

the expectation is that the West should and will respond to Soviet initiatives by also restructuring its forces along more defensive lines.

Despite the expectation of reciprocity there is no grand theory about how or why this should come about. Ironically, the idea of unilateral reductions acting as a catalyst for parallel reductions by the West remains remarkably undeveloped in the Soviet literature, although it would seem that there is a great deal of scope for developing both theory and policy in this area.⁵⁵ It is important to note that the principle of reciprocity appears more as a matter of political expectation, rather than as a well thought out idea about how and why an adversary might respond to a policy of unilateral restructuring and reductions.

4. The Principle of Political Means

Many of the foregoing arguments are premised on an acceptance of the principle that security cannot be assured through strictly military means, thus reliance on political means must be enhanced and become the primary method of solving problems. A rejection of the pursuit of parity, acceptance of the principle of asymmetric responses, and any considerations of unilateral actions can be supported only if military means of establishing security decrease in importance. Precise levels and types of weapons become far less important if greater reliance is placed on solving problems by political methods.

⁵⁵ There are for example, Western theories of cooperation that might be of relevance. For example: Robert Jervis, "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation", *World Politics*, vol. XI (40), No. 3, April 1988. Also, much of the Soviet practice of unilateral reductions reads like a page from Charles Osgood's theory of GRIT, with its emphasis on unilateral actions and requests for reciprocity. See the chapter on GRIT in: Charles Osgood, *An Alternative to War or Surrender* (Urbana Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1962); and especially Charles Osgood, "GRIT for MBFR: A Proposal For Unfreezing Force-Level Postures in Europe", *Peace Research Reviews*, vol. VIII, no. 2, February 1979, pp. 77-92. Osgood's theory was mentioned in a positive light to the author by a Soviet civilian analyst in an interview in September 1988 in Moscow, suggesting at least some familiarity with such Western ideas.