

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AFTER TITO

A POWDER-KEG FOR THE 1980s?



————— EDITED BY —————
DAVID CARLTON AND CARLO SCHAEFER

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AFTER TITO,

(A Powder-Keg for the 1980s?)

Edited by

David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf

© International School on Disarmament and
Research on Conflicts Eighth Course 1983

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be
reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without permission

First published 1983 by
THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD
London and Basingstoke
Companies and representatives
throughout the world

ISBN 0 333 32670 9

Typeset in Great Britain by
Scarborough Typesetting Services
and printed in Hong Kong

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE AFTER TITO

In 1914 the assassination of an Austrian Archduke in the remote Balkan town of Sarajevo precipitated a world catastrophe that involved the death of millions and the collapse of three powerful dynasties. But though the First World War had an obscure beginning in a backward part of Bosnia, deep rivalries underlay the conflict. For the region as a whole had for many years been a centre of acute instability. The fear today must be that, following the death of Tito, the continuing tensions there could trigger another and maybe even more devastating war in the 1980s. This book contains papers on this theme presented to the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO).

The unique character of ISODARCO as a non-official international forum is the breadth of opinion it is able to encompass. In the words of a reviewer of a previous conference volume, 'Although many readers will find some of the arguments contentious, its main strength is that it covers a very wide range of viewpoints across the ideological spectrum' (*British Army Review*).

Among the contributors are citizens from a variety of rival states in the region: Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. In addition, participants from many more countries and from a large number of diverse professions were in attendance to discuss the papers in the present volume, including citizens from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, students, professors, journalists and those with direct military experience.

The range of opinion may be gauged by contrasting the contributions of Professor Ciro E. Zoppo of the United States with that of Dr György Réti of Hungary. Zoppo, writing about Turkey, discerns hegemonial ambitions on the part of the Soviet Union. Réti, however, categorically denies the existence of any Soviet threat to peace and stability. Moreover, in a piquant contribution, he presents a severe critique, from one Communist standpoint, of another Communist position, namely that embraced by Albania. Yet other sharply distinctive Communist perspectives are provided by a member of the Romanian Institute of Political Sciences, Dr Ioan Mircea Pașcu, by a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dr Nansen Behar, and by a Yugoslav Professor of International Relations, Dr Radovan Vukadinović.

The general reader seeking to make sense of these many conflicting strands of opinion will surely find invaluable the contribution

of the British strategist, Professor William F. Gutteridge, formerly of the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, and now at the University of Aston, who provides a summary of the intense discussions that followed the presentation of the various papers.

In the same series

THE DYNAMICS OF THE ARMS RACE
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND WORLD SECURITY
ARMS CONTROL AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION
CONTEMPORARY TERROR: Studies in Sub-State Violence
THE HAZARDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY CRISIS
THE ARMS RACE IN THE 1980s

Preface

The chapters in this volume were presented to the eighth course of the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO), held in Venice, Italy, between 26 August and 5 September 1980.

The organisation of the course was made possible by the generous collaboration and financial contributions of many organisations and individuals. For their financial contributions we wish to express our gratitude to:

The Ford Foundation, in particular Enid Schoettle;
The Italian National Research Council – National Committee
for Juridical and Political Sciences;
The Italian Ministry of Cultural Affairs;
The University of Rome, in particular Professor Antonio
Ruberti and Professor Giorgio Tecce;
The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

We wish to acknowledge the dedicated collaboration, before and during the course, of Mimma Mauro, Gabriella Fascetti, Marzia Mauro, Bruno Pellizzoni and Anna Petrelli. For administrative work our thanks are due to Fernando Pacciani and Luciano Fiore. For hospitality in Venice we are indebted to the Domus Ciliota.

The editors are grateful to Allen Lane for allowing David Carlton to include in Chapter 3 passages first published in his *Anthony Eden: A Biography* (1981). They also wish to thank Kossuth Könyvkiadó of Budapest for permitting György Réti to reproduce in Chapter 12 a translated excerpt from *Mit kell Tudni Albániáról?* (1981).

Chapters 6 and 11 were previously published in *The Arms Race in the 1980s* edited by David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (Macmillan, 1982).

All opinions expressed in the chapters and in the summary of discussions are of a purely private nature and do not necessarily

represent the official view either of the organisers of the School or of the organisations to which the writers may be affiliated.

