

provide all that is needed for the repulsion of any possible aggression but could not be used for offensive purposes.⁵

His pronouncements in favour of non-offensive defence must be read as a signal that he wants a change of strategy not only to improve military security directly but as part and parcel of an easing of political tensions. It is an action that fits that aim; and he has said in speeches that that is his aim. This is what makes his initiative so interesting. Of course, he may fail; he may be thrown from power. But how the West reacts to his initiative is one of the factors that will influence his survival and the policies he is able to follow. Obviously the West should not proceed in such a way that, if he did not succeed in implementing his policy of defensiveness, we would be vulnerable. But the very nature of a change towards non-offensive defence is that it does not compromise your security. You can proceed by independent acts and reciprocal measures that maintain or enhance your security as you go.

NOTES

1. Press Release Number 273, 13 June 1986, of the Permanent Mission of the Soviet Union, citing a Tass message from Budapest, 11 June 1986, headed "Address of Warsaw Treaty Member States to NATO Member States, to all European Countries with a Programme of Reducing Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments in Europe."
2. Press Release PR56587, 29 May 1987, The USSR Embassy, London, citing a Tass message from Berlin, 29 May 1987, headed "Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee — Military Doctrine."
3. *NATO Documentation*, "Brussels Declaration on Conventional Arms Control by Ministers at the North Atlantic Council Session," issued as an attachment to the North Atlantic Council Communiqué following the Ministerial Session of 11 and 12 December 1986.
4. Horst Afheldt, *Pour une défense non-suicidaire en Europe*, Éditions la Découverte, Paris, 1985 (a translation of Horst Afheldt's *Defensive Verteidigung*, Rowohlt Taschenbuch, Hamburg, 1983; no English translation is available); Horst Afheldt, "Tactical Nuclear Weapons and European Security," in *Tactical Nuclear Weapons: European Perspectives*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Taylor & Francis, London, 1978 (the only major work of Afheldt's available in English); Guy Brossollet, *Essai sur la non-bataille*, Éditions Belin, Paris, 1975; Jochen Loser, *Weder rot noch tot*, Gunter Olzog Verlag, Munich, 1981; *Defence Without the Bomb: The Report of the Alternative Defence Commission*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1983.

5. Letter from Mikhail Gorbachev, Moscow, 16 November 1987, reproduced in *FAS Report*, Journal of the Federation of American Scientists, vol. 41, no. 2, February 1988.

FURTHER READING

Much of the literature is scattered in conference papers and in rather obscure journals and a good deal of it is in German. An International Research Newsletter on Non-Offensive Defence has been produced for a few years by the Centre of Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Copenhagen, Vandkunsten 5, DK 1467, Copenhagen K, Denmark. The newsletter has included as a special issue a bibliography on alternative defence that is extremely useful; and each issue contains book reviews and a listing of new books and articles.

The following general works may be useful though they generally analyze only the one-sided adoption of non-offensive defence:

Hylke Tromp (ed.), *Non-Nuclear Defence in Europe*, Groningen University Press, Netherlands, 1986.

Frank Barnaby, and Marlies Ter Borg (eds.), *Emerging Technologies and Military Doctrine: A Political Assessment*, Macmillan, London, 1986.

Derek Paul (ed.), *Defending Europe: Options for Security*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1985 (see, in particular, the contribution on "Non-Offensive Defence in Europe" by Anders Boserup).

An outspoken critique of one-sided non-offensive defence is to be found in David Gates, *Non-Offensive Defence: A Strategic Contradiction?*, Occasional Paper No. 29, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, London, 1987.

Excellent historical studies of the role of the defence and offense are: Basil H. Liddell-Hart, *Deterrent or Defence: A Fresh Look at the West's Military Position*, Stevens and Sons, London, 1960; and George Quester, *Offense and Defense in the International System*, Wiley, New York, 1977.

Robert Neild is a professor emeritus at Cambridge University and was the first director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

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