

FROM DOUGHNUTS TO TOFFEE APPLES

A NEW MODEL OF WAR AND PEACE

by Lieutenant Commander Chris Tweed

The work, my friend, is peace. More than an end of this war –
an end to the beginnings of all wars¹

These words were due to have been delivered by Franklin D Roosevelt, the day after he died. They were to underscore the opening paragraphs of the Charter of the United Nations and exhort the assembled national representatives 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind'.² They were not just a plea to bring about the speedy conclusion of the Second World War, but to precipitate a lasting peace; a peace that would endure for all time. Throughout history, prophets and statesmen have aspired to the same ideal: the Old Testament prophet Isaiah writing in about 750 BC, proclaimed that 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'³ It is unlikely that Roosevelt saw himself as a latter day prophet with a vision of the day of final judgement, but the sentiment expressed in his statement was the same – an end to war and utopia thereafter. But there are some assumptions here to be challenged; first, that the end of war heralds the beginning of peace and secondly, that neither can exist in the presence of the other. One could be tempted to conclude further that peace ceases to exist when war commences. This essay seeks to explore the idea of peace through the consideration of those factors that seek to destroy it and examines whether war and peace are independent, mutually exclusive entities or merely the antithesis of one another. Current models of conflict examine war in its various forms, its prevention and termination, but have little to say about 'peace'. Given that peace is the aim, that is somewhat strange.⁴

THE WORK, MY FRIEND, IS PEACE

The concept of peace is intangible. Words like 'quiet, tranquillity, mental calm, serenity',⁵ could

be used to describe it. These are experiential, individualistic terms; one man at peace can quite easily sit on the same park bench as a man whose world is in complete turmoil. At another level 'freedom from or the cessation of war. A treaty of peace between states etc. at war'⁶ might describe it. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* also adds 'freedom from civil disorder'.⁷ The emerging picture is one of an agreeable 'state of being' characterised by the absence of conflict, threat or tension.

However, it is not necessarily useful to define something as the absence of something else, for unless one experiences the full scope of the first, there is no yardstick against which to measure the achievement of the second. The definition is therefore quite restricted. In reality there are many factors and events that either contribute to the state of peace or result in its ruination. A breach of the peace could, for example, on a national or state level be characterised by actual or threatened armed conflict, 'Standing armies... constantly threaten other nations with war by giving the appearance that they are prepared for it'⁸, or may arise from civil unrest or a threat to corporate well-being, whereas on a group or individual level, disharmony and excessive or anti-social behaviour could be considered to threaten peace. It is unlikely that many would describe the period of increasing tension immediately prior to the declaration of war,



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or the uneasy truce following its cessation, as times of peace. All of these factors concern a threat to security, either of a nation, state, group or individual, and are typified by a raised level of tension and an expectation of impending conflict or disorder. Two common threads thus begin to emerge: threat to security and raised tension. It may be deduced then, given the earlier definition, that peace itself comes through striving to avoid those things that characterise its destruction rather than through striving to achieve peace itself.

So what of Roosevelt's fine words? Was he trying to bring about peace, or was his intention to drum up sufficient support to deliver a blow against the enemy of such overpowering proportions that no-one else would dare wage war again? Was this perhaps the justification for the deployment of nuclear weapons against Japan? After all, Clausewitz determined that in times of war, all effort should be channelled into the imperative of bringing the conflict to what is considered to be a successful conclusion. The desire to defeat the enemy leads to the intense focussing of a nation's efforts. 'If we desire to defeat the enemy, we must proportion our efforts to his powers of resistance'⁹ he theorised. He went on to suggest that the 'utmost exertion of powers' should be entertained in order to achieve the defeat of the enemy.¹⁰ The implication is one of total warfare where the efforts of the entire nation are directed into the war effort as the exertion of power by both sides escalates, each seeking to outdo the other's power to respond. This, he argues, is necessary in order that the conflict may be decisive. Was this the motive behind Roosevelt's address? Or was his true motive that of peace? To the American people, peace would have meant the end of armed conflict in Europe and the Pacific through the defeat of the aggressor nations and their submission to the Allied powers. This was achieved, but, rather than an all-pervading and lasting peace, a war of a different nature came about, one of tension, hardening attitudes, conflicting doctrines and political posturing in which, thankfully, hardly a shot was fired. The very weapon that brought about an end to the war in the Pacific so swiftly and decisively became the objective. Powers struggled for the upper hand; territorial gain was measured by advantage in numbers, complexity and destructive potential. There are few that would concede that the Cold War was a time of peace.

