

DTR-0013

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE
OFFICE OF POLITICAL RESEARCH

June 1974

WORK PROGRAM

The emphasis for OPR in the first half of 1974 has been on meeting Presidential and other top-level requests for in-depth papers on China, [] the USSR, and India. The papers on [] and India have been published, the one on the Soviet succession is being reviewed within CIA, and China in 1980-85 and in the Year 2000 is awaiting comments from other agencies in the Intelligence Community.

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Among other studies published during the second quarter of 1974 was Law of the Sea: Issues and Implications; it was prepared at the request of the Council on International Economic Policy and was subsequently distributed widely in response to Intelligence Community requests. With regard to the experimental series projects, the first phase of OPR's testing of Gurr's frustration-aggression theories has been completed, one of the Bayesian exercises (on Vietnam) was concluded in June, and the other (on Sino-Soviet hostilities) was initiated in May.

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Because of new tasks laid on from above, some slippage occurred in the pace of projects in the OPR Work Program issued in April. The present edition of the program is, nonetheless, far from a repetition of the previous one. A number of challenging studies have been added, some in response to requests and others suggested by events. And an increased effort has been made to schedule the studies realistically.

The schedule listing is organized as follows:

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I. Experimental Series Projects and Follow-up Reports

1) The Likelihood of Sino-Soviet Hostilities.

This project has been developed in accord with instructions from the DCI and the DDI. It is, in part, an experimental multivariate Bayesian analysis. The participants are 12 analysts concerned with Soviet or Chinese affairs in diverse CIA components. Each weighs incoming data to revise initial assessments of the likelihood of Sino-Soviet hostilities and the level of tension between the two countries. The project began in May 1974 and will continue for a year or so. Beginning in July, progress reports will be issued periodically. (Direction and coordination:)

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2) A Critique of the Bayesian Analysis Project on the Likelihood of a Major North Vietnamese Military Offensive. This report will examine the accomplishments and problems of two Bayesian analyses recently conducted by OPR. The first of these involved CIA analysts and was begun in December 1973. The second, initiated in February at USIB direction, drew upon experts from agencies in the Intelligence Community. Both concluded in June. Progress reports for each were issued weekly.

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3) Handbook on Application of the Bayesian Analysis to Intelligence Problems. A do-it-yourself manual for other offices, directorates, and agencies. It will be published before the end of the year.

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4) An Analytical Model for Assessing the Causes and Consequences of Political Violence. Phase I of this project establishes a model based on Ted Gurr's frustration-aggression theories, and tests it against Chile for applicability in gauging situations of potential political conflict. Phase II is designed to test further the more promising aspects of the model. It will involve time-series experiments, applying the model to selected country situations where political dissension and popular dissatisfaction appear to be significant. A paper establishing the model will be issued in July, and the time-series experiments will begin in August or September and continue at least through 1974.

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II. Research Studies, Third Quarter

1) The Anti-Confucian Campaign: A Case Study in Chinese Politics. Aided by parallels in previous campaigns, this analysis goes behind allegories and suggestions to aims and personalities.

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2) The China Factor in Soviet Strategic Planning.

An examination of how the Soviets factor the China problem into their overall requirements for deterrence and strategic "sufficiency." Among the questions to be considered are what this implies for their strategic-political relations with the US and what it does to US-Soviet deterrence stability? in close consultation with OSR)

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3) The Changing Shape of the Soviet-Chinese-US Triangle. This study will try to assess Soviet perceptions of the degree to which the triangle has been altered by the events of the last year. It will attempt to factor in the Soviet view of trends in both Soviet-US and Sino-US relations, the Soviet view of the events which led to the present suspension of Sino-Soviet border negotiations, and the Soviet interpretation of the more confident Chinese posture toward the USSR which has emerged over the past year.

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5) The Coming Soviet Succession. The emphasis will be on such questions as why succession is a problem for the USSR, what the interplay of forces determining the outcome is likely to be, and what trends will affect the form, composition, and policies of a future leadership. This study was undertaken to fulfill a Presidential request.

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6) The Implications of Marshal Grechko's Promotion for the Institutional Role of the Military in Soviet Policymaking. The paper is aimed at meeting an expressed interest of the NSC staff.