D. C.

C. S.

List of Abbreviations

ADM	Atomic Demolition Munitions
BALT	Arms and Troop Reduction Talks on the Balkans
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BP	British Petroleum
CBM	Confidence-Building Measures
CCD	Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
CDE	Conference on Disarmament in Europe
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CFP	Compagnie Française des Pétroles
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Aid
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
DC	Developing Country
DMZ	Demilitarised Zone
EEC	European Economic Community
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFCF	Gross Fixed Capital Formation
GNP	Gross National Product
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAI	Istituto Affari Internazionali
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPC	Iraq Petroleum Company
IRBM	Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile
ISODARCO	International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts
LDC	Less Developed Country
MALT	Arms and Troop Limitation Talks dealing with Naval Forces in the Mediterranean
MBFR	Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Talks
MFR	Mutual Force Reduction Talks
MLF	Multilateral Force

MRBM	Medium Range Ballistic Missile
NALT	Northern Arms and Troop Limitation Talks
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NNWS	Non-Nuclear-Weapons State
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWFZ	Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone
NWS	Nuclear-Weapons State
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPANAL	Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PLA	Party of Labour of Albania
QRA	Quick Reaction Alert
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SAS	Special Ammunition Storage Sites
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SOE	Special Operations Executive
TNF	Theatre Nuclear Forces
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNSSOD	United Nations Special Session on Disarmament
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organisation

Notes on the Contributors

Nansen Behar (Bulgarian) is Head of the Economics Department of the Institute for Contemporary Social Studies in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He was formerly Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *International Life* (Sofia). He is author of numerous books and articles published in a number of different languages.

Hans Günter Brauch (West German) is Research Associate at the Institute of Political Science at Heidelberg University and a Teaching Associate at Tübingen University. He was formerly a Teaching Associate at Darmstadt University. He has published extensively in German on problems of international security and of arms control.

David Carlton (British) (co-editor) is Senior Lecturer in Diplomatic History at the Polytechnic of North London. He holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of London. He is author of *MacDonald versus Henderson: The Foreign Policy of the Second Labour Government* (1970); of *Anthony Eden: A Biography* (1981); and of numerous articles on modern international politics. He is co-editor of six previous volumes in this series.

William F. Gutteridge (British) is Professor of International Studies and Head of Political and Economic Studies Group at the University of Aston in Birmingham. He was formerly Senior Lecturer in Commonwealth History and Government at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. He is author of *Armed Forces in New States* (1962); *Military Institutions and Power in the New States* (1965); *The Military in African Politics* (1969); and *Military Regimes in Africa* (1975).

Giacomo Luciani (Italian) is Director of Research at the Istituto Affari Internazionali in Rome. He is author of three books in Italian on international politics. He has also contributed an article

in English entitled 'Detente and the New Order: A Difficult Juncture' to *Lo Spettatore Internazionale*, no. 1, 1980.

Daniele Moro (Italian) is an official of the Italian Socialist Party in Rome. He is currently in the Party's International Department. He has also served in Brussels and London on European Economic Community business. He has published many articles on international politics and has also appeared on radio and television both in Italy and abroad.

Ioan Mircea Pașcu (Romanian) is Senior Researcher in the Department of International Relations at the Institute of Political Sciences of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy in Bucharest. He has visited the United States under the auspices of the Ford Foundation. He is author of an article in Romanian on 'The Non-Use of Force in International Relations'.

Athanassios G. Platias (Greek) is a Fellow of the Peace Studies Program at Cornell University. He is registered as a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Government at the same university. He was formerly a Fellow at the Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University. He is a graduate of the Law Faculty of the University of Athens.

György Réti (Hungarian) is a Researcher at the Hungarian Institute for Foreign Affairs in Budapest. He was formerly a Hungarian diplomat, seeing service in Peking, Tirana and Saigon. He has written several articles on Hungarian-Italian relations. He is also author of a book in Hungarian on Albania: *Mit kell Tudni Albániáról?* (Budapest, 1981).

R. J. Rydell (US) is a political scientist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and is currently studying the causes and effects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He was previously a Research Fellow at the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University. He was educated at the University of Virginia (B.A.), the London School of Economics (M.Sc.), and Princeton University (M.A. and Ph.D.). His doctoral dissertation, entitled 'Decision Making on the Breeder Reactor in Britain and the United States' will be published as a book.

Carlo Schaerf (Italian) (co-editor) is Professor of Physics at the University of Rome. He was formerly a Research Associate at Stanford University and on the staff of the Italian Atomic Energy Commission. With Professor Eduardo Amaldi he founded in 1966 the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO). He was appointed Director of ISODARCO in 1970. He is co-editor of six previous volumes in this series.