But just suppose the efforts of the entire nation, or a unity of nations, were dedicated to the quest for and the maintenance of peace? Would that

have made a difference or would mankind have found other excuses for conflict? What is patently clear is that the concepts of conflict and peace are inextricably linked, but are they complementary or mutually exclusive?

**MORE THAN AN END OF THIS WAR – AN END TO
THE BEGINNINGS OF ALL WARS**

In his essay *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*,¹¹ Immanuel Kant writes 'The state of peace among men living in close proximity is not the natural state; instead, the natural state is a one of war, which does not just consist in open hostilities, but also in the constant and enduring threat of them.'¹² He goes on to surmise later in his essay that peace can only exist within a nation that is republican and he takes great care to define what he means by this. He advocates a 'league of peace' to seek an end to all wars forever through the maintenance and security of each nation's own freedom, as well as that of the nations leagued with it. In concluding his second definitive article, Kant proposes that perpetual peace can only be achieved in a world republic where all peoples subject themselves to a 'supreme legislative, executive, and judicial power to resolve our conflicts peacefully'¹³ seeing this as the natural extension of the league of peace.

Although a laudable ideal, it is doubtful whether such a large alliance of disparate peoples could ever achieve anything. Kant himself reflects that 'large alliances for [purposes of waging] war are very rare and are even more rarely successful',¹⁴ if this is so in the natural state of war, then how much more so in the unnatural state of peace? Practical experience suggests that the larger an alliance of nations, the more difficult it is to agree on anything. The UN Security Council took months debating how best to react to Iraq's non-cooperation over arms inspections, failing to reach a decision before the US and UK took action by themselves.

The reduction of the world population to an amorphous amalgam of like-thinking individuals all enjoying peace seems far fetched, but represents the extreme of a continuum. It has parallels in other natural sciences. For example, the second law of thermodynamics, concerning entropy, predicts just that destiny for the universe; the process of work creates heat as a bi-product, eventually all energy will suffer the same fate and be degraded to low level heat. As the comedy duet and satirists Flanders and Swan put it 'then there'll be no more work and there'll be perfect peace. Ah! That's entropy man!'¹⁵

However, we do not live at the extreme of any continuum, the likelihood of a world republic is remote and the prospect of perpetual, perfect or total peace seems equally distant. Perhaps the search for perfection is too high an ideal and we ought to devote our activities to something more achievable instead. Imperfect peace perhaps?

THE ‘CIRCULAR MODEL’

Before progressing further, we should examine the linkage between peace and war more closely. War and Peace seem to be inextricably associated with one another. The phrase trips off the tongue, nearly everyone has heard of Tolstoi’s book and the two are perceived to be opposites. Hot and cold, rich and poor, war and peace. It would be useful if the middle ground could be charted, to examine how one might progress from war to peace or, indeed, from a state of peace to that of conflict.

In the past year or so, a circular model has been developed to explain the relationships between conflict and some of the associated activities. This model began life in the UK’s military doctrine think tank at Upavon but has been developed by, among others, Chris Bellamy in an article in the *RUSI Journal*¹⁶ and subsequent *SCSI Occasional* article.¹⁷ The Bellamy model, which is slightly different from the Upavon version (shown at Figure 1), has been referred to jokingly as ‘Bellamy’s Doughnut’. It goes beyond the recognised division of conflict into High or Low intensity suggesting that a cyclical conceptualisation would be more appropriate to describe the relationships

