

Gorbachev first emphasized this issue at the 27th Party Congress and there has been a virtual consensus on it since that time.⁵⁶ For example, as early as January 1987, Petrovskii identified the concept of sufficiency as a political idea rather than a military one, requiring the utilization of political means to reduce military levels as low as possible.⁵⁷ Moiseyev stated that the utilization of political means is "decisive" for the prevention of war today.⁵⁸ Yazov has also argued against retaining ideas about the "self-sufficiency" (*samodovleyushchii*) of military force as a method of safeguarding security because it weakens other methods such as political means.⁵⁹

The emphasis on political means derives from the principle of war prevention which is also contained in the 1987 WTO Berlin statement on the new defensive military doctrine.⁶⁰ What is significant for the present purposes is the view that both nuclear war and conventional war threaten destruction of such proportions that a shift must occur away from military means of security, towards political means.⁶¹ With conventional war the increasing firepower and accuracy of newly emerging conventional technologies is

⁵⁶ *Political Report of the 27th Party Congress*, p. 81. See the final resolution (p. 148) where it states that: "...the safeguarding of security is increasingly seen as a political problem that can be resolved only by political means." The idea of political means is also connected to the principle of mutual security and ideas about the non-use of force.

⁵⁷ V. Petrovskii, "*Bezopasnost cherez razoruzhenie*" (Security Through Disarmament), *MEMO*, 1 January 1987, p. 5. The political means he suggests in this case are arms limitation and disarmament, international legal norms, and political agreements.

⁵⁸ M. A. Moiseyev, "*S pozitsi oboronitelno doctryny*" (From the Position of the Defensive Doctrine), *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 10 February 1989, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹ Yazov, *Defensive Development*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ "Communique on Conference of Warsaw Pact States", 30 May, 1987, p. BB12. This principle is in itself important, however, because in the Soviet literature it is most directly connected with the prevention of nuclear war, it is not addressed in detail in the present discussion.

⁶¹ The principle of the prevention of war is often not explicitly extended to cover conventional war. However, Yazov does make the point in *Defensive Development*, p. 7.