Kosta Tsipis (US) is Associate Director of the Program in Science and Technology for International Security at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was previously associated with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. He is author of three books and 42 articles on international security themes.

Radovan Vukadinović (Yugoslav) is Professor of International Relations in the Faculty of Political Sciences at Zagreb University. He was a Senior Fellow in the School of International Affairs at Columbia University during 1970–1. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Yugoslav journal for the Political Sciences entitled *Politiška Misao*. Dr Vukadinović is author of numerous books and articles on international politics.

Ciro E. Zoppo (US) is Professor of International Relations in the Political Science Department, University of California, Los Angeles. He is a former Executive Director of the California Seminar on Arms Control and Foreign Policy. He has contributed numerous articles on Mediterranean problems and on arms control to such journals as *Survival* and *World Politics*.

List of Course Participants

Venice, 26 August–5 September 1980

- Abdel-Moneim, Mohamed (Egyptian) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tahrir Sq., Cairo, Egypt.
- Annequin, Jean Louis (French) Institut Français de Polémologie, Hotel des Invalides, 129, rue de Grenelle, 75700 Paris, France.
- Behar, Nansen (Bulgarian) Institute for Contemporary Social Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Pionersky put 21, 1635 Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Berglund, Gregory (US) Mas Roussier Entremont, 13100 Aix-en-Provence, France.
- Bjornerstedt, Rolf (Swedish) SIPRI, Sveavägen 166, S-113 46 Stockholm, Sweden.
- Brauch, Hans Günter (West German) Alte-Bergsteige 47, D-6950 Mosbach, West Germany.
- Burzynski, Andrzej (Polish) Institute of State and Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Nowy Swiat 72, Warsaw, Poland.
- Caldéron, Félix (Peruvian) Peruvian Embassy, Wien, Austria.
- Calogero, Francesco (Italian) Istituto di Fisica dell'Università di Roma, P. le Aldo Moro 2, 00185 Roma, Italy.
- Carlton, David (British) Department of History, Philosophy and European Studies, Polytechnic of North London, Prince of Wales Road, London, Great Britain.
- Celentano, Guido (Italian) C. so Vittorio Emanuele 168, 80121 Napoli, Italy.
- De Andreis, Marco (Italian) Aviazione e Difesa, Via Tagliamento 29, Roma, Italy.
- De La Riva, Careaga Ion (Spanish) Villa Berriz-Emen, c/Bermudez Cañete 1, Madrid 16, Spain.

- De Volpi, Alexander (US) Bldg. 208, Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Illinois 60439, USA.
- Dona' Dalle Rose, Luigi F. (Italian) Istituto di Fisica, Univ. di Padova, Via Marzolo 8, Padova, Italy.
- Duffy, Gloria (US) Arms Control Program, Stanford University Bldg. 160, Stanford, California 94305, USA.
- Elzen, Boelie (Dutch) Twente University of Technology, PB 217, Enschede, The Netherlands.
- Emelyanov, V. S. (Soviet) Leninskiyi Prospect 17, Academy of Science, Moscow, USSR.
- Fabiyi, Edwin (Nigerian) Institute of Peace Law and International Department, Université de Nice 9, Av. de Fabrón, 06200 Nice, France.
- Feld, Bernard T. (US) Physics Department, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, USA.
- Ferm, Ragnihild (Swedish) SIPRI, Sveavagen 166, S-113 46 Stockholm, Sweden.
- Frankowska, Maria (Polish) Polish Academy of Science, Institute of State and Law, Noury Surat 72, Warsaw, Poland.
- Freedman, Lawrence (British) RIIA, Chatham House, 10 St James's Sq., London, Great Britain.
- Ghantus, Wolfgang (East German) Institute of International Politics and Economics, Breite Strasse 11, 102 Berlin, German Democratic Republic.
- Gusmaroli, Franca (Italian) Defence Today, Via Tagliamento 29, 00100 Roma, Italy.
- Gutteridge, William (British) Political and Economic Studies Group, University of Aston, Birmingham, Great Britain.
- Henderson, Robert D'A. (Canadian) National University of Lesotho, Lesotho, Africa.
- Kaplan, Richard Alan (US) 1912 Elliott Drive, Vallejo, California, 94590, USA.
- Leifer, Jeffrey (US) Yale School of Organization and Management, 135 Prospect St, New Haven, Conn. 06520, USA.
- Lellouche, Pierre (French) IFRI, 6 Rue Ferrus, 75014 Paris, France.
- Löhmansröben, Hans (West German) Robert Koch Str. 38(913), 34 Göttingen, West Germany.
- Luciani, Giacomo (Italian) Istituto Affari Internazionali, Viale Mazzini 88, Roma, Italy.
- Mack, Newell (US) U-Consultants, 100 Leonard St, Belmont,

