

**SOVIET
MORATORIUM
AND SECURITY
IN ASIA-PACIFIC**

Alexander Pushkin

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INTRODUCTION

There are radical political solutions which give birth to new trends, opening up new roads of international developments. This indisputably applies to the Soviet decision to extend the moratorium on nuclear explosions up to January 1, 1987.

Unilateral cessation of nuclear tests practically embodies the foreign policy which was outlined at the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and formulated in full at the 27th CPSU Congress. It was very difficult to impose the moratorium and then to extend it. Taking this decision, the Soviet side has highlighted the need for a new approach to inter-state relations, an approach based on new political mentality. This is the only way out of the tough nuclear confrontation fraught with a fatal catastrophe for mankind. One of the major elements of new thinking is renunciation of attempts to ensure national security by gaining military supremacy over the other side. In other words, a very important conclusion was made to the effect that the present level and prospects of scientific and technical progress in the military sphere make it utterly senseless to rely exclusively on military methods of ensuring security.

Positive ideas become really valid only when they are implemented. The best way to ensure their

implementation is to set an example in matching words by deeds. The Soviet Union has set such an example. In Soviet opinion, a solid chance for a nuclear test-ban agreement with the US outweighed the indisputable military-technical and other losses which the USSR had to sustain in extending its moratorium for the fourth time. The proposed test-ban agreement should be subject to most reliable verification. Nobody suggests just ending tests as an end in itself as some opponents of the moratorium allege. Their cessation is just a first stage to be followed by negotiations which are supposed to produce a contractually sealed and verifiable test ban.

Moscow has unilaterally stopped nuclear tests and offered the US to follow suit, making a breakthrough to new political thinking in the major military sphere. This proposal is aimed at curbing the sophistication of nuclear weapons, a most dangerous process of our time. Moreover, this is a universal disarmament measure which may instantly limit the development of all nuclear systems—strategic, medium-range and tactical ones. A test ban is the quickest and most radical arms limitation measure which can be implemented today. It makes it possible to avoid a big number of problems linked with technical, strategic, geostrategic and political disproportions.

Needless to say, the moratorium cannot be viewed just as a means, even if universal, of settling purely military-technical problems. For all its outward simplicity, the idea of an overall nuclear test ban which logically leads to the elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction, is not limited to the sphere of military strategy. It also contains major elements of political, international-legal, and moral-ethical character.

One more important point is that survival in the nuclear-missile age is a universal problem which cannot

be settled by the US and the USSR alone even if they reached agreement on all issues in dispute. If agreements are reached and the insane race for nuclear missiles stopped, the overwhelming majority of people would stand to gain. Tremendous resources and funds would be released for socio-economic advance, ambitious civilian scientific and technical projects implemented, and conflicts resolved. Every region without exception would feel in the near future the benefits of detente and peaceful cooperation. This also applies to a vast region of Asia and the Pacific whose role in world affairs is steadily growing.

I. FOES OF THE MORATORIUM, ARGUMENTS, DOCTRINES AND ACTIONS

The overwhelming majority of people will stand to gain from a bilateral Soviet-US moratorium on nuclear tests, an overall ban on nuclear explosions, and eventual prohibition of nuclear weapons. But, unfortunately, there are influential forces, even if not numerous, but with vast potential and huge funds, who do not want to do away with the nuclear arms race once and for all. This primarily applies to the military-industrial complex (MIC) of the US, its closest allies, other Western countries, and Japan.

This position is nothing new. Let's recall a little of history. When the USSR imposed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests for about six months in 1958, the US leaders had also called it "propaganda", a "perfidious plan" designed to handicap the West. While making these allegations, the US military-political quarters were developing and testing new types of nuclear weapons with unprecedented zeal. The Pentagon staged more than 50 explosions pending the Soviet moratorium. When the USSR proposed a temporary or permanent test ban, the US spoke about "lack of confidence", "verification difficulties", and "asymmetrical" structure of the armed forces. Washington was telling the public: good or bad, the US and its allies had based their military strategy on nuclear

weapons, and therefore, they were obliged to modernise them and keep them combat ready.

In brief, now the US is re-staging the show first enacted almost thirty years ago. Certain Western circles seem to have learnt nothing since then. They don't even exert to think if it is worth making the same mistakes and cling to the same illusions. The tests of the late 1950s-early 1960s triggered off nuclear rivalry under water, pushed the missile race to its present level, and paved the way to the development of many other weapons systems which have made peace on Earth so fragile. In other words, these actions made the people of the whole world insecure, having added nothing to the security of the United States. Moreover, the US became even more vulnerable to nuclear retaliation.

