INTRODUCTION
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Since the dawn of human civilization, man's concern for a safe and secure life has led to a constant search for security. In order to thrive amidst prosperity, man has devised an ingenious approach towards his surroundings by which he can secure his interests. Safeguarding the interest of one group of individuals from the onslaught of another group was the cardinal principle of security right since the inception of human civilization. With the passage of time and progress of civilization, the notion of security has undergone several changes from this pristine approach. With the emergence of the nation-state in Europe in the early nineteenth century, security occupied a prominent position in the policy matters of the state. The upsurge of nationalism in the recent times around the world has given rise to multi-dimensional security perspectives. The military, political, economic, environmental and humanitarian aspects of security have come to shape the policy of one state towards the other nations. Security matters have always been framed in a manner so as to accommodate the interest of the concerned state, whereas the interests of other states get marginalised and relegated to the background. In the traditional security perspective, a nation hardly takes the security interest of other nations into account while pursuing its own security. Nations, very often, seek to attain highest strategic parity while espousing the policy of military security. This tendency to pursue one's own security by attaining highest strategic parity has always made room for arms race, thus jeopardizing the security of
everybody and promoting acrimony and mutual distrust. A state of uncertainty is forced to prevail thereby. Pursuit of traditional security was marked by the espousal of a policy of mutually exclusive security. Balance of forces as the highest possible level of strategic parity and that was the general feature of traditional security characterized by conflict, competition and block antagonism. With the advancement of military technology and invention of sophisticated weaponry system, security priorities of nations have taken a different orientation characterized by arms race and arms build-up. Piling up of deadly weapons and formation of block alliances with friendly countries became synonymous with security of a nation. Striving for security at the cost of others' interests was the main consideration of the security policy of a nation.

The upsurge of nationalism and nation's concern for exclusive security lays emphasis on the security of one nation-state, without caring for its implication of the security of others neighbouring nations in the international community. Common security or universal security was just inconceivable in the security system where national security did not encompass mutual security and this had become the norm of the national security system around the world. Soon after the end of Second World War, the rise of super powers marked the accentuation of power politics leading to emergence of a bi-polar, competitive and conflicting security system. The formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and Warsaw Pact (dismantled now) was the culmination of the bipolar model
characterized by alliance and counter alliance. Both the power blocks believed in a model where security could be attained by means of highest possible level of strategic parity.

The concept of security thrived on principle of balance of power. With the nuclearisation of international politics, security of nations, especially of power blocks revolved around the principle of balance of terror. Each other's destructive capability having been enhanced to several times with the invention of sophisticated nuclear weapons and with the modernization of military set up, security of nations in general and of the power blocks specifically got jeopardized. Balance of power and balance of terror were the decisive factors that maintain a stable and secure international system. But at the same time, it led to a situation where zero-sum game became the sub-structure on which the entire international politics was built up.

In the initial years of Soviet regime and during Second World War, Soviet leaders tried to strengthen their nation's security in the face of internal discontentment and external threat. Security was conceived within the framework of widespread militarisation and military alliance. Soviet pursuit of security was characterized by variable policy approaches starting from forward strategy of war communism to trade-cum-arms control orientation of the 1970s. In the late 1970s and early 1980s an aggressive approach that swerved from the line of rapprochement with the West. A steady effort to modernize the military and prop up anti-American left wing
Governments in the Third World became the characteristic of forward strategy. Soviet security policy especially détente and cooperation proved to be a mere eyewash whereas hardline militancy dominated the Soviet policy. During the phase preceding to Perestroika, Soviet leaders rarely pursued any policy in its purest form from across the border; rather they picked and choose calibrating strategy and tactics to time and place. Thus, Soviet sought détente with the West and at the same time went on supporting anti-imperialist activities in the Third World. Soviet leaders, during this period, wanted to have the best of both worlds: economic relationship with the First World combined with enhanced Soviet influence in the Third World. This sort of pragmatism, although, had advantages yet often produced contradictory policies that garnered few gains in either spheres.

Soviet Union during Perestroika proposed an accord on a strategy of "military sufficiency" restructuring armed forces so that they could resist aggression but would be unable to become offensive. A first step in this direction could be a controlled withdrawal of nuclear and other offensive weapons and zones of reduced and or no armaments between adversaries. The new Soviet leadership called for accords to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and stop nuclear piracy. If imbalance disproportion existed in the marks of NATO and Warsaw Pact that was to be removed.

The Soviet Union declared that "peace is indivisible". The new Soviet leadership put forth a number of proposals for incorporation into an
all-embracing system of peace and security. Gorbachev pledged that Soviet Union would shift from confidence building measures in individual spheres to a large-scale policy of trust that would gradually shape a comprehensive security. In line with Western theories of conflict reduction, Gorbachev laid out his broad strategy in advance affirming his priority for rejection of nuclear deterrence as a basis for security. He emphasized on compromise as the way to resolve disputes and issued a declaration outlining a plan to eliminate all nuclear arms by the year 2000 and sharply limit other weapons as well. In stead of upgrading nuclear and conventional arms, Soviet Union proposed shifting Warsaw Pact and NATO forces towards a posture of “reasonable sufficiency” adequate for defense but insufficient to threaten attack. Soviet leadership declared its willingness to make conventional as well as nuclear reductions. If there were asymmetries in the assets of both sides Soviet Union was ready to remove them even if this meant reducing more Eastern than Western forces. Gorbachev proposed steps to maintain a balance at even low levels.

In January 1989 Gorbachev went to the extent of reducing of half a million troops from Soviet military. The Soviet spending on military hardware and armaments was reduced and Soviet troops from Mongolia and Eastern Europe were pulled out. In 1989-90, Soviet Union unilaterally reduced its armed forces by 500,000 with reduction in arms and ammunitions. In the late 1980s the Soviet Union cut back its involvement in costly Third World ventures. Soviet forces initiated withdrawal from
Afghanistan in early 1988 and completed it on February 15, 1989 under a deadline set by Gorbachev. Soviet Union acknowledged realities and did its best to retreat with dignity. Soviet forces were reduced on the Chinese border and SS-20s were removed that were at one time targeted on China, Japan and Korea.

Soviet Union sought a constructive role in solutions for conflicts in Angola, Cambodia, and Middle East and created external conditions for people to settle the issues themselves to remove foreign interference. In December 1988, Soviet Union endorsed a US brokered accord to end Angolan-South African fighting accompanied by withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In early 1989 Soviet Union expressed willingness before Norway to alter moderately proposals for a boundary in a strategically vital zone of Barents Sea. This novel step deviated from earlier Soviet refusal to negotiate any of its borders. These initiatives taken by the Soviet Union reflected its willingness to resolve the international conflicts through mutual goodwill and by reducing its military influence abroad.

Economic concerns that featured more perceptibly in Soviet Union during Perestroika was perceived as another vital aspect of security. In the years preceding Perestroika, Soviet economic growth rate had crawled for decades with wide-scale stagnation. Gorbachev believed that the ills of the Soviet economy and society demanded total and revolutionary restructuring. The main thrust and agenda of the new economic policy during Perestroika was to make life better for the people and to put an end
to excessive arms production which the new leadership considered to be wasteful as well as immoral. The economic policy during Perestroika revolved around mutual advantages provided by reciprocal scientific and technological cooperation. Soviet Union, in the days of Perestroika, had grandiose plans in the domestic sphere, mainly economic. And it needed congenial and peaceful external conditions in order to translate the economic plans to reality. Among the measures Soviet Union wanted to take in order to streamline and strengthen the economic security were its desire to join G-7 and international financial and trade organizations such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT, presently known as WTO- World Trade Organisation). During this phase, Soviet declared that they would welcome joint ventures in business and commerce with West and the world community.

On the international front, all forms of discrimination and economic blockades and sanctions recommended by the world community were condemned and adequate steps were taken to remove all those practices. Serious efforts were made for the settlement of the problems of debts as most of the Third World countries were under the debt trap. Soviet Union also supported the establishment of New International Economic Order (NIEO), which was taken up by the Third World countries, for strengthening the economic security of all countries. During this phase the Soviet leaders tried to divert the resources from defence expenditure to developmental
projects, particularly to the Third World countries, by cutting down the
defence budget and supplying arms. The humanitarian aspects of security
had not been underscored on Soviet security plans. Thus, they swerved
from the line of command economy of Stalin's Russia and Brezhnev's
stagnation to Gorbachev's notion of restructuring and integrating Soviet
economy with global economy.

The present thesis is an attempt to analyse and assess the concept
of security, propounded and practised by the Soviet leaders during
Perestroika. The broader notion of security, in its military, political,
economic and humanitarian aspects, has been explored within a specific
context. The thesis has been organised into six chapters. In chapter one
"Concept of Security: A Framework for Analysis", the theoretical and
conceptual aspects of security have been analysed. Further, the role of
international institutions like the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement
(NAM), in the field of international security, has been studied too. Besides
military and political security, special focus has been put on economic,
environmental, societal, and humanitarian security issues that have much
more relevance in the present context.

In chapter two "Soviet Concept of Security: Historical Perspective",
the historical background of Soviet security from the era of Lenin to
Gorbachev has been elaborated. The views of strategic experts of the
Soviet Union have been incorporated in it. This chapter has emphasized
Gorbachev's concept of comprehensive universal security and the way it is
different from his predecessors. It is argued that Gorvachev concept of security is a complex combination of realism and idealism by combining socio-economic matrix both at domestic and international level.

In the chapter three "Military Aspects of Security during Perestroika", different proposals and measures taken by Soviet leaders for making a secured and peaceful world have been analysed. The doctrine of reasonable sufficiency and its relevance for maintaining security of the world in general and Soviet Union in particular has been dealt with. The American reaction to Soviet's military security has been critically reviewed. Hence the linkage has been established between internal and external dimension of security and the way this military security was responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In the chapter four "Political Aspects of Security during Perestroika", various proposals and measures taken by "New Thinkers", for ensuring security of the Soviet Union and the world have been discussed. The concept of "Common European Home", the solution of the regional conflicts with special focus on Asia-Pacific regions has been elaborated. It has also stressed on the confidence building measures; prevention of international terrorism for strengthening the security of the world. The changes in Eastern Europe, which were no doubt products of internal changes in Soviet Union, have been stressed upon and answers to questions like how far the changes shattered the fabric of Soviet security and encouraged secessionist movements in various parts of the Soviet Union which
ultimately led to collapse of communism have been sought in the present study.

In chapter five, "Economic Security during Perestroika", both internal and external reforms with its structural and functional changes in Soviet security have been elaborated. It has explored the processes that hastened the integration of the Soviet economy to the world economy and enough light has been thrown on import and export relations of Soviet Union with the West, joint ventures, and relation with the European Community. The Asian dimension has not been underscored in it. This chapter has also dealt with various proposals and measures taken by Soviet Union for ensuring economic security of the world.

The sixth chapter "Humanitarian Aspects of Security" deals with the issues of human rights of the Soviet Union and the world. It has mainly concentrated on the main proposals of the humanitarian security during Perestroika phase and its impact on global peace and security and the Western reactions to the changes of the Soviet Union. This chapter further explores the humanitarian aspects of security and its implications in strengthening the security of the world and particularly the security of erstwhile Soviet Union.

The conclusion chapter has provided the summary of this research. Though this research largely concludes that there had been serious flaws in the Soviet concept of security during Perestroika, it had enormous
impact on ensuring peace and security in the world. Nevertheless, this research claims that introduction of a new theoretical paradigm, i.e., "Rational Contextual Analysis", could have solved the Soviet security complexity during Perestroika phase and the problems of the world.