

example, reducing production plants by 50%; shifting to a professional army; and cutting the massive military bureaucracy.<sup>92</sup>

Other civilian analysts such as Kokoshin and his colleagues have adopted more "structural" approaches, common among Western non-offensive defence theorists. This approach is far more dependent on reciprocity from the West, requiring a great degree of cooperation between NATO and the WTO, either in negotiations or through agreement on reorganization of forces.<sup>93</sup>

What is most significant about the Soviet reorganization of forces that has taken place to date, as well as the plans of some civilian analysts, is the trend towards support for unilateral actions. As mentioned earlier, there were a number of statements by the Soviet military to the effect that defensive restructuring must take place on a mutual basis. However what seems apparent is that at this point in time this is much more of a hope, than a requirement. Comprehensive restructuring, urged on by domestic imperatives, is occurring apparently without the need for reciprocal measures from the

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<sup>92</sup> Many of his ideas are summarized in: Alexei Arbatov, "How Much Defence Is Sufficient", *International Affairs*, April 1989. The idea of a professional army, possibly alongside a territorial/militia army, to replace the current system has been an issue of growing significance. Individuals such as Yazov have argued strongly against a professional army, suggesting it would cost many times more than the present system. However others in the military support the idea and it is growing in importance, especially when nationalities questions, the decreasing popularity of the military profession, and the role of the party in the military sphere are becoming issues of greater significance. Conscription requirements have already been reduced from two years down to one year, and it seems likely that movement towards a professional, and probably largely Russian army, is inevitable.

<sup>93</sup> Most of this work is summarized in: Kokoshin et al., *Problems of Ensuring Stability With Radical Cuts In Armed Forces*. It is significant that much of this approach has become irrelevant in view of the recent events in Eastern Europe, especially those aspects related to disengagement, redeployment, and zones of reduced armaments. Still, many points on structural reorganization and reductions are useful.