The MIC, which has brought the world to the brink of self-destruction, represents a net of arms-making corporations and laboratories, military agencies, and their patrons in the White House, Congress and media. Industrialists, generals and legislators are linked by mutual protection. Their alliance is that of the dollar, bomb, and power.

This emotional definition is nevertheless quite objective, and confirmed by facts. In the last three years, for instance, 2,240 high-ranking officials of the US Department of Defence found good jobs in arms-making firms. This points to the strong causal connection between those who advance new neo-globalist man-hating doctrines, and those who facilitate their implementation by producing ever new types of deadly weapons.

A deeper analysis shows that the bulk of officials who carry much weight not only in the Pentagon, but also in the White House, have close links with arms-making business. Even the US press repeatedly wrote that Caspar Weinberger, George Shultz and John Lehman maintain

close contacts with such major military concerns as Northrop Corporation, Lockheed, General Dynamics and Rockwell International. Incidentally, most of these concerns are based in California where many influential Americans started their political career.

The main aim for the US MIC in the 1980s, the arms-imbued decade, as christened by the US weekly *Time*, is the build-up of the American nuclear triad: strategic aviation, atomic submarine fleet and ICBMs. On a par with it, the development of space strike weapons proceeds at a rapid pace. These grandiose plans are to be carried out by 100 major contractors of the Pentagon, who have surrounded themselves with over 31,000 permanent sub-contractors—firms, universities, laboratories, and military-strategic centres. But even this is not enough for the Pentagon. It is doing much to establish cooperation with arms-makers from Britain, West Germany, Japan, and many other countries.

It would be no exaggeration to say that one of the major factors prompting the US to ignore calls for peace and constructive proposals is the desire of the MIC to reap super-profits on arms-making business. Paradoxically as it might seem, but in drawing foreign-policy and military doctrines, men in Washington ignore the interests of their own compatriots, and of hundreds of millions of people in other countries. They give priority to the opposite, self-seeking interests of the military tycoons.

In the meantime, these interests keep growing on a par with incomes. In the early 1980s the profits of arms-making firms in the US were more than 70 per cent higher than those of the companies producing durables per dollar of sales. This gap is widening more and more rapidly. In 1984 the profits of just 10 military firms working for the Pentagon surpassed 3.6 billion

dollars. It is easy to see what fantastic profits they will get, considering that the SDI programme is estimated by experts to cost more than one trillion dollars.

Huge profits and dividends of the MIC are one of the reasons why the US does not want to heed the voice of reason, to join the Soviet moratorium and begin talks on destroying all types of weapons of mass destruction. The highest echelons of the White House also have a "reason" for a new escalation of the arms race. Washington's position is quite simple: making a stake on military superiority over the USSR to talk with it from the positions of strength, to enhance its influence in the world arena by means of the policy of strength, to nip in the bud the efforts of the young national states to gain economic independence and embark on the road of social progress. Such policy is nothing new. Washington also staked on force in the past, resorted to dictate and blackmail in settling international problems, and carried out neo-globalist actions of brigandage. But the current doctrines are especially dangerous because for their implementation the US is planning to use unprecedented military means.

It is no secret for anyone that tests in Nevada are being staged to upgrade the old and develop fundamentally new weapons, specifically pop-up X-ray laser for deployment in space. Star Wars preparations are carried out on an unparalleled scale. According to *The Washington Post*, from 500 to 1,000 nuclear tests will be required for a space-based laser. Washington prefers to keep mum about the precise number of nuclear warheads in the US arsenal (according to the *Fortune*, this number equals 11,000) and about the plans to produce another 21,000 by 1995. The Pentagon is planning to produce and deploy 100 new *MX* missiles, more than 20 *Trident* submarines, as well as 100 bombers and missiles for the Star Wars programme by

the beginning of the 1990s. By the middle of 1990s the US will have produced another 28,600 nuclear warheads although the already existing ones can destroy the entire globe dozens of times.

But the numbers are not the whole problem. Even more important are the entirely new qualitative parameters of third-generation weapons. Take the American cruise missile, for one. It reminds one of a torpedo with tiny wings. Experts emphasise that its technology will enter a new era after "invisible models" capable of evading radars are adopted. According to US specialists, even a "small" cruise missile may lead to a disaster in arms control. They think it will be next to impossible to verify an agreement limiting cruise missiles either with reconnaissance satellites or with any other means. It is very easy to hide such systems. And, moreover, a missile stuffed with conventional explosive cannot be told from a nuclear-tipped one. Dozens of similar examples could be cited.

