

exclusively to the question of adequately defending the Soviet Union itself. It is internal threats to security and stability that are the gravest concern at the present time, and debates on the future of the Soviet armed forces are more likely to focus on requirements determined by domestic economic and political factors, rather than international factors. Rather than addressing the question of the sufficiency of forces to meet the threat from the West, the question now will be what type of armed forces are possible and desirable given the highly unstable and rapidly evolving domestic situation.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The discussion in the present paper began with the issue of compromise. However, with respect to conventional arms control policies under Gorbachev, this has involved compromises which have been based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency and the concepts that support this. Decreasing security, increasing economic problems, and a bloated military contributed to the need for a radically different approach to reducing armaments and forces in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This policy, far from being one based on weakness, sought to gain the initiative by stepping out of the mold of negotiated reductions, stalemated at the conventional level for a decade and a half, and into the realm of unilateral actions. As one Soviet analyst has commented: "Let us recall unilateral measures which, if reasonably approached, will amount to an initiative-oriented rather than dilatory policy."<sup>111</sup>

This unilateral approach, fundamentally based on a rejection of the idea of quantitative parity and on an acceptance of the principle of asymmetric responses, has been applied to both arms reductions and to defensive restructuring of the Soviet armed forces. Yet, if it has been unilateral, it has also been a process based on an "engagement" of the West. Through the use of political means such as negotiations, diplomacy, East-West summits, and through constant demands for reciprocity, the Soviet Union has sought to bring the West along with it, in a build-down of military force in

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<sup>111</sup> Andrei Kozyrev, "Confidence And The Balance Of Interests", *International Affairs* (Moscow), November 1988, p. 10.