

West. Although there are as yet many uncertainties about the final outcome of this, the movement toward more defensively-oriented forces has been clear.<sup>94</sup>

### 3. The CFE Negotiations: Asymmetry In The Service Of Parity?

Despite the fact that there has been an obvious trend toward unilaterally reducing and restructuring the Soviet armed forces, arms control negotiations have remained, until now, an important method for reducing forces and armaments. The question for the present discussion is whether or not the principle of reasonable sufficiency, and its sub-principles, have been at all relevant to conventional arms control negotiations?

The Soviet approach to implementing reasonable sufficiency at the conventional level has involved considerable emphasis on the formal negotiation process in addition to the unilateral measures being carried out. This is consistent with the emphasis on political means, of which negotiations are viewed as one. The significance of arms control negotiations resides not only in what they may accomplish, but also in their utility as political measures creating confidence and mutual understanding. Negotiations and their byproducts (for example, exchange of information and verification regimes) may contribute to developing positive political relations, which in turn can contribute to security.<sup>95</sup>

The overall Soviet plan for conventional arms control negotiations initially envisioned a three-phase, ten-year process directed towards establishing forces at levels consistent with the idea of reasonable defensive sufficiency. During the first

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<sup>94</sup> "Defensively-oriented" forces do not necessarily exclude the option of conducting offensive operations (although a strategic offensive may be excluded). They only make it less likely that these will be successful, depending on the degree of restructuring and placement of forces. It is important to note that there is no magic line whereupon forces suddenly become "defensive".

<sup>95</sup> See for example, the comments of Gennadiy Vedenyapin: "International Diary Program", Moscow Domestic Television Service, 9 November 1989 in *FBIS-SU*, 13 November 1989, p. 1-2.