
KEYGUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES IN

Strategic Studies

Ken Booth
and
Eric Herring

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First published 1994 by
Mansell Publishing Limited, *A Cassell imprint*
Villiers House, 41/47 Strand, London WC2N 5JE
387 Park Avenue South, New York 10016-8810

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 0-7201-1960-X

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Booth, Ken.

Keyguide to information sources in strategic studies/Ken Booth
and Eric Herring.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7201-1960-X

1. Strategy—Information services. 2. Strategy—Bibliography.

I. Herring, Eric. II. Title. III. Title: Keyguide to information
sources in strategic studies.

U162.B73 1993

355.4—dc20

93-17707

CIP

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank those numerous librarians and information officers of research centres and universities across the world who have responded to our requests for help. Without their assistance, it would not have been possible to have completed this work. We hope that the book we have produced will now help them in their efforts.

In addition, we want to express our appreciation of the following: Donna Griffin and Elaine Lowe for typing (and retyping) the manuscript; Bill Hines and Alan Macmillan for various research assistance; Bjørn Møller for friendly advice and use of his archives; John Groom and Richard Little for permission to reproduce the chart on p. 122; Chris Thurling for compiling the index; Susanna Reid for encouragement and many suggestions for improvement; and successive editors at Mansell, for patience beyond the call of duty.

K.B. and E.H.

Introduction

Strategic studies is a relatively new, certainly prolific, and arguably central sub-field of international relations. It is new because it only began to be taken seriously as an academic enterprise in the late 1950s. It is prolific because never a day goes by without the appearance of some new information source – a book, an article or a newspaper cutting – which needs to be assimilated. And it is central because, by focusing on the military dimension of international relations, it concerns itself with the great issues of peace and war. Whether we like to think about it or not – and many people do not – the subject matter of strategic studies shapes our lives.

Such a prolific and relatively new subject inevitably confronts the aspiring researcher with many problems. Strategic studies lacks the settled traditions and patterns of older subjects; worse still, its agenda cannot be defined statically. The rush of real-world events constantly stimulates an overkill of material and issues, which even old hands in the field find daunting. The demise of the Cold War at the end of the 1980s, for example, has led to a fundamental questioning of the future character of strategic studies: what should now be the main emphases in teaching and research? and should the subject be incorporated into a broader sub-field of international relations entitled security studies? These important issues will be returned to later on several occasions. Whatever its organizational home, the subject matter of strategic studies begins (but certainly does not end) by focusing on the darker side of human behaviour – the willingness of political groups, mostly states, to threaten and use force to further their political aims. This being so, strategic studies frequently stirs the emotions as well as the intellect. Strategic studies is an exciting and important subject,

since we are all potential victims or instruments of strategies and our lives are affected by the direct and opportunity costs involved in servicing national defence efforts. And even if the possibility of war today between great powers has not been less for centuries, there is still an abundance of military violence around the world.

Despite the problems facing the student of strategy, the subject has come to be studied by large numbers of people. Strategic studies has always had a topical and sometimes a fashionable side; because the subject has been concerned with issues of the utmost national and international significance its exponents have tended to be in demand as advisers and commentators. But more significant for many students has been the intellectually demanding challenges posed by a subject that deals with some of the most serious questions, not only of the day but also of the century: the prospect of nuclear war has always represented the subject's bottom line. But the agenda is broad. Understanding the military dimension of international relations, in all its facets, involves not only technical military problems (such as assessing the appropriateness of particular weapons for particular strategic doctrines) but also the most profound political, economic, philosophical, social, and ethical questions. Globally, for example, armed forces consume a staggering 6 per cent of the GNP of the whole world, and about one-third of all governmental expenditure. Why are these fabulous sums of money spent in the way they are? Alternatively, what could be done in the way of alleviating famine, improving health care and so on, if part of these huge amounts of money could be diverted from military to civil spending? Furthermore, armed forces are not only costly; they are sometimes politically and socially troublesome, and frequently they are a blunt tool for carrying out the purposes asked of them. They create many dilemmas: but is there a feasible alternative to possessing armed forces in an international system of sovereign states, one of whose characteristics historically has been a propensity for war? If armed forces are thought to be unavoidable, so is strategy. In such an international system, security has traditionally been seen as the transcendent value of states; since strategic studies focuses on the military dimension of the relations between states, by extension security is also the subject's transcendent value. Security is the primary concern of both the subject-matter and the subject.