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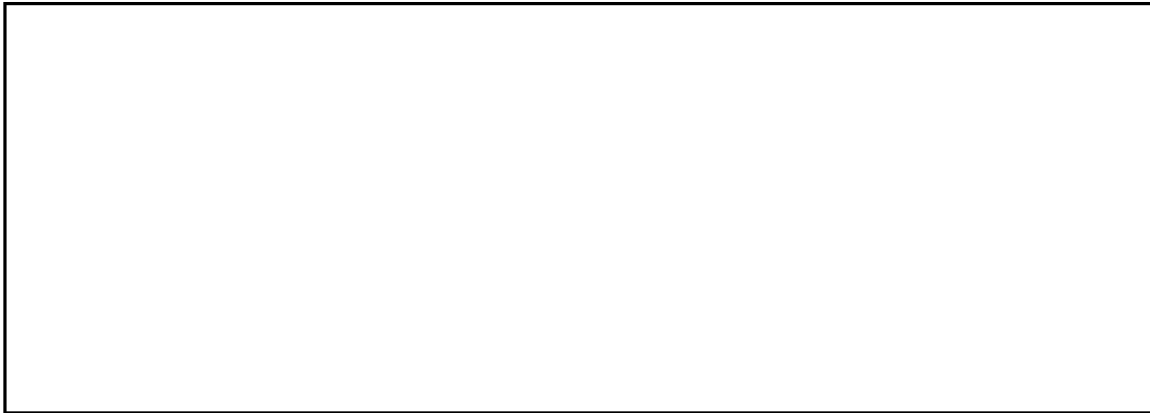
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9) French-US Relations: An Historical Perspective and the Outlook Under Giscard. This is the first of a series of studies of leadership opinion in the principal European states.

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11) Climate, Food, and World Politics. Food scarcity problems and their implications for US policies. Does the food-population problem threaten some years hence to impinge on international political affairs in as disturbing a way as the energy crisis?

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III. Research Studies, Fourth Quarter

1) Chou En-lai's View of the World. Does Chou's record of perceiving and exploiting opportunities throw light on where he will find further ones?

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2) China without Chou. This is the first part of a trilogy (China without Mao and China without Either will follow) on the succession issue. It will identify those who may assume Chou's various roles, and it will fill the intelligence gap left by the assumption that Mao will go first.

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3) China's Regional and Provincial Leaders: The Continuing Purge. This study will concentrate on factors that will be important in the succession.

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4) The Soviet Threat: Chinese Perceptions and Responses. The border situation is only one element in this comprehensive analysis.

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5) Crises in Sino-Soviet Relations: Retrospect and Prospect. A study of past crises in Sino-Soviet relations in search of insights, patterns, and if possible a

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model for forecasting conflicts. The paper is designed to support the Bayesian project on the likelihood of hostilities.

6) The Soviet Foreign Policy Apparatus. An examination of the functions and interactions of the bureaucratic elements which contribute to the formulation of Soviet foreign policy; e.g., the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Central Committee Departments, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the KGB, and the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations. One focus will be on their roles and rivalries as specific interest groups with respect to a range of policy issues.

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7) Concerning Soviet "Intentions" and the Meaning of Detente. An attempt at a definition of the degree to which Soviet policy formulation and behavior are directed toward consciously designed outcomes; the difference between behavior shaped by long-term objectives and that which seeks immediate advantage or is purely opportunistic.

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8) The Changing Soviet Perceptions of the USSR's World Role. A consideration of the opportunities, risks, or policy implications the Soviets perceive in such momentous changes as their attainment of parity with the US in strategic weapons and the emergence of China as a great power rival. The principal objects of study will be the political and military leadership, the principal commentators of the central press organs, and the staffs of the international affairs institutes. [REDACTED]

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9) CEMA as a Factor in East-West Relations in Europe. A study of the role of CEMA in the Soviet and East European approach to the West, particularly regarding West European integration. [REDACTED] in close consultation with OER)

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10) The Political Dynamics of Soviet Foreign Military and Economic Aid. A study of the institutional pressures for and against extending economic and military aid to foreign countries; the principal concern is with the political factors which impinge on such programs rather than their scope and effectiveness. [REDACTED] jointly with OSR, OER, and OCI)

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11) Western Europe as a Factor in Soviet Political and Strategic Thought. This paper will examine Soviet thinking about the political and strategic prospects for Western Europe, including ties with the US and prospects for integration, and will consider the effects of such an assessment on Soviet behavior.

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12) The Soviet-Palestinian Connection. To take a fresh look at Soviet relations with the Palestinians, with emphasis on Soviet efforts to manipulate and use them, especially the fedayeen, to Soviet advantage in the post-October 1973 period.

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13) The Politics of Soviet Strategic Weapons Acquisition. The aim is to trace and explain the process of ICBM, SLBM, and ABM design, commissioning, development, production, and deployment, with emphasis on who and what institutions became involved and how.

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14) The Party, the Army, and the Future of the Yugoslav State. Appraisals of the Party's revitalized role in the Yugoslav system and of the political role of

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the army are basic to any effort to anticipate the shape of post-Tito Yugoslavia. This study will recapitulate briefly the causes of the 1971-72 particularist crisis, and examine the logic of subsequent structural reform in the party and state, the political role of the military and post-army nexus, and the Soviet factor in Belgrade's prospectives.