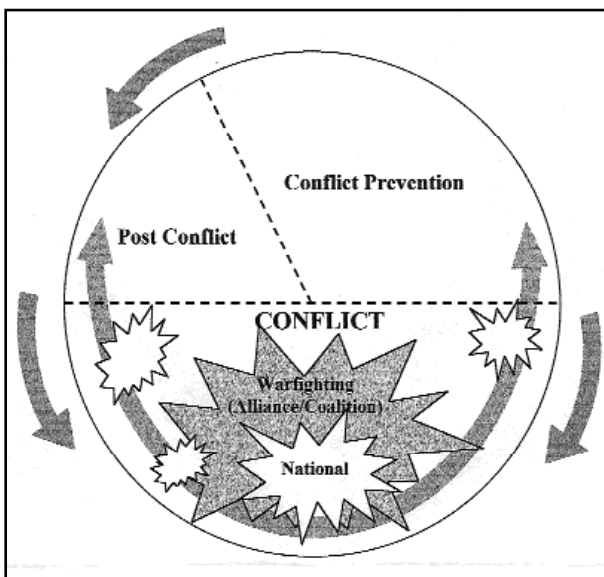


Figure 1: The Upavon ‘Future Conflict’ Model.

between the natures of conflict apparent in today’s complex world. Previous models had drawn on the work of theorists such as Clausewitz and Jomini who had expressed their ideas in the terms of their day; physical and scientific concepts of mass, momentum and centres of gravity. This had resulted in the familiar one-dimensional models representing a continuum extending between two extremes. None of these models were capable of adapting to the complexities of modern multi-dimensional thinking. The new model operates in two dimensions and is able to encompass many of the aspects of modern operations, including peacekeeping.

Bellamy’s circular model depicts ‘the spectrum of conflict and defence, diplomatic and development tasks’.¹⁸ The model, shown below, seeks to map the entire spectrum of conflict, including the opportunities for conflict prevention, both pre- and post-conflict.

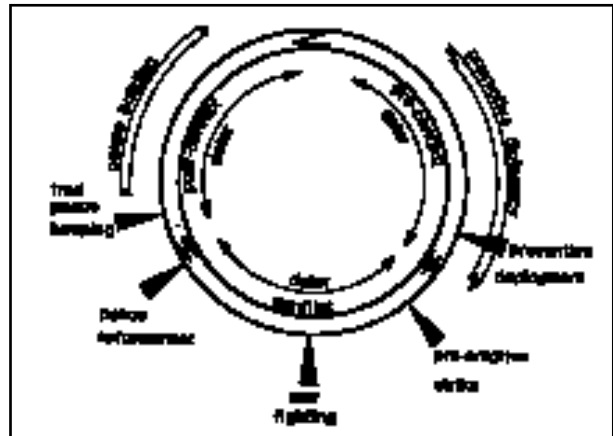


Figure 2: Circular spectrum of activity, with approximate positions of different activities.¹⁹

The circle divides into three segments: ‘pre-conflict’, ‘conflict’ and ‘post-conflict’. Around the periphery the relative position of such activities as ‘preventive deployment’, ‘pre-emptive strike’, ‘war fighting’, ‘peace enforcement’ and ‘traditional peacekeeping’ are plotted, and arcs are identified where activities concerned with ‘peace building’ and ‘preventive diplomacy’ may occur. Within the circle the effect of deterrence is shown by arrows indicating its de-escalatory nature.²⁰ Bellamy goes on to suggest that the model can be further developed by considering it as a three dimensional spiral; humankind it seems is locked into an unending cycle of conflict, post-conflict and pre-conflict activities for all time.²¹ He goes on to suggest that the ‘heat’ of a situation could be modelled on the same diagram by placing ‘cool’ at

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the centre of the circle, graduating outwards in a series of concentric circles towards 'very hot' at the extremity. Conflict can exist at all heats, however, as one progresses further away from conflict, the heat reduces. This could be considered as a parallel to increases in tension; the more the tension, the hotter the situation.

