

base in the United States with less than ten minutes warning.”¹³⁵

The Soviet Union, of course, has reason itself to be concerned about such forward deployments by the Western states, given that its installations on the Kola Peninsula, along the Siberian coastline, and in the Soviet Far East are all vulnerable to sea attack. According to Vick and Thomson, “American SSBNs forward-deployed in the Mediterranean, Laptev, Barents, and Kara Seas and in the Sea of Japan could launch a similar attack on the Soviet Union. Although Soviet geography would force the United States to use more SSBNs, their NCA and bomber forces appear as vulnerable as ours.”¹³⁶

A truly impressive array of defence analysts and former senior Government officials — including John Steinbruner;¹³⁷ Albert Carnesale, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and Graham T. Allison;¹³⁸ William J. Perry (US Under-Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, 1977-1981);¹³⁹ Paul Bracken;¹⁴⁰ Richard Betts;¹⁴¹ Desmond Ball;¹⁴² Michael Nacht;¹⁴³ Bruce Blair;¹⁴⁴ and Richard Ned Lebow¹⁴⁵ — agree that some kind of coastal exclusion or “stand-off” zones represents a viable remedy to the hazards posed by forward-deployed submarines armed with ballistic or cruise missiles. Des-

135. “The Military Significance of Restrictions on the Operations of Strategic Nuclear Forces,” in: Barry Blechman (ed.), *Preventing Nuclear War: A Realistic Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, pp. 114-115.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

137. “Arms Control: Crisis or Compromise,” *Foreign Affairs* 63:5, Summer 1985, pp. 1045-1049.

138. “An Agenda for Action,” in: Allison (ed.), *Hawks, Doves, and Owls: An Agenda for Avoiding Nuclear War*. New York: Norton, 1985, p. 243.

139. “Measures to Reduce the Risk of Nuclear War.” *Orbis*, Winter 1984, p. 1033.

140. Bracken, *op. cit.* note 134, p. 245; and “Accidental Nuclear War,” in: Allison *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.* note 138, p. 52.

141. “Surprise Attack and Preemption,” in: *ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

142. Ball *et al.*, *Crisis Stability and Nuclear War: A Report published under the auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Cornell University Peace Studies Program*, January 1987, pp. 5, 84, and 88.

143. *The Age of Vulnerability: Threats to the Nuclear Stalemate*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1985, p. 200.

144. Blair, *op. cit.* note 132, pp. 300-301.

145. Lebow, *op. cit.* note 130, p. 180.