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European Security Prospects for the 1980s

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a practical standpoint these are distinctions without a difference, as the general result in U.S. practice conforms to the British handling of the defense.

To be sure, the "reasonable man" test is not black-and-white. Considering subjective standard of the test, there is a substantial gray area, just as there is in other areas of military and civilian law, tactics, leadership, or the principles of war. In that more books have been published on the subject than there have been accused who availed themselves of the defense in the same period suggests that the fascination of academicians with the subject is somewhat in excess of its real import.

There is no question of the superlative quality of *Military Obedience*. Its emphasis is on the defense of superior orders, but there is also a commendable discussion of military obedience in the context of a serviceman's duty to obey lawful orders and his superior's obligation to issue orders that are lawful, concise, and clear. The only issue concerns the book's potential audience. The author indicates that *Military Obedience* was written for the benefit and reading of the average soldier. The depth and complexity of his work suggests that the author may be somewhat optimistic regarding both the spare time reading selections and reading level of today's soldier, sailor, airman, or marine.

Military Obedience is an esoteric analysis of military legal minutiae. Contrary to the author's hopes, the book's value is only as a research source for military lawyers in those rare cases where the defense is asserted.

W. HAYS PARKS

Leebaert, Derek, ed. *European Security: Prospects for the 1980s*. Lexington, Mass.—Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company (Lexington Books), 1979. 302pp.

Published during the 30th anniversary year of the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization, this volume enjoys the dual advantage of historical retrospect and future projection of European security concerns. Edited by the managing editor of the noted journal *International Security* and a faculty member at Harvard and MIT, the volume features 11 contributions prepared by a group of faculty and resident fellows at Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs. They cover most of these key European security issues in a solid, if not excellent, manner. While some readers might disagree with various analytical findings, few can fault the contributors' treatments for a lack of detailed coverage of the issues at hand.

Part One (Chapters 1-3) provides a reassessment of traditional assumptions about the NATO alliance from its birth in April 1949 to the present day. Editor Leebaert, both in his prefatory remarks and in the first chapter, maintains that NATO must determine whether its current problems "are perpetual or merely transitory" as a firm first step to their resolution. Tracing the post-1949 course of trends and events in NATO, he contends that if many of the problems surrounding NATO interdependence remain unsolved, its basic requirement for regional deterrence against potential Soviet/Warsaw Pact aggression continues to have been met (if not actually invigorated!) over recent years; similarly, the traditional impetus for adequate defense has remained an ongoing and vital element of European economic development. In Chapter 2 Stephen Barrett examines several key political and economic issues that have marred the transatlantic relationship. In the following chapter Stanhope's treatment of the current NATO/Warsaw Pact military balance may raise some eyebrows among military readers. In particular, Stanhope maintains that among the NATO members there is a fundamental difference between "perceptions of the balance" and the realities of the

balance itself. Through a rigorous assessment of force postures, possible conflict scenarios and ongoing defense programs for both military alliances, he concludes that if the East-West regional balance "is not exactly a source of comfort to NATO... it is not as bad as it is sometimes made out to be." He adds that certain "confidence building measures" like those contained in Basket One of the 1975 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) agreement might prove more worthwhile than the ongoing Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) negotiations in order to establish lasting force limitations in the European region.

In the second section (Chapters 4-6), several major issues—alliance security and the energy crisis, collaborative weapons acquisitions programs and politico-military turmoil on NATO's southern flank—come under close scrutiny, and all three papers deserve careful consideration for their major premises and findings. Linda Miller's discussion of the complex energy/security relationship merits special mention for her thorough examination of both achievements and shortcomings in that area over the past decade as well as for her commentary prospectus for the 1980s. On a more immediate issue, Robert Dean treats the political and economic aspects of NATO weapons acquisition programs and concludes that even with improved cooperation these efforts may never totally constitute an alliance-wide integration of either military or defense industrial assets. Likewise, the CSIA Working Group's current assessment of NATO's troubled southern flank indicates that even if a U.S.-sponsored settlement of the longstanding Greco-Turkish enmity over Cyprus could alleviate this major source of regional tension, much more NATO politico-military effort is needed during the coming decade to restore fully its stature in the Mediterranean.