The model, however, includes no provision for peace which one might have expected to represent one end of the spectrum of intensity of conflict. In answer to the question 'where does peace come?' posed by a particular senior Service audience, Bellamy responded 'If there were such a thing as total peace there would be no need for armed forces and no nuclear deterrent. Therefore, to try to place 'peace' on this diagram is a nugatory exercise.'²² The omission of peace from a theoretical model seems somewhat curious for it denies that such a condition exists in any form. Bellamy's use of the phrase 'total peace' is an interesting twist, reflecting both Kant's idea of perpetual peace maybe mirrored by Clausewitz's concept of total war. However, it fails to acknowledge that peace may exist in a less than total state; 'imperfect' peace of a lesser intensity. Just as the model recognises that conflict does not have to be total, surely it must also concede that peace, too, need not necessarily be total. If there is no place for peace, or no

such thing, why expend vast resources on peace-enforcement, peace-keeping and peace-building, and why include these activities in the model? Bellamy likens peace to the complete absence of heat, which, if the heat of conflict model were followed, would result in peace existing only as a microscopic dot, or singularity, at the centre of the circle. This, however, would place it equidistant from all the other activities, including conflict, and thus presents an inconsistency. The logical place for peace would be as far removed from 'conflict' as the model will allow, but how best to represent it is another question all together.

The obvious temptation is to include a thin strip of 'peace' between 'post-conflict' and 'pre-conflict' at the opposite pole of the model to 'conflict'. This, however, is not a particularly accurate representation of the real world, as often both pre and post-conflict activities occur simultaneously. Additionally it would imply that every rotation around the model must pass through 'peace'; that is clearly unrealistic and unrepresentative of the real world. Perhaps the best solution would be to include 'peace' as an arc, similar to 'peace building' and 'preventive diplomacy', around the top of the model. The arc might be represented as thinning at its extremities to reflect the erosion of peace as it progresses closer to the 'conflict' segment.