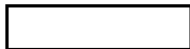
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16) Authoritarianism and Militarism in Southern Europe. This will be the first in a series of studies on the implications for US policy of two related phenomena: the increase (or at least the persistency) of authoritarian regimes, and the growing intrusion of the military as an institution into politics throughout the world. The paper will include both a general assessment of the phenomena of authoritarian rule and military intervention in political affairs and brief case studies applying the general framework to the political scenes in Portugal, Spain, and Greece.

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17) An Analytical Study of The Modernization Process: The Brazilian Case. An examination of the political dynamics of modernization, in which an attempt will be made to identify those factors which are most conducive to rapid social and economic progress and those which inhibit it. These critical factors will then be applied to Brazil's modernization program, with a view to (1) testing the criteria for measuring modernization, (2) trying to assess the long-run consequences of Brazil's policies, and (3) relating the results to US foreign policy interests.

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18) The Peruvian Military as the Sculptor of a Modern State. This is a companion case study to The Brazilian Case and forms a part of that larger project. The military establishment in Peru has changed much in the last 15 years, and it is trying to reshape the country as well.

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19) Nuclear Proliferation and World Politics. This study will assume that continued nuclear proliferation is an inevitable trend. The project will include an assessment of the likely consequences for international politics

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and for US interests of a substantial increase over the next decade in the number of countries with nuclear weapons. Would this prove any more destabilizing than proliferation of nuclear technology limited, say, to power generation? Would it increase the prospect that nearly all countries will want nuclear weapons and that non-state actors (e.g., terrorist groups) will acquire them? What would be the consequences for local conflicts? For regional rivalries? For US-Soviet detente? For relations between the LDC's and the developed countries?

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IV. Longer Term Studies, Underway and Planned

1) Terrorism: International Causes and Constraints.

Terrorism, narrowly defined as the use of terror in politics, is generally a tactic of desperation by groups with inadequate resources to pursue their political strategies in any other way. Nonetheless, it is having a profound disruptive effect not only on target countries but on the "world community" as well. The impact of the terrorists is abetted by the transfer of technology and training, and other kinds of support, from Communist countries and some industrialized non-Communist countries. Will the high cost in disruption cause a cutback in this support? And what could the nations of the world do to constrain terrorism if they wanted to

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2) Residual Soviet Political Assets in China? To

meet expressed interest of the DDI, this study will look hard for evidence of pro-Soviet thinking, mainly among economic and military planners.

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3) The Peking Garrison Command. As this garrison

could be the key element in any leadership show-down, it is important to know how it works and whom it will obey.

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4) Soviet Perceptions of the US, of US Strengths and Weaknesses, and of Likely Future US Policy Courses.

Examines variant perceptions by categorized data array.

The aim is to test a fresh system for organizing and evaluating diffused data and to provide a base for some

estimative judgments and perhaps model building.

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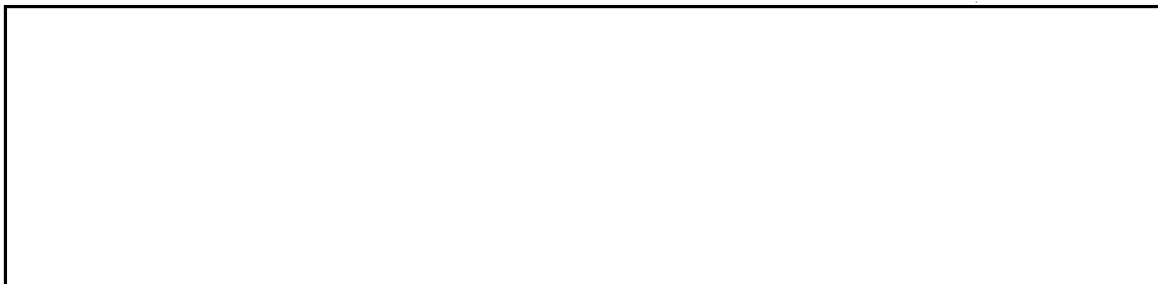
and others)

5) Contemporary Soviet Strategic Policies, Intentions, and Objectives. A detailed presentation of where the Soviets are in their strategic thought and behavior, featuring treatment of such questions as the context of Soviet military doctrine and how it has evolved.

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6) The Soviet Nationalities Problem: (I) The Ukraine. The first of a series which will examine various aspects of the problem and Moscow's attempts to deal with

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8) Thailand: Factors Affecting Political Stability.

An examination of the factors which led to the 1973 political upset, of the current strength of domestic forces and the directions in which they are heading, and of the implications of Thai developments for US interests in the country.