It is abundantly clear that at present the US Administration is not ready to stop nuclear tests. While Soviet nuclear proving-grounds are quiet, the US is staging one test after another in Nevada. Most of its tests are top-secret. Washington is about to destroy the agreements on limiting nuclear missiles with the USSR, such as the SALT-2 Treaty. Apart from invisible cruise missiles, *MX*, and *F-18* superplanes, the US is producing or developing new types of weapons, such as the *Stealth* bomber, and getting ready for use of ever new types of weapons of mass destruction, such as neutron and chemical arms.

Washington cites most different arguments to justify its sinister militaristic preparations before the world public. It keeps harping on the difficulties of verification. It claims that the USSR is ahead of the US in the number of nuclear tests and it is necessary to catch up

with it, and that Soviet nuclear-missile systems are simpler and do not require such a thorough testing. The SDI programme, which causes the biggest alarm and protests all over the world, is literally shrouded in a propaganda veil. First, the US claimed that this programme is non-nuclear and will make nuclear weapons "impotent" and "redundant". Now its advocates allege that nuclear-induced X-ray lasers are not so dangerous because they form just one of the many components of space-based weaponry.

All these arguments collapse like a house of cards when critically examined. Now even people not versed in military matters know the worth of arguments about verification difficulties. Representatives of US and other Western biggest news and television agencies saw it for themselves when visiting the Soviet nuclear proving grounds at Semipalatinsk. The argument that the US must "catch up with the Soviets" is equally false. It is refuted by competent and objective data. According to independent *SIPRI*, the US staged 470 underground explosions as compared with 399 by the USSR from 1963, when the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in three media entered in force, to the end of 1985. Sixteen British explosions should be added to this number because they have been staged in Nevada since 1963 as well, and all information obtained during such tests is used by the Pentagon.

The argument that Soviet nuclear missiles are simpler, and the electronic systems of their warheads more primitive does not hold water, either. Soviet leaders and military experts have repeatedly stated that if the US doubts the reliability of its nuclear arsenal, they are ready to share with the US the "secrets" of checking the condition of weapons without tests if it stops them.

The false assertions about the safety of SDI, and its all but non-nuclear character deserve special mention.

Those who make them thoroughly conceal from the American and world public the fact that the Star Wars programme provides for the development of not only a space-based X-ray laser, but also of a number of third-generation nuclear devices which can be used in strike weapons. According to the US press, the latter include nuclear explosive devices which create a directed flow of a big number of kill elements (flying at a supersonic speed, and having a high kinetic energy, they can hit different targets); nuclear devices which create a directed high-energy electromagnetic pulse during explosion (their function is to knock out radioelectronic, radiocommunication, computer and other equipment, to blind enemy early warning systems for dealing a surprise attack and preventing or weakening retaliation against US territory); nuclear devices generating directed beams of high-energy particles (electrons, protons, and neutral atoms); nuclear devices which are detonated to pump gamma and high-energy lasers working in an optical wave-band (they hit different targets like X-ray lasers).

I would like to stress once again that it is the desire of the Reagan Administration to implement the programme for the development of third-generation weapons for Star Wars at whatever the cost that primarily explains its stubborn reluctance to join the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. Quite a few facts point to Washington's commitment to the doctrine of a "sustained nuclear war". Here's one of the most striking: Not long ago, the US military leaders adopted a directive for bringing nuclear mobilisation reserves to a 60-day level in the near future. In other words, the Pentagon wants to have enough nuclear weapons for at least two months if they are actively used.

Meanwhile, the grim realities of the nuclear-

and-space age show that the arms race is gaining in speed despite enormous stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons. But this is not the main danger. In his televised address on August 18, 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev said: "It is important to stress that the pace of the development of military technology is so high that it leaves less and less time for people, states and politicians to become aware of the real danger, and limits mankind's possibilities for stopping the slide towards the nuclear abyss. No delay can be allowed, or else such sophisticated weapon systems will emerge that agreement on their control will become altogether impossible".

Such a course of developments is dangerous not only for the USSR and the US although they seem to be the chief participants in nuclear-missile confrontation. It is no less dangerous to all mankind, to all regions, whether big or small, close to the centre of world politics or removed from it. This fully applies to Asia and the Pacific, a gigantic conglomerate of nations and states, inhabited by about two-thirds of the world's population, a region with enormous cultural and material values and rich natural resources.

II. NUCLEAR THREAT TO ASIA

At 2.45 a.m. on August 6 American *B-29* bomber Number 82 headed for Hiroshima. In the American Army of the time of the Second World War such bombers were called *Superfortresses*, while the crew of the aforesaid aircraft named it *Enola Gay* after the mother of the crew commander, Air-Force Colonel Tibbets. The bomber was carrying a uranium bomb nicknamed *Little Boy*.

The automatic release system was switched on at 8 hours 14 minutes 15 seconds, and the *Little Boy* went downwards. The peaceful sun shone over Hiroshima for another 47 seconds. The townspeople were engaged in their daily morning chores up till the moment at which a noiseless flash turned their city into hot ashes, dust and debris.