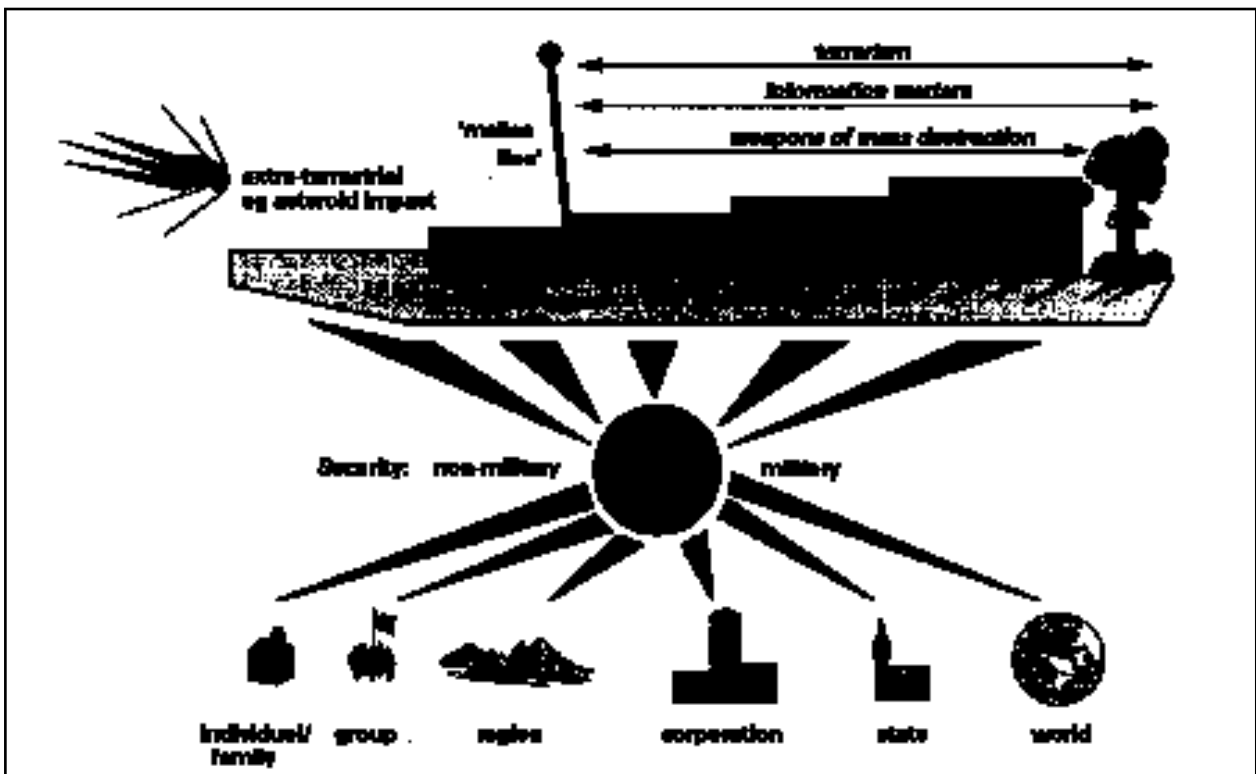


Figure 3: The broad spectrum of security – threats, and assets to be protected.²⁵

THE SECURITY MODEL

So far this essay has concentrated mainly on peace and conflict, assuming these to be opposing states. But, you might ask, what is the opposite of war? Is it peace? But, then, is it logical to conclude that the opposite of peace is war? Earlier it was deduced that threats to security also contrive to destroy peace. The First World War provided the stimulus for an emerging view that the future of civilisation lay in an end to war through collective security. The League of Nations, inaugurated through the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles in January 1920, had as one of its aims 'to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security'.²³ The Atlantic Charter of 1941 advocated 'the abandonment of the use of force' and a 'permanent system of general security'.

The 'Spiral Through Time' article also describes a model that is useful for considering the range of threats to security and which reflects a generally accepted expansion of the range of security problems.²⁴ Security may be imperilled from a variety of sources and affects different segments of the populace from individual, group, through state, to world population and indeed, even the globe itself. The model is reproduced in Figure 3 on the previous page.

The threats are identified as arising from extra-terrestrial sources (for example an impact with an asteroid), civil unrest, organised crime (the commonly used phrase is 'drugs and thugs') civil war and international aggression. The model includes terrorism, information warfare and weapons of mass destruction. He introduces the concept of the 'malice line' which divides the model into two halves. To the right of this line is where human malice or deliberate policy results in the threat to security.²⁶ Beneath all of these runs the continuing threat resulting from the degradation of the environment. Bellamy identifies that this 'may have security implications, triggering civil unrest and mass migration' but concludes that 'it is not a security issue in itself'.²⁷ This may be so, but as the world population continues its inexorable geometric increase, more and more pressure will be put on the limited ability of the planet to provide food and water. Future wars may be engaged or insurrection occur simply because the land cannot provide sufficient basic essentials. The economist Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) theorised that the population will always tend to outgrow the available food supply. At the time of him writing, the prospect of this actually happening to the human race on a

global scale would have seemed far-fetched. However, as the third millennium approaches, it could be quite conceivable.

What is apparent is that threats to security may arise from many sources, of which war or armed conflict represents but one. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary General in 1992, was very conscious of the difficulty in achieving international security. In his report to the Security Council he wrote: 'The concept of peace is easy to grasp; that of international security is more complex'.²⁸

But one does not generally move directly from a state of 'no threat' to 'threat'. Instead movement is characterised by rising tension and increasing awareness as the threat is revealed or becomes more relevant. As tension increases so the state of peace recedes and one is only aware of its disappearance after it has gone. This is similar to the conflict intensity situation and one may model each security threat, as a circle, in a similar manner. Each would feature the occurrence of a breach of security, or 'threat' in place of conflict, with segments of increasing tension leading down either side of the circle. Actions such as law enforcement and disaster relief might feature as identifiable activities contributing to the reduction of threat and tension either as palliative or preventative actions in the various circles. In each case, the state of peace exists around the opposite pole of the circle to the threat event and reduces with increasing tension. This may be represented as a generic threat model, similar to Bellamy's Doughnut, as shown in Figure 4.

