforts to dominate a centrally controlled state and other groups' attempts to assert their autonomy in a looser political structure. The worst fighting has taken place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Bosnian Serbs, with material support from Serbia, have seized approximately 70 percent of the republic's territory. The land grab has been accompanied by brutal Serbian ethnic cleansing campaigns against the Bosnian Muslims; more than two million people are homeless, which equals numbers seen in World War II. These homeless civilians are flooding into nearby Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro, and are putting a significant drain on these already war-weary economies. United States' policy regarding this crisis has changed several times.

0537

**Humanitarian Intervention: Effectiveness of UN Operations in Bosnia.**

*General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. NA. April 1994. 46pp.*

Since late 1991, an estimated 150,000 Bosnians have been killed, 150,000 wounded, and 2.74 million were in need of assistance, as a result of fighting stemming from the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. In response, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees extended its humanitarian activities to Bosnia, and the UN Security Council mandated UNPROFOR to provide security for aid deliveries in Bosnia and protect designated "safe areas," such as Sarajevo. Concerned about the situation, Senator Robert Dole requested that the GAO examine (1) allegations that the United Nations withheld humanitarian assistance to pressure the Bosnian Muslims into an unfavorable peace settlement and that U.S. officials had knowledge of this tactic, (2) the effectiveness of the UN operations in Bosnia, and (3) factors affecting the UN's performance, with

a view towards lessons learned. On March 23, 1994, the GAO briefed Senator Dole on the results of its work. This report represents the information provided in that briefing.

## United Kingdom

### 1992

0583

#### **Peacemaking: The Effectiveness of British Strategy in Northern Ireland, 1969–1972.**

*Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Daniel M. Wilson. June 5, 1992. 159pp.*

Peacemaking is the use of national power to separate belligerents and compel a peaceful settlement of a conflict. This study examines peacemaking using the British experience in Northern Ireland from 1969 to 1972 as a case study. This study examines why British strategy failed to bring peace to Northern Ireland, proposes what Britain should have done, and identifies lessons for future planners of peacemaking operations. This study uses an analytical model synthesized from three existing models to structure the investigation. It identifies the problem and the strategy and uses the U.S. military's doctrinal imperatives for low-intensity conflict to analyze them. This study concludes that the military successfully separated the violent sects and created an opportunity, but the British government failed to seize it and adequately address the problems. Britain was drawn into the conflict by forfeiting its neutrality, thereby losing legitimacy as a peacemaker. Among the lessons drawn by the study is that peacemaking is not primarily a military operation, but a political and social endeavor enabled by use of the military.

### 1993

0742

#### **Anglo-American Relations: Can the "Special" Relationship Survive in the New World Order?**

*Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. G. J. Barrett. April 15, 1993. 48pp.*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain faced two principal rivals, Germany and the United States. With both, she became locked in industrial competition and a number of diplomatic disputes. Her response to the two powers was very different. With the United States, she started to cultivate what would later become to be known as the "special relationship"; with the other, she drifted into deep antagonism that led to two world wars. This

paper proposes that a special relationship has always existed between Britain and America. The debate, and hence substance of this paper, is about the realities of the relationship, its relevance, and value in the future. It examines the development of the relationship from the inter-war years to the present day and draws lessons that may be relevant for the future. It describes the main factors that appear to be characteristic of the "New World Order" before testing these against the historical model and the main factors that form part of the formal relationships between states. The issues that fall from this analysis are discussed before concluding that the relationship is robust enough to be wheeled out for some time yet. The relationship will increasingly be set in the context of Britain in Europe, where Britain could use her transatlantic connection to forge a new security regime. For the United States, seeking to maintain political and public support for a continuing engagement in a more European Europe, will need the support of Britain without making it obvious it is doing so.

0790

**Urban Counterinsurgency in a Democracy: Great Britain Versus the Irish Republican Army.**

*Naval War College, Rhode Island. Russell C. Thackston. 1993. 52pp.*

With the end of the cold war and the growth of democracy, the United States faces increased responsibilities and potential for urban counterinsurgency operations in democratic countries. This paper identifies the operational focus that must be possessed by a democratic government and the military operational commander in countering and dealing with urban insurgency. This required operational focus for successful counterinsurgency is illustrated through examination and analysis of the current conflict between Great Britain and the IRA. A theory is provided for Great Britain's lack of success in countering the insurgent IRA, and frameworks are recommended for analysis of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies. General lessons, concepts, and theories in the form of principles that can be applied to urban counterinsurgency at the operational level are also provided. After twenty-three years of active counterinsurgency against the IRA, the British can produce little evidence of progress towards resolution of the Northern Ireland conflict. There are three primary reasons for Great Britain's failure to eliminate the insurgent IRA: the complexity of the Irish conflict's origins, the exceptional political and military capabilities of the IRA, and last, Great Britain's inadequate system and methods for countering the IRA insurgency. This analysis of the Irish conflict shows there is no purely military or paramilitary solution to counterinsurgency. Governments must recognize

that successful counterinsurgency has the required focus which harmonizes all five instruments of power—political, economic, psychological, diplomatic, and military—as well as the efforts of civilians, police, and military.



# SUBJECT INDEX

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