

actions to be taken by governments, NGOs, the UN, or municipalities.

## A. Disarmament and Arms Control

### 1. Governmental plans

#### i) Implemented

Governmental peace plans that have been implemented in this period are actually fairly impressive, in contrast to the gloomy general evaluation of this period as a time of international tension and hostility. Of course, we are not recounting here the hostile acts (wars, threats, etc.) that also occurred in this period, nor do we consider the "normal" escalation of the arms race, arms trade, and arms expenditures.

(a) Unilateral moves that have been implemented by governments include the four mentioned below.

One, unfortunately, was only temporary; we refer to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, announced in late autumn 1985 and finally terminated 18 months later, in summer 1986, when no US reciprocation was obtained. In our interpretation, the USSR, under Gorbachev, tried a "GRIT move" (a unilateral initiative inviting reciprocation); but this can succeed only if the other side actually reciprocates. While the superpowers had carried out a successful series of mutual initiatives and reciprocations in the early 1960s under Kennedy and Khrushchev (Etzioni, 1967, 1969), this failed in the 1980s with the Reagan and Gorbachev.

There were some other minor Soviet GRIT initiatives in this period besides the nuclear test moratorium, but we shall not list them; they present a similar picture of US non-reciprocation.