In adapting this generic model to the specific case, the preventative and palliative actions for each security threat scenario must be determined. As an example, consider the threat posed by the millennium rollover. The initial euphoria of the prospect of witnessing the birth of a new millennium was only slightly dampened by rumours of a

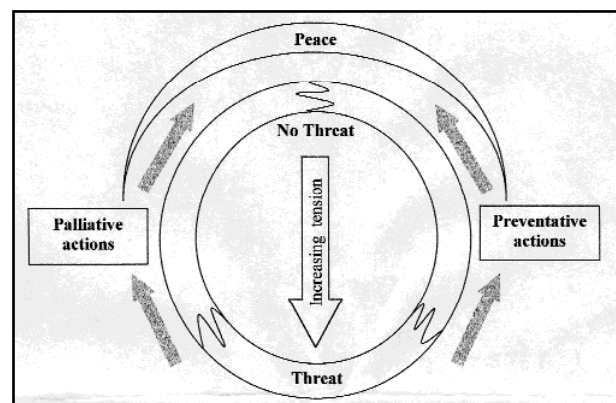


Figure 4: The Generic Threat Model.

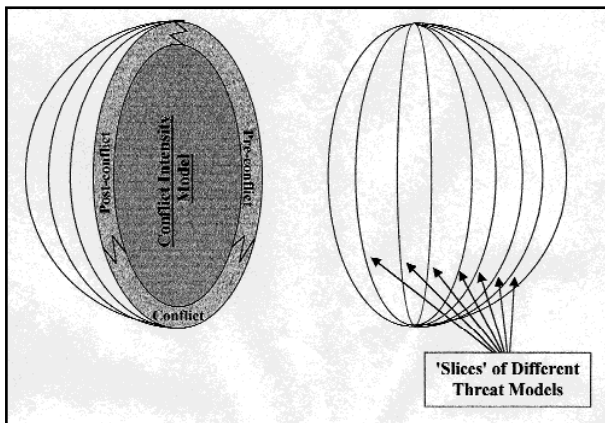


Figure 5: Spherical Model of Threats.

problem with the date change involving computers (initial threat awareness). As time has gone by, investigations have replaced the rumour with more factual information. The threat has been specified, and we now have some indication of the likely implications of what has become known colloquially as the millennium bug. Preventative actions have been identified, equipment and systems that might be affected have been screened and subjected to remedial work, software routines rewritten and in some cases equipment replaced. Nevertheless, the scare continues and as the millennium approaches some people have taken it upon themselves to take additional preventative actions. Some do not intend to travel that day, perhaps refusing to fly, others have taken a more extreme view intending to make themselves entirely self-sufficient for the impending doom that they perceive will overtake mankind on the 1 January 2000. Many hope that the sum of the actions taken will prevent the realisation of a threat, (reduction in tension) but, inevitably, there will be some systems that have not been identified and which will fail. Palliative action will then be required. Plans can be made to cover every eventuality but the scope of the action required will be entirely dependent on the scale of the problem encountered. Should a national utility fail for example, the military may well have to be involved in order to effect a speedy recovery. However, the replacement of an errant video recorder could wait until the January sales, (always supposing that the tills are still working). Both the preventative actions and the palliative actions contrive to reduce the level of perceived threat, allowing the populace to 'feel' more at peace.

In a world of imperfect peace, it is this feeling, this 'at-peace-ness' or perception of the level of threat, at an individual, group, or national level,

that is probably more important than the actual strength or robustness of peace.