The bombing of Hiroshima was of no military importance. It was an act of political blackmail. The idea behind it was to use the equation "one bomb equals one city" for terrifying the world in order to dictate the US will to it. It is not mere chance that the Pentagon dropped the bomb onto a city lying in a river delta and surrounded by mountains from three sides. "Hiroshima" means a "wide island" in the Japanese language. The form and dimensions of this target perfectly suited the yield of the first atomic bomb.

So, it was in Asia that the first American A-bombs blasted, killing hundreds of thousands of people and turning the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki into ruins.

The first plans to use US nuclear arms in "regional conflicts" were linked exactly with Asia. US documents that were declassified later have shown that the Pentagon was seriously preparing to use them for changing the course of the war in Korea in 1953, for saving the French colonial troops, encircled at Dien Bien Phu, Vietnam, in 1954, and for pressurising China during the aggravation of the situation in the Formosa Strait in 1958.

It was in Asia and the Pacific area that the sinister effects of the nuclear arms race manifested themselves for the first time. A number of Japanese fishermen have suffered from the radioactive ashes of an American H-bomb exploded on Bikini Atoll.

Further, the states which have not joined the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, continue to conduct nuclear explosions exactly in Asia and the Pacific.

Today, more than four decades after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the situation in the world as a whole and the Asia-Pacific region in particular remains alarming. The US imperialist quarters have of late perceptibly intensified their attempts to turn the Asia-Pacific area into another arena of military-political confrontation with the USSR, other socialist countries and the national-liberation forces:

The American strategists' aim is to turn East Asia and the Pacific and Indian Oceans which wash it into an area for deployment of forward-based nuclear weapons, of the same kind as Western Europe and the Atlantic, adjacent to it, have already become. This is the motive

behind the US nuclear build-up and the establishment of new bases for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) in the area where a group of the US armed forces, the second largest abroad, has already been stationed.

For many years the Washington Administration has been building up its strategic offensive forces and general-purpose forces and carrying out its far-reaching militarist plans. It does not intend to make a stop. As before, the striving of the US ruling quarters for world domination, for a policy from the position of strength is abundantly clear. Even the rightist West German newspaper *Die Welt* writes: "Reagan's foreign policy is aimed at restoring the American influence in the world . . . To this end, the United States must fortify its armed forces". Such an authoritative person as Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, says this in no uncertain terms. He has stressed that the Pentagon is now only in the process of modernising its armed forces. In the Admiral's view which is shared by many influential figures in the current US Administration, America will be able to look confidently into the future if President Reagan's military programme is implemented in full.

So, some people in Washington view the future world as a kind of a giant weapons depot. They would like to see extension of the arms race to outer space and a sinister shadow of a nuclear holocaust. They do not want to take reality into account and continue policy-making on the basis of illusions and errors.

These illusions spell increasingly dangerous consequences. Illustrative of this are the reforms in the "defence" sphere which are now being effected in the USA. As was noted in President Reagan's Address, these reforms are aimed at enhancing the United States' military efficiency. Particular importance is attached to ensuring a free hand to the Pentagon and to minimising

control by the legislative bodies over its activities and budget.

This "free hand" results in the spending of ever more hundreds of billions of dollars on the arms race, on the new missiles, aircraft, submarines, tanks and guns. The details of the Administration's comprehensive plan to set up military infrastructure bound, in the view of American war experts, political scientists and mass media, to ensure a possibility of not only waging a nuclear war but also surviving in it, preserving the US forces and getting ready to carry out new military operations, have recently come into the open. At the same time, the Pentagon strategists are assuming, with striking cynicism, the right to unceremoniously manipulate the destinies of the American people and dozens of other sovereign nations, marking ever new vast areas on the map of possible "military operations".

Evidence of such neo-globalist approach are the feverish efforts which the Pentagon is making to enhance the combat capacity of the US Navy and to extend the sphere of its operation virtually to the whole world. The US Navy now comprises about 560 warships, compared with 450 in the mid-1970s. Under the current Administration, three more carrier groups and four battleship task forces have been added to it. It is planned to bring the number of the US warships to 600 by the year 1990. A special role in building up the naval might is attached to the deployment of the *Trident* nuclear-powered submarines. The American Admirals believe that this can change the strategic nuclear balance in favour of the USA.

Applauding the militarist preparations, *US News & World Report* noted that all across the area from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Sidra the US Navy now serves as striking evidence of new American might.

