

There are indications however, that there was disappointment with the response from the West. Western reaction was viewed by some diplomats as "favourable" but not "constructive".<sup>77</sup> It had been hoped that a reciprocal response would not only include a change in atmosphere, but also greater Western movement in either the CFE negotiations (which opened three months later), or in increased flexibility on starting negotiations on military doctrine, tactical nuclear weapons, or naval forces.<sup>78</sup> It is possible that further unilateral reductions were being considered but NATO's response to the December announcement did not make this possible.<sup>79</sup>

## 2. Unilateral Actions and Restructuring the Soviet Armed Forces

What became apparent about the unilateral reductions announced in December 1988 is that they appeared to be even more far reaching than originally anticipated. In this context, Graham Turbiville, a senior analyst with the U.S. Soviet Army Studies Office, commented that "...as we enter a new decade, in a number of respects the Soviet armed forces that we studied and assessed in 1988 no longer exists."<sup>80</sup> Along with the actual reductions, a massive reorganization of the structure and function of the Soviet armed forces started to take place. Two-thirds of the Soviet and WTO divisions in Central Europe started to undergo a substantial reorganization of their structures, with one-sixth of forces actually being reduced (leaving 24 reorganized divisions in place). It

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with diplomat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, September 1989, Moscow.

<sup>78</sup> Lebedev, "Confidence Will Strengthen Security", p. 2. The expectation of reciprocity in these areas was confirmed to the author a number of times in the interviews conducted in September 1989, Moscow.

<sup>79</sup> See especially the comments of Lushev (commander in chief of the WTO forces) where he says that further unilateral cuts are possible, and that the WTO might "have gone further if they had had more practical indications that NATO, too, is prepared to take analogous steps." Interview in Brussels with General P. Lushev: "The Warsaw Pact's Objections to Short-Range Nuclear Forces", *De Standaard*, 20 April 1989, p. 5 in *FBIS-SU*, 27 April 1989, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup> Graham H. Turbiville, "Restructuring the Soviet Ground Forces Reduction-Mobilization-Force Generation", *Military Review*, December 1989, p. 17.