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Peace therefore, cannot simply be considered as the absence of conflict. Periods of tension arising from threats to corporate or individual security may also erode or destroy peace. Neither is it helpful simply to dismiss peace as an unachievable state of perfect harmony. Perfect, perpetual or total peace quite probably does not exist. With the recent exhumation of bodies in pursuit of a court case against a surgeon, it is doubtful that even Kant's observation that perpetual peace may only be found in a graveyard is legitimate.²⁹ It is possible however, that in the same way as there are various intensities of conflict, there could be various intensities of peace. Accordingly, a new definition is proposed:

'Peace is a state of being that exists when an entity neither threatens nor feels under threat from another entity, either by rhetoric, coercion, or violent action; or neither threatens, nor is under threat, from any destabilising influence, either military, civil or environmental, whether or not there is deliberate intent.'

By way of expansion, a state of peace can be deemed to exist during the periods of pre- and post-conflict if the state feels that the threat of conflict no longer exists. It is therefore a parallel condition to both pre- and post-conflict in the 'Spiral Through Time' model. The condition of peace does not separate the pre- and post-conflict stages but exists in parallel. Neither can peace be assumed to encompass the entire spectrum of activities engendered by

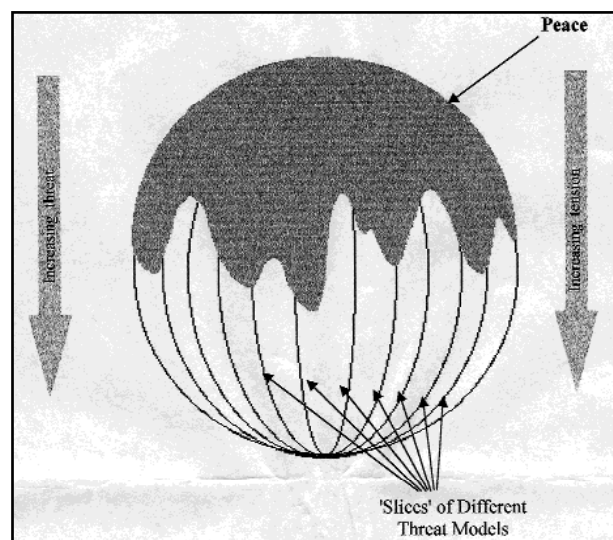


Figure 6: 'Toffee Apple' model of Conflict, Threat and Peace.

pre- and post-conflict. Both of these states are characterised by an increase in tension as they approach the boundary with conflict. Increase in tension will inevitably be accompanied by increase in threat and some point will be reached where peace no longer describes the condition a state perceives itself to be in. The boundary is necessarily fuzzy and ill-defined as different states will have different perceptions.

In forming a model that seeks to represent peace, conflict and security, it is first necessary to combine the circular models into a coherent whole. This is best achieved in three dimensions and a sphere is as good a starting point as any, representing as it does, a circle in the third dimension. Each individual circular model can be considered as a vertical slice through the centre of the sphere. Considering this as an apple, each intersection would represent a cut from top to bottom through the core of the apple. (This is similar in concept to slicing up the world using lines of longitude as a guide.) Each cut will reveal a broadly circular cross section and it is these cross sections, of which there are an infinite number in each sphere, that represent individual circular models. One slice would reveal the circular model of major armed conflict, another the circular model of 'drugs and thugs', another the circular model of extra-terrestrial threat and so on. Slices can represent all of the threats to security discussed earlier and, as there remains scope to add further threats to peace, resource depletion, economic instability and information warfare for example. The model is realised in Figure 5 and is shown sliced open at the conflict intensity model.

Having created the spherical 'apple' model, the representation of peace around the tops of each individual model could be visualised rather like the application of a limited amount of thick, sticky toffee to the top of the apple. Most sets hard over the top creating a thick layer, however some spreads down the sides becoming thinner and increasingly brittle with an irregular and ill-defined edge. Peace is robust when the threat is far removed, but as tension increases, peace becomes more fragile and is easily shattered. This is shown at Figure 6.

All models have their limitations and this one is no exception. In reality, any individual, group, state or nation will simultaneously occupy different positions on a number of the constituent circular threat models. If any of these exceed the threshold beyond which the covering of peace extends, then a breach of peace has occurred regardless of the condition of the other circular models.