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9) Long-Term Patterns in Iran. A chapter of this study, "Preliminary Observations on the Iranian Monarchy," was distributed to a select list of recipients in May. The subject is important in itself: Iran in its region of the world is the principal US friend and supporter, and there are great gaps in our understanding of the nature of change taking place there and of what a post-Shah government might look like. The study will employ diverse methodologies -- study of elites as well as socio-economic

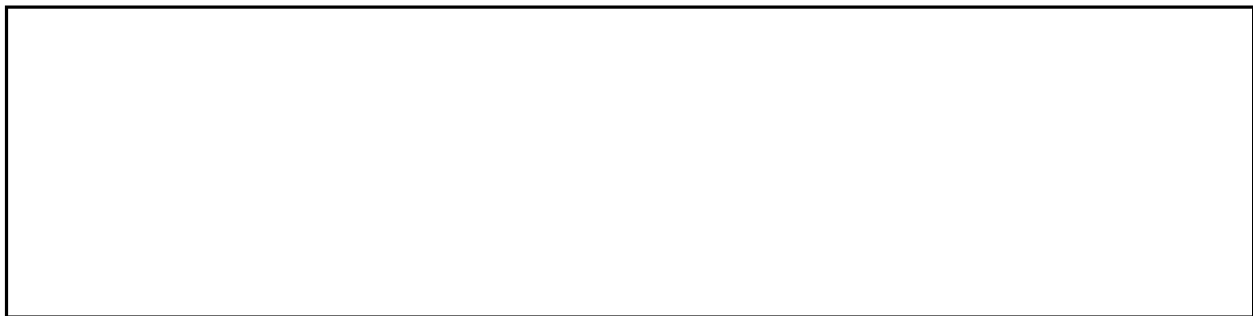
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analysis. If these methodologies bear fruit on this pilot study, they will be tried out on other countries of equal 25X1A9A or higher priority. [] and others)

10) Social Transformation in the Arab States. To make this topic of large dimension manageable, it will be broken into selected country studies, treating in particular those states which affect US policy interests and those which illuminate developments outside their borders. Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco will be among the countries. The Palestinians, and perhaps Iraq and Algeria, will be taken up as well. The approach to the topic will follow several lines: study of the elites, present and past, and of developing new classes (if any); contrasts between goals and accomplishments; and some assessment of the effects of urbanization, etc. Differences among the states will be as revealing as their similarities. [] and others) 25X1A9A



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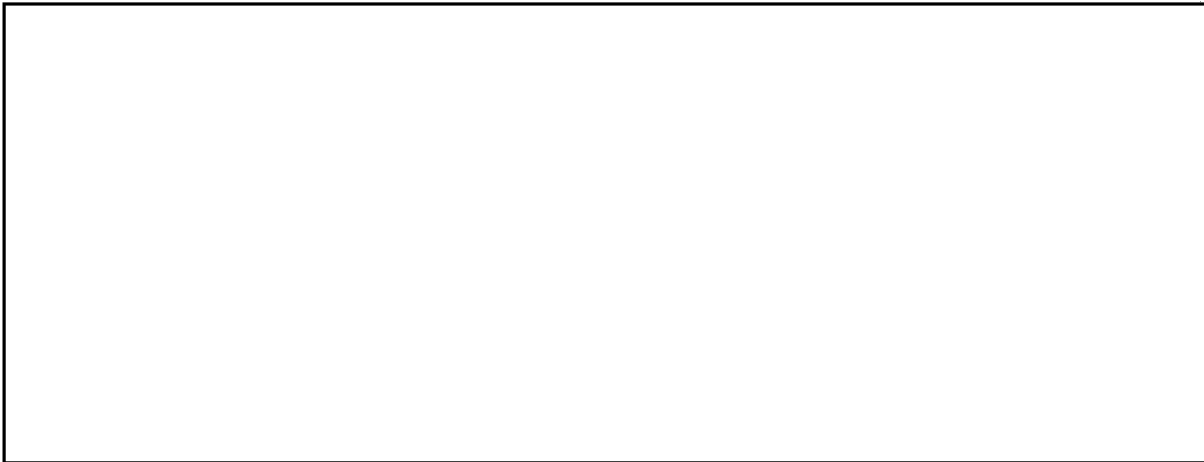
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12) Political and Social Repercussions of the Green Revolution. The implications not only of possible failure but also of relative success. What happens to surplus farm laborers in countries where output and productivity do rise? What will be the effects if success speeds the flow of people into the already overburdened cities of the LDC's?

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13) Poor Nations versus the Rich. A detailed study of the strategies and tactics of the LDC's as they increasingly combine to confront the industrialized nations on economic and political issues. Using the data that emerge from the Caracas LOS conference and other recent international conclaves, this paper will assess the factors that unite and divide the LDC's, that augment and detract

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from the effectiveness of their pressures, and that encourage and discourage their aggressiveness. It might include an assessment of the likely repercussion of alternative strategies for the US in dealing with the 25X1A9A problem.

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