Of all Oceans, particular attention is given to the

Pacific. The aforesaid Admiral Crowe once exclaimed pathetically that it would be a catastrophe for Washington if it ever allowed the correlation of forces in the Pacific to deteriorate. Judging by all indications, certain political quarters in the USA, whose point of view is expressed by the Admiral, imagine the future of the Asia-Pacific region exclusively in the form of struggle of different countries. The actions taken by the United States lead to heightening of tension in the area.

The rapid build-up of the US nuclear potential is especially dangerous to the region. For instance, two powerful task forces of the US Navy participated in the recent manoeuvres staged by the USA and Japan in the Sea of Japan, in close proximity to the borders of the USSR, China and the DPRK. The so-called Romeo detachment, figuring among the basic elements of the US new naval strategy, forms part of one of such task forces. This detachment which, according to some data, will constantly ply the waters of the Pacific, is already armed with 70 cruise missiles with nuclear warheads. It is planned to equip 198 warships, among them missile-carrying cruisers, destroyers and submarines, with these missiles by the mid-90s. According to the data of the Tokyo Research Institute for Peace and Security, it is intended to station a total of 3,000 sea- and air-based cruise missiles in the Far East.

America's current policy in the Pacific clearly shows its intentions in the area. In April 1981, US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger declared in no uncertain terms that the United States had become an "insular state". Since many resources and valuable strategic minerals are thousands of miles away from the American coasts, it is necessary to boost the US military might, he said. This claim by the Pentagon chief is echoed by the statement which US Admiral Long made in an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* in

mid-1983. It has clearly shown that the United States is again laying emphasis on the importance of the Pacific after it got rid of the "Vietnam syndrome", i.e., has recovered from the heavy defeat. Military experts hold the view that the USA is now stronger militarily in Asia than ever since the end of the aggression in Vietnam. The six carrier groups forming part of the US 7th Fleet today have been greatly reinforced. They have received the new nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier *Carl Vinson*, submarines of the *Los Angeles* class, escort ships of the *Perry* class, nuclear-capable destroyers of the *Spruance* class, and the new ship *New Jersey*. The forces based in the Pacific have been replenished with four submarines of the *Ohio* class, armed with intercontinental missiles. The number of the American warplanes in the Pacific has increased from 240 to 300 and will further grow as a result of the deployment of two more squadrons of the *F-16* planes there. The proportion of the American aircraft in the region, classed as the newest ones, now stands at 70 per cent, compared with a mere 20 per cent in 1980.

Over the past year the Pentagon has increased the number of the new multi-purpose submarines of the *Los Angeles* class, operating in the Pacific, from 8 to 13. In June 1984, they began to be fitted out with the *Tomahawk* cruise missiles with nuclear warheads. The Reagan Administration plans to complete the formation of a squadron consisting of 10 nuclear-powered submarines of the *Ohio* type in the Pacific during the 1980s. Each of these giant submarines has the same displacement as an up-to-date surface cruiser and 24 launchers of the latest *Trident* ballistic missiles. All the above-said figures relate to the US Pacific Fleet alone.

Taking the Pentagon militarist preparations in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, it is clear that the sinister shadow of a nuclear threat is looming over this

vast area of the world. I do not mean only the nuclear weapons stationed aboard the surface ships, submarines and aircraft. The US land forces in South Korea have more than 1,000 units of nuclear weapons. The density of the deployment of nuclear weapons in that country exceeds four-fold the respective indicators in the NATO countries.

Furthermore, there are dozens of Pentagon naval and air-force bases located on the perimeter of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is very difficult to evaluate the number of nuclear charges at them because of the situation of utmost secrecy and the impossibility for the governments of the countries on whose territory these bases are situated to obtain at least minimal information on what is taking place at them, the types of weapons that are stored there, and whom they are targeted on. According to confirmed data, the Pentagon keeps huge depots of nuclear, neutron and chemical, mainly binary, weapons, in the Asia-Pacific area.

In recent time, the "nuclear accent" becomes ever more prevalent in all the US military exercises in Asia and the Pacific area. Suffice it to say that in the course of such large-scale war games as the above-said naval manoeuvres held by Japan and the USA in the Sea of Japan in close proximity to the Soviet borders, the *Rimpac-86* multinational manoeuvres, unprecedented in scale, which were staged near the Hawaii with the participation of 50 ships, over 200 airplanes and more than 50,000 Australian, British, Canadian, Japanese and US servicemen, as well as the *Cobra Gold-86* US-Thai exercise in the Gulf of Siam, special attention was paid to practising offensive operations with the use of nuclear weapons.

The plan of extending nuclear-missile confrontation to space poses a major threat to Asia. Washington is sparing no effort to involve as many states as possible in

its SDI programme. The Asia-Pacific region is not ignored in this respect either. US strategic ally Israel has become an official SDI participant in West Asia. The Japanese government has officially joined this programme. Reportedly, the US has exerted pressure on some other states to make them join the SDI.