CONCLUSIONS

Peace should not be considered merely as the absence or cessation of war, but as a state of being where neither tension nor threat are felt. This does not mean to imply a complete absence of threat or tension, but that the perception of them lacks significance. In a world of imperfect peace, it is the feeling of 'at-peace-ness' or the perception of the level of threat, at an individual, group, or national level, that is probably more important than the actual strength or robustness of peace itself.

Peace may be defined as: 'A state of being that exists when an entity neither threatens nor feels under threat from another entity, either by rhetoric, coercion, or violent action; or neither threatens, nor is under threat, from any destabilising influence, either military, civil or environmental, whether or not there is deliberate intent.'

Further, peace can be considered to vary in intensity in inverse proportion to threat and tension. There will come some point during threat escalation where the state of peace ceases to exist. Threats comprise of anything that jeopardises the feeling of security and may include actions by other states or nations, civil unrest, lawlessness or civil disobedience, internal strife such as civil war, influx of refugees and threats from the environment. This latter category may include such events as natural disasters, either terrestrial or extra-terrestrial and the effects of famine and drought for example.

Therefore, although peace may be considered to exist at the opposite end of the intensity spectrum to conflict, it is nevertheless an independent entity and cannot be described accurately as the antithesis of war.

It is the author's view that there is a place for peace on Bellamy's Doughnut model of conflict intensity and that, in general, peace may be modelled on a generic circular threat model as existing over the opposite pole to the threat and thinning as tension increases. The model may be developed to include the full range of threats by considering each circular threat model as a slice through a threat sphere. Peace may be modelled rather like the application of toffee to a toffee apple, being thickest and most resilient over the pole away from the realisation of the threat, and thinning to a brittle indeterminate edge as the level of threat rises. M

NOTES

1. Franklin D Roosevelt, undelivered address, due for delivery 13 April 1945, the day after he died. *Public Papers* (1950) vol. 13 p. 615.

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2. *United Nations Charter 1945* – Preamble line 1-2.
3. Isaiah Ch 2 v 4 quoted from the *Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version*, A J Holman (1962).
4. The ideas expressed in this essay are largely those of the author, but draw on models of conflict and security developed by Christopher Bellamy and published in his works ‘Spiral Through Time: Beyond “Conflict Intensity”’ and ‘If you can’t stand the heat’.
5. Extract from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 9th Ed. Clarendon Press.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Kant, I, ‘To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch’, Trans/Ed Humphrey, E, *Perpetual Peace and other Essays*. Hackett, Indianapolis (1983), p. 108.
9. Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege (On War)*. Trans Colonel J J Graham, Ed Col F N Maude, Pelican Edition (1968). Penguin. Bk 1, Chapter 1, Section 5.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Kant, I, ‘To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch’, pp. 107-143.
12. *Ibid.* p. 111.
13. *Ibid.* p. 117.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
15. Flanders M, Swann, D ‘The first and second laws’ taken from *At the drop of another hat*.
16. Bellamy, C, ‘If you can’t stand the heat’, *RUSI Journal*, February 1998.
17. Bellamy, C, ‘Spiral through Time: Beyond “Conflict Intensity”’, *The Occasional, Strategic & Combat Studies Institute*. Number 35, August 1998.
18. *Ibid.* p. 33.
19. Bellamy, C, ‘If you can’t stand the heat’, p. 29.
20. Bellamy, C, ‘Spiral through Time: Beyond “Conflict Intensity”’, pp. 32-33.
21. *Ibid.* pp. 34-35.
22. *Ibid.* p. 33.
23. *Covenant to the League of Nations – The High Contracting Parties*.
24. Bellamy, C, ‘Spiral through Time: Beyond “Conflict Intensity”’, pp. 10-11.
25. *Ibid.* p. 11 and Shultz, R H Jr, Godson, R, Quester, G H, ‘*Security studies for the 21st century*’, Brassey’s, (1997).
26. *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.
27. *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.
28. *Report of the Secretary General of the UN to the Security Council* 17 June 1992.
29. Kant, I, ‘To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch’, pp. 107.

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