What 'security' means in the international context, and how it can be operationalized, is a much disputed matter. None the less, few would disagree with the proposition that it is the core value of both states and strategic studies. Because of the importance of security, it should be apparent that all of us - whoever we are and wherever we live - are potential winners or losers in the business of strategy. That being so, strategic studies has a good claim to be an essential component of a general liberal education, as well as of a degree in international relations. If a significant number of people in each country do not attempt to understand and explain the subject matter of strategic studies, then some of the most important issues in the modern world will simply be left in

the hands of governments, and governments without the benefit of multiple sources of information and ideas.

With the end of the Cold War at the end of the 1980s, the agenda of strategic studies changed. Attention became less focused on the US-Soviet confrontation and nuclear matters and more on 'regional' issues and military affairs at the 'conventional' level. In addition, questions were increasingly raised in academic circles about the most appropriate place for the study of strategy: should it remain in those discrete strategic studies courses which had proliferated through the 1960s and 1970s, or should it be subsumed within a broader course - now that 'security' was less identified simply with 'military security'? Should strategic studies become security studies? There are good arguments on both sides. The debate over the agenda, and over the proper place of the subject, continues to be lively. It is yet another indication of the problem of defining the field statically, and it underlines the difficulty of organizing and using the considerable amount of information which becomes available daily.

FOR WHOM IS THIS *KEYGUIDE* INTENDED?

The potential users should fall into a variety of different groups, since the book has been conceived as a multi-purpose research guide. There should be something for everyone interested in strategic studies. Primarily, however, the book is aimed at students (undergraduates and postgraduates) who are either just starting the subject or are some way into a programme of study or research. They should find all parts of the book helpful. It will tell them not only about the subject in general, but will suggest where they can find out about particular information and how to assess different information sources. It will assist in the writing of essays and dissertations, and also give some guidance on career opportunities. It will indicate in Part II a range of helpful reference material, and in Part III gives a list of organizations across the world which can be approached for assistance. In short, it is hoped that the *Keyguide* will accelerate the development of knowledgeable and well-organized students of strategy.

It is hoped that, as well as to students, the book will be of considerable use to subject specialists and readers' advisers in libraries, information officers in research centres, journalists, independent researchers, and researchers in government departments (foreign ministries and ministries of defence). When in doubt, the *Keyguide* could be the first book which they all might consult, to see where to go next. When faced by a particular enquiry, advisers and information officers might find that handing over the *Keyguide* for consultation might be enough.

Finally, teachers of strategic studies should also find the book valuable. They might find much of Part I familiar (though they might want to test their own opinions against it), but they should find Parts II and III useful in preparing reading lists, advising students, and in checking addresses and telephone or fax

numbers of relevant organizations. In short, this is a multi-purpose guide in which there should be something for everyone, regardless of whether one is a novice 'student' or 'researcher', or one who has spent decades in such activities. Whatever our career stage - whether first-year undergraduate or professor - we are all at the same time both students and researchers trying to make sense of an enormous amount of information; for that reason, in the text that follows, the terms 'student' and 'researcher' will be used interchangeably as generic titles simply for those engaged in the activity of trying to understand and explain the world of strategy.

CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT

This *Keyguide* follows the aims and pattern of others in the series. It seeks to provide an introductory but comprehensive guide to the literature of the subject and the most important organizational sources of information.

Part I is an overview of the most important literature and an indication of the contemporary information sources. It gives a short historical account of the subject, explains the current debate about the role of strategic studies, and discusses the types and organization of information in the field. The references at the end of each chapter offer a comprehensive introduction to the subject's basic literature. Part II is an annotated bibliography of key reference sources. Part III is a list of selected organizations which provide ideas and data on general or particular matters. Part I can therefore be regarded as a keyguide to the literature of strategic studies whereas Parts II and III are keyguides to reference sources *about* the subject. This research guide is unusual since it contains much of substance (history, debates, ideas) as well as listings of information sources; this is because we believe that a research guide in the social sciences would be incomplete if it did not emphasize the fundamental necessity of 'research by thinking'.