In their bid to involve the Asian states in the Star Wars programme the Washington Administration and the Pentagon are trying to impress upon them and others that it guarantees nuclear security to Asia and the Pacific. They are laying special stress on the allegedly defensive aspect of SDI and trying to produce the impression that the gist of the matter lies in revising the military doctrine of the Pentagon which ostensibly now gives priority to defensive types of weapons, rather than offensive ones.

The facts prove that reality is totally different. The space weapons under development within the SDI programme are strike ones; Washington is not even making it a secret that they are designed to hit targets both in space and on Earth. Furthermore, the work which is being done overseas to develop fundamentally new types of weapons is accompanied by the beginning of the manufacture of improved types of ground-and sea-based ballistic missiles, strategic bombers and submarines, as well as other "by-products" of the Star Wars programme. And the attempts to spread SDI to the Asia-Pacific region are accompanied by beefing up the direct US military presence, including the strategic nuclear-missile triad, there.

The group of the US armed forces, which forms part of the Pacific Command (PACOM), consists of about a half-million servicemen, 200 ships and over 1,100 warplanes. Nuclear weapons are aboard the aircraft-carriers and submarines, and they are stationed on a permanent basis in South Korea, on Diego Garcia

island, and at the bases in the Philippines and Australia. A chain of American "strong points" stretches along the entire Pacific and Indian Ocean coast of Asia, from Guam island in the east to Oman in the west. As the news agencies report, the stations of the *Spacetrack* system, which are now being equipped on Kwajalein Atoll in Micronesia, in Japan, the Philippines and Australia, and on Diego Garcia island to control space strike weapons, will be added to this Pentagon's ramified nuclear-missile infrastructure.

The extension of the SDI to Asia and the Pacific and Indian Oceans leads to a dramatic growth of the war danger in the region which is now one of the most militarised zones of the world. The risk of direct involvement of the states in the area in a nuclear conflict increases because deployment of the American first-nuclear-strike potential on or near their territories would inevitably draw a sizeable part of the strike by the opposing side. All kinds of tragic accidents resultant from the growing computerisation of the process of military decision-making and simply from the increased concentration of deadly weapons in the region become ever more probable.

But the problem has another aspect which causes anxiety: implementation of SDI would result in extreme destabilisation of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region itself, aggravation of the existing "local conflicts" and emergence of new "trouble spots." The point is that in search of bases to carry through its militarist preparations Washington expands its cooperation with the expansionist, aggressive and repressive regimes. In this connection, particular attention is given to Israel and Pakistan. Along with South Korea, they account for the bulk of the sum of 15,000 million dollars which the Reagan Administration has earmarked in 1986 for "assistance" to foreign states. Israel and Pakistan—the

US partners in the region—are facing acute problems in their relations with the neighbours and seek to use their “special relations” with the USA to solve them. It is certainly not mere chance that the signing of the US-Israeli agreement on SDI in May 1986 was immediately followed by an outburst of Israel’s aggressiveness against the Arab states, the open sabre-rattling vis-a-vis Syria, and the statements by the Israeli leaders about a possibility of delivering strikes against the “Palestinian facilities” in Sudan and North Yemen. A similar situation is observed in the case of Pakistan. The March 1986 call at Karachi by a task force of the US 7th Fleet, including the *Enterprise* aircraft-carrier and a nuclear-powered submarine, was interpreted by the international community as a move to turn this Pakistani port into a permanent US naval base, as a new threat to use the nuclear strike against the peaceable states neighbouring on Pakistan. It is not surprising that back on the threshold of this visit Islamabad had dramatically hardened its line with regard to India. The US also officially invited Seoul to participate in the SDI. Though South Korea has not given a formal reply to this invitation so far, the Washington Administration is convinced that Seoul will eventually accept it. If this takes place, the situation on the Korean peninsula, tense as it is now through the fault of Washington and Seoul which ignore the DPRK’s peace proposals, will further deteriorate.

Another reason why the expansion of the Star Wars programme to the Asia-Pacific area is an extremely destabilising and dangerous factor is that it means not only US connivance at its strategic partners’ nuclear ambitions but also the fuelling of them. According to reports, Israel possesses its own nuclear weapons since the mid-1970s. Grave concern is caused in the world by the nuclear preparations of Pakistan which, according to



various sources, is very close to setting up a nuclear arsenal of its own or has already created it. IAEA holds the view that South Korea is a "threshold" near-nuclear state. That is why the implementation of the SDI makes for further proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is abundantly clear that the above-said US allies will get, in one way or another, access to at least some military technological innovations and will thereby reinforce their potential. This spells unpredictable consequences. The emergence on the world map of "minor nuclear powers", especially if they pursue a markedly aggressive policy vis-a-vis their neighbours and catalyse regional conflicts, may have most tragical effect on the course of developments in some specific area and in the entire world. Suffice it to recall in this connection the piratic attack of the Israeli air-force on the peaceful nuclear reactor in Iraq. If the USA was ready to use nuclear weapons dozens of times during the years of being in possession of them, one can imagine how many times the most aggressive partners of the USA will wish to push the button if they join the "nuclear club." And the list of the countries in possession of nuclear weapons may be extended in the context of the encouragement of them by the USA.