The trio of contributions contained in Part Three (Chapters 7-9) shifts the focus of European security concerns to the Soviet Union and its East European allies. While one might take occasional exception to the precise degree and direction of Coit Dennis Blacker's judgments about Soviet perceptions of European security, he does furnish a rather comprehensive presentation of major Soviet/Warsaw Pact security concerns. In a similar vein, N. Edwina Moreton maintains that the array of political, economic and social developments that have occurred in Eastern Europe over recent years might pose a future destabilizing factor for continued Soviet domination of the region. Steven J. Flanagan discusses the development of the CSCE since the Helsinki Agreement of August 1975 and considers those nonmilitary options that might enhance further progress in East-West relationships during the next decade. Although he notes that inroads have been made since Helsinki, Flanagan also asserts that more can be accomplished in the eighties if both sides will avoid unrealistic expectations and pursue the CSCE program of confidence building measures with a steadily increasing appreciation of common East-West interests.

Current trends in the ongoing phenomenon of Eurocommunism receive analysis by Kevin Devlin; particularly good is his examination of current trends of the French, Spanish and Italian communist parties. Jane Sharp then deals with the qualitative issue of the East-West negotiations process in terms of prospective thrusts and anticipated limitations. She observes that a major lesson of the past decade has been that formal agreements have had "extremely limited utility" and that codified pacts have tended towards protection of the *status quo* rather than any noticeable encouragement of new initiatives. Like Flanagan and Stanhope in previous sections, Sharp contends that

overall European security might be served much better by use of low-key confidence building measures that curtail the use of force than by formal East-West accords on force levels and arms control.

All in all, the volume has much to offer as a wide-ranging survey of current European security issues. Beyond the highly visible East-West military balance, the volume is also worthwhile reading for its consideration of the complex array of political, social and economic matters that comprise European security from both the NATO and Warsaw Pact perspectives. Although it may be somewhat advanced for many general readers, the book does deserve a much closer look by serious students of international affairs, if only for its projections of European security in the broadest context.

JOSEPH E. THACH, JR.
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Lefever, Ernest W., ed. *Will Capitalism Survive?* Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center of Georgetown University, 1979. 69pp.

Will Capitalism Survive? consists of an essay, "Has Capitalism a Future?" by Paul Johnson, former editor of the English weekly *The New Statesman*, and the responses to the essay that the editor, Ernest W. Lefever, solicited from a dozen persons in various professions. The respondents consisted of an oil company executive, a political scientist, a labor union leader, two theologians, a journalist, an international lawyer, a futurologist, a former U.S. Senator, and a U.S. Congressman. Lefever regrets that the respondents do not include a "card-carrying economist, historian, or philosopher." Actually his banker, Alan Reynolds, and his journalist, Paul Craig Roberts, are economists, though not of the academic variety.

Johnson's essay, which Lefever calls "the challenger," gives a brief but wide-sweeping account of industrial capitalism's uniqueness among economic systems in its wealth-creating powers. The common people have shown their endorsement of capitalism by flocking to its production centers in the hope of an improved standard of living and freedom of choice.

In spite of its evident accomplishments Johnson sees capitalism threatened by five forces. These threats are the intellectuals' preference for collectivism over capitalism; "ecological panic" impeding economic growth; big government overburdening the private sector with government expenditure, taxation, and regulation; trade union behavior that restricts output and productivity; and an external threat in the military balance shifting in favor of the Soviet Union.

Because Johnson presents his history of capitalism and the present threats to its future in only 14 pages, his essay is more of a call to arms than a systematic analysis of capitalism's past, present, and future. For a deeper treatment of the connection between capitalism and democratic government, readers will need to consult a work like Nobel prize laureate economist Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom*.

The responses to Johnson's challenge are necessarily overly brief and differ considerably in their quality. The predominant view of the respondents is that Johnson's theses about the merits of capitalism and the threats to capitalism are too broad and exaggerated to be supported by the available evidence.

It is not possible to comment in detail on the essays by each of the respondents. This reviewer found the papers of Schmertz, the businessman, Seabury, the political scientist, and Shanker, the labor leader, to be more moderate and balanced than Johnson in discussing the accomplishments of capitalism, its institutional resiliency,