It is hoped that, taken together, these three parts will provide researchers with a useful starting point in studying what is a complex and fascinating field of human behaviour. Readers will see that although the book purports to be global in scope, the overwhelming emphasis is upon English-language sources and the countries of the English-speaking world. This reflects not only our location, but also the history and character of strategic studies. For better or worse, English has been the predominant language of strategic studies (though mostly with an American accent). As far as we are aware there is no body of strategic literature which matches the quantity and (generally) the quality which has been produced in the English-speaking world. There are notable exceptions to this - there is distinguished writing in French, Russian and other languages - but in sheer impact, the language of strategy has become English. While accepting this, we hope nevertheless that the pitfalls of ethnocentrism have been completely avoided in what follows. Furthermore, in part we will judge the book a success

if it stimulates interest in, and action by, those in countries beyond the traditional centres.

Finally, a word of warning is in order. Something called a 'research guide' might be thought to be an objective or neutral aid to study. This cannot be the case. A 'research guide' is not simply a list of books and organizations. Inevitably, choices have to be made about what is important and what is not important, and where we think the subject is going and what it should be. It is therefore a subjective research guide, as any must be (though not all admit it). We will not eschew giving our opinions, but it is our intention to shine a light into all corners of the subject.

We hope in due course to publish a second edition of this book, and we would welcome feedback from readers. If you have any comments concerning the selections of topics and publications, or would like to point out errors or suggest updating amendments, please write to us c/o the publishers, Mansell.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Abbreviations and acronyms for organizations discussed in the text are explained in the index.

AFV	Armoured fighting vehicle
BMD	Ballistic missile defence
CD-ROM	Compact disk - read-only memory
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
C3I	Command, control, communications and intelligence
EC	European Community
EEZ	Exclusive economic zone
EFA	European fighter aircraft
EW	Electronic warfare
FOFA	Follow-on forces attack
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
GLCM	Ground-launched cruise missile
GNP	Gross national product
ICBM	Intercontinental ballistic missile
INF	Intermediate nuclear forces
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
MX	Missile Experimental
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Association
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NBC	Nuclear, biological and chemical
NCA	National Command Authority
NOD	Non-offensive defence
NSC	National Security Council
PRC	People's Republic of China
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SLBM	Submarine-launched ballistic missile
SSBN	Nuclear-fuelled ballistic-missile submarine
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
WWMCCS	World-wide military command and control system

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PART I

**The Subject of Strategic Studies,
Its Literature and Organization**



1 The History and Scope of Strategic Studies

The aim of this chapter is mainly to show that strategic thought did not begin in 1945 with the dropping of the first atomic bombs – though it was only with the nuclear revolution and the outbreak of the Cold War that the academic subject which came to be called strategic studies came into its own. It is also designed to identify key names, concepts, and themes. Any brief historical overview inevitably risks falling between the stools of being too obvious for those who know the subject, while not carrying enough explanation for those who are coming to the subject for the first time. This particular introductory chapter attempts to steer through this problem by briefly identifying the major milestones in the history of strategic thought, and then following it up with a description of the main histories of the subject, where the reader is offered more than enough detail on all the topics introduced. Consequently, this brief historical introduction will not clutter up the text with references. At the end of the chapter can be found a list of some of the key works by the main strategists mentioned in the text. For an introduction to the basic strategic literature on the pre-1945 period, consult the references in Booth (1987) and for the post-war literature consult the bibliography in Møller (1992). The chapter ends with a discussion of the definition of ‘strategic studies’ and of its relationship with other subjects.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF STRATEGIC HISTORY TO 1945

In ancient Greece *strategos* meant a general. The word ‘strategy’ derives from *strategia*, which meant the art or business – literally the office – of a general. The