- Massachusetts 02178, USA.
- Milstein, M. A. (Soviet) Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Klebny 2/3, Moscow, USSR.
- Moro, Daniele (Italian) Direzione Nazionale del PSI, Intern. Dept., Via Tomacelli 146, 00100 Roma, Italy.
- Nabil, A. Eissa (Egyptian) Physics Dept., Faculty of Science, Alazhar University, Nasr City, Cairo, Egypt.
- Nakai, Yoko (Japanese) USICA, American Embassy Tokyo, 10-5, Akasaka 1-Chome, Minato-Ku, Tokyo, Japan 107.
- Ooms, Jack (Dutch) Prins Maurits Laboratory TNO PO Box 45, 2280 AA Ryswyk, The Netherlands.
- Pascolini, Alessandro (Italian) Istituto di Fisica, Univ. di Padova, Via Marzolo 8, Padova, Italy.
- Pașcu, Ioan Mircea (Romanian) Institute of Political Sciences, 1-3 Armata Poporucui, Sector 6, Bucharest, Romania.
- Patania, Annino Aldo (Italian) Johns Hopkins University, 1740 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036, USA.
- Pfeifenberger, Werner (Austrian) Österreichisches Institut für Politische Bildung, A-7210 Mattersburg, Austria.
- Platias, Athanassios (Greek) Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, 180 Uris Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA.
- Ravi, Komarraju (Indian) Department of Politics and Public Administration, Andhra University, Waltair, Andhra Pradesh, India.
- Réti, György (Hungarian) Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, 1016 Budapest, Bérc U23, Hungary.
- Schaerf, Carlo (Italian) Istituto di Fisica dell'Università di Roma, P. le Aldo Moro 2, Roma, Italy.
- Schmidt, Max (East German) Institute of International Politics & Economics, 102 Berlin, Breite Strasse 11, German Democratic Republic.
- Schoettle, Enid (US) The Ford Foundation, 320 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017, USA.
- Silvestri, Stefano (Italian) L'Europeo, Via della Mercedes 37, Roma, Italy.
- Skons, Elisabeth (Swedish) SIPRI, Sveavagen 166, S-11346 Stockholm, Sweden.
- Smart, Ian (British) Grosvenor Avenue, Richmond, Surrey, Great Britain.
- Smit, A. Wim (Dutch) Center for Studies on Problems of Science and Society, Twente University of Technology, PB 217,

Enschede, The Netherlands.

Šuković, Olga (Yugoslav) Institute of International Politics and Economics, Makedonska 25, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Taylor, Trevor (British) Department of International Relations and Politics, North Staffordshire Polytechnic, College Road, Stoke on Trent, Staffordshire, Great Britain.

Thompson, Susan (British) Centre for Disarmament Geneva Unit, UN Office at Geneva, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

Tromp, Hylke (Dutch) Polemological Institute, PO Box 121, Haren (Gr.), The Netherlands.

Tsipis, Kosta (US) Room 26 402, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, USA.

Vogt, Margaret (Nigerian) Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, GP Box 1727 Lagos, Nigeria.

Wiedmeyer, Hans (West German) Phil.-Theol. Hochschule, St. Georgen Offenbacher Landstr. 224, D-6000 Frankfurt 70, West Germany.

Wright, Steve (British) Richardson Institute, Politics Department, University of Lancaster, Bailrigg, Lancaster, Great Britain.

Ziai, Iradj (Iranian) POB 1512, Tehran, Iran.

Zoppo, Ciro Elliott (US) Political Science Dept., University of California, Los Angeles, California 90049, USA.

OBSERVERS

Castelli, Antonio (Italian) Collegio Navale Morosini, S. Elena 30122, Venezia, Italy.

Elkin, Natan (Argentinian) Pl. Université 1, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

Gurevich, Sergio (Argentinian) 27, rue de Luxemburg, 1150 Bruxelles, Belgium.

Jacchia, Enrico (Italian) Piazza dell'Orologio, 7, 00186 Roma, Italy.

Note Two authors of papers were unable to attend the course, namely R. J. Rydell and Radovan Vukadinović.

