

Holloway, David and Jane O. Sharp, eds. *The Warsaw Pact. Alliance in Transition?* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984.

The 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) caused a flood of publications. *The Warsaw Pact. Alliance in Transition?* is one of the most outstanding. Rather than merely describing past events or current problems, this book by David Holloway, Jane Sharp, and others, centers on prospects for the future. The work introduces contradicting western perceptions of conflicting interest not only within the Warsaw Pact but within the whole Soviet bloc. Its strength lies in the political dimensions, however, and if a criticism can be made, it is that the book does not deal as well with the military side of the Pact.

The book is divided into two parts, dealing with the basic issues in the first and with future issues in the second. The editors obviously have attempted to approach the subject from many points of view in order to shed light upon the numerous facets. This perhaps explains why, in the book, the term "Warsaw Pact" sometimes refers to the WTO itself and sometimes to the Soviet bloc as a whole.¹ Moreover, readers should be aware that the authors treat different topics with different methodological techniques.

In his introduction David Holloway provides a brief and clear overview of the entire undertaking which began as a project of the Peace Studies Program at Cornell University in 1981-82. In doing so, Holloway spells out the important distinctions among the contributors,² which often reflect the differences within the bloc itself, according weight to the Soviet view or to that of other members. Holloway puts the puzzle together and answers the question posed by the title by postulating that the WTO has evolved into an organization in which the USSR has strengthened its dominance and control while, concomitantly, arousing political hostility, leading to instable legitimacy. Further, he asserts that the growing power of the WTO has led to growing cohesion within NATO, and by this, to obstruction of Soviet foreign policy³ — a thesis obviously open to discussion. Basically, Holloway suggests that the WTO has undergone a qualitative change, evolving from an instrument for the transmission of Soviet policy into a political entity with East European members having some say in decision-making.⁴

Other authors deal with other aspects of the WTO. Malcolm Macintosh, as senior specialist on WTO matters and contributor to another volume regarding the future of the WTO, here gives a balanced picture of the Pact's historical development. He covers all commonly perceived reasons for its creation, though it might have been helpful to mention the important difference between the wording of the German version of the treaty and other versions of the text.⁵ That difference is a major issue in much of the German literature dealing with the WTO.

Condolezza Rice has written a very informative chapter on 'burden sharing' and weapons procurement. She notes that while the Soviet share of the burden is overwhelmingly high, some states have been able, nevertheless, to resist Soviet pressure on defense spending. This casts

doubt on whether the Soviet Union does, in fact, run the WTO entirely by fiat.⁶ Rice questions the contention that integrative trends in the combined forces will have far reaching consequences,⁷ thus making her section on collective security, which covers tasks beyond the treaty's regional limitations, a provocative one.

Author Christopher Jones' belief that there is an ongoing "fragmentation of national control over national armed forces" within the military sphere of the WTO is also provocative and will, no doubt, become a cornerstone in future debates. His further elaboration on some of the hitherto neglected institutions of the WTO (the directorate for military doctrine, the political directorate and the directorate for officer education) provides the reader with some interesting material.

In a more perfunctory manner, Stephen Larrabee gives an overview of crisis management in Eastern Europe. He takes note of some of the well-known peculiarities without, unfortunately, extrapolating much on trends and parameters. The economic problems within the bloc are considered by Paul Marer in a reasonable summary and Jane Sharp handles the problems of security through détente and arms control, albeit in a rather broad and descriptive fashion. Sharp neglects, however, the key issue of narrow military aspects such as new options and tactical-operational capabilities. One cannot, for example, adequately judge the INF-modernization issue without taking into account its military rationale.⁸

In her chapter, Edwina Moreton raises the intriguing thesis that the smaller allies have evolved their own identity despite the trend toward assimilation and subordination.⁹ Similar to Rice's observations concerning burden sharing, Moreton suggests that foreign policy is necessarily the result of compromise rather than simple Soviet fiat.¹⁰ She asserts that the USSR has not translated its overwhelming military and economic preponderance into corresponding political influence,¹¹ a thesis that will surely be questioned in future discussions. She also offers a broad overview of foreign policy interests and orientations among the states of the WTO which reach beyond European perimeters.

The future of inner-bloc relations is considered by J.F. Brown. He points to the Soviet satisfaction, or even permissiveness, with regard to what has grown out of the "community of socialist states." In consequence, Brown does not anticipate major changes, although he does foresee a very important period for Western engagement in the near future.¹²

Finally, Jonathan Dean concentrates on the role of the Soviet bloc in the international system, as opposed to the role of the WTO. He evaluates the pros and cons of possible trends in a cautious and balanced manner, concluding that there are "unremitting pressures for change. Although Communist parties will remain dominant, individual aspects of more pluralistic politics will be built into the system."¹³ Such wishful consideration avoids, to a certain extent, the tough evaluation of factors which might oppose such trends.

In general, *The Warsaw Pact* covers the perceived contradicting interest and trends more thoroughly than it does the exertion of military might and power — the avowed purpose of the Pact. In spite of this

omission, the book remains a solid contribution to the study of the WTO and to the consideration of the Soviet bloc.

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Footnotes

1. David Holloway and Jane O. Sharp, *The Warsaw Pact. Alliance in Transition?* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See, in particular, paragraph 4 on military help.
6. Holloway and Sharp, *Warsaw Pact*, p. 64.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 261.