III. CAN ONE SURVIVE A NUCLEAR CONFLICT?

There is an opinion that a nuclear conflict should only worry the parties to it. They would destroy or harm each other badly, while other states, far less scathed, would be able to restore the natural and human resources and their economic potential. There is also a theory whose supporters seriously think that nuclear action or conflict is regionally confinable.

Alas, nuclear-age reality dashes these hopes. However complex, diverse and contradictory this world is, it now becomes ever more interdependent. Pre-nuclear thinking screeched to a halt on August 6, 1945, when the first nuclear bomb incinerated Hiroshima. "One can't ensure one's own security today without considering the security of other states and peoples," Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his statement on Soviet television on August 18, 1986. "There can be no real security unless it is equal and all-embracing. To think differently means to live in a world of illusions and self-deception."

Just several hours after the bombings, the world knew of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy. But its true scope became revealed only months and years after. Minor tragedies are on the record of nuclear tests, though, about which the world knew nothing for decades.

In 1955 Japanese fishermen suffered from the effects

of a nuclear blast on Bikini Atoll. Carefully kept secret by the Pentagon, the episode's details have only recently become known to the public.

Before the test, a cordon of ten US naval ships was put up 50 km east of Bikini. Based on a weather forecast, the planners had assumed that the explosion's mushroom-like cloud would float northwards. A sudden change of wind, however, sent it going east. Geigers began clicking on the ships. The combat alarm was sounded. Personnel took shelter in the holds. Automatic hoses for washing off radioactive dust began working.

But on Rongelap and Rongerik Atolls the "ashes of death" surprised both locals and the US servicemen. Two hundred and sixty-four people hit by a mysterious disease were sent to the military hospital at the Kwajalein island. All of them, just as many Japanese fishermen from the 856 ships that were fishing in the Marshall Islands area at the time, had become the victims of radiation sickness. For three decades these facts were kept a secret. And yet the tracks could not be completely covered. The entire world learnt about the fate of the *Fukuryu-maru* schooner. Though it was outside the off-limits zone, all of its 23 crew members had suffered from the "ashes of death." One of them died soon after.

This small excursion into the past was necessary. It shows what dangers confronted mankind even at the start of the nuclear era, when nuclear tests were dwarfs compared with today's "giants." Nuclear disaster has no boundaries, just as clouds, wind, the waters of rivers and oceans have no boundaries. Therefore, now that the mountains of nuclear arms have been built up in the world, when ever more sophisticated weapons systems, hardly amenable to and perpetually threatening to get out of man's control, are being developed the danger increases a thousand-fold. Two tragedies involving

nuclear-space era technology have occurred of late: the death of the *Challenger* crew in the United States and the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in the Soviet Union. They have re-accentuated the alarm. They came as a stern reminder that people are just beginning to master the fantastically powerful forces which they themselves have called forth and which they are only learning how to place in the service of progress. These events offer an object lesson of what will happen if nuclear weapons are put to use.

We must learn courageously to face the facts: experts have estimated that the explosion of the smallest nuclear charge equals three Chernobyls in radiation outburst. This means that the blast of even a fraction of the accumulated nuclear arsenal will already be irreparably catastrophic. And should someone resolve to strike first, he will condemn himself to a painful death—not even from retaliation, but from the aftermath of the explosion of his own warheads.

This isn't propaganda, nor a political or, let us say, a military-political improvisation, nor an exercise in whipping-up fears; it's a reality which it is irresponsible to deny and criminal not to reckon with.

The total yield of the world's currently stockpiled nuclear charges is estimated at 12,000 megatons of trotyl equivalent, which is a million times more than the yield of the atomic bomb that instantaneously erased Hiroshima from the face of the earth. Even a small portion of these nuclear explosives, if used in a conflict, will destroy hundreds of millions of people. And in vain are the calculations of those who hope to sit it out in underground bunkers or save themselves at a remote point of the planet. The studies by researchers in many countries for the last 3 to 4 years all indicate that the severe climatic and related ecological effects will leave nobody any chance for survival.

An International Institute of Environmental Protection and Development report on the subject of "nuclear winter" and the Third World suggests that in the event of a large-scale use of nuclear weapons about 40 million tons of dust and around 200 million tons of cinder will be thrown into the atmosphere, forming a blanket impenetrable for sunrays and, therefore, causing an abrupt fall—by 20-30 degrees Celsius—of temperature on the planet and leaving illumination at only about 1 per cent of the normal level. Multitudes of people—hundreds of millions—will die of food shortages, rather than from the direct effects of nuclear weapons.

The authors of the study reach these conclusions basing themselves on an analysis of the consequences of a nuclear war for agriculture and natural eco-systems and viewing the fact that after the conflict a number of countries will not be able to receive fertilisers, pesticides, food and farm machinery from abroad.

The report gives tentative estimates-prognostications of how a nuclear conflict will influence the position of individual countries. Here is for example, what it says about a possible aftermath for a number of states in the Asia-Pacific region:

Japan. This country is a large importer of grain, and its agricultural structure largely depends on the import of energy resources, the authors note. Food stocks will hardly last the population for a year, while the production of the staple farm product—rice—will completely stop because of climatic changes. With no energy resources and food imports, Japan very soon after the war will face a severe food crisis.

China. Even insignificant climatic changes will bring almost the whole of rice production to an end. Stocks to feed the population may be available only for the first

year, but, if food production fails to be restored in the second year, mass hunger is likely.

India. This country, being on a southern flank, notes the report, may experience noticeable climatic changes. If monsoons stop, mass hunger will inevitably follow. Food will not be accessible to the population even with packed storage facilities since climatic conditions will render the storage or transport of farm products impossible. There will be no sufficient energy resources to maintain farm production at the present level, and so the level of farm production will be hardly adequate for even an insignificant part of the population.

The data of the report are very schematic and tentative. They considerably underrate the true consequences of a nuclear conflict. For example, they fail to consider the following fact: a change of the temperature in the world's oceans by only one or two degrees, which is inevitable in nuclear disaster, will certainly produce typhoons, tsunamis and floods of unprecedented power, owing to which, by the most conservative estimate, hundreds of millions of people can die. Nor are many other factors taken into consideration. But even what is written down in the report illustrates quite well what a tragic fate awaits the survivors. There will unavoidably follow the mass hunger and dying out of initially surviving human enclaves.

Such consequences will arise in a nuclear-war scenario assuming that the total yield of exploded charges is about 100 megatons. Yet total yield of current world stockpiles is put at 12,000 megatons, that is, over a hundred times more. Nuclear stockpiles truly grow with cosmic speed. It is expected that if this process goes on at the same pace, their total yield may double by the end of this century.

So, those people who hope to survive after a nuclear

conflict, even when less than one-hundredth of the total yield of current nuclear stockpiles is used, are, mildly speaking, very great optimists.

And yet such opinions and such hopes do exist. Why? Apparently because, in the first place, the Western mass media, which in a number of cases also monopolise the Third World supply of information, are very anxious to get through the idea that a nuclear conflict would not necessarily mean the end of human civilisation. We witness a direct link between the survivability talk and the nuclear build-up by imperialist circles. Westerners often say that one dollar invested in propaganda yields a 400 per cent profit. This may be true, though the profits go into the coffers of arms manufacturers who are trying to blunt the public's concern through deception, misinformation and false "scientific" estimates. Honest researchers' and realistically thinking politicians' analysis again and again bears out the truth that mankind cannot survive a nuclear war. The doctrines of "minor nuclear conflicts" are an ugly chimera produced by the Western military-industrial complex.

Whose "social order" the apologists for Thermonuclear Moloch are fulfilling is not hard to understand. It is enough to recall that the top White House and Pentagon officials not so long ago put forth a doctrine of so-called "low-intensity conflicts." The architects of this new doctrine offer a "nuclear sword" to cut the Gordian knot of conflict situations and contradictions in the world. Worried by the growth of anti-American sentiments throughout the world, Washington is again waving its "nuclear stick" at the young states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is by no chance that any attempts by US allies or partners to rebel against the nuclear alternative of resolving disputes and conflicts, any autonomy, any pronouncements against nuclear weapons cause the ire

of the White House. And, conversely, imperialist states that develop or build up their nuclear potential get encouragement and support from it.

Thus, for example, Pentagon experts have of late spared no praise for the military policy of the British government, which consistently follows the path of militarising the country, with the emphasis on the sophistication of precisely nuclear arms. Washington has no objection whatsoever to France's continued nuclear tests in the Pacific region, and is trying to induce Japan to violate its non-nuclear principles. In fact, it now contemplates turning over a number of strategic functions of the US navy in the Indian and Pacific Oceans to its partners. By the way, this is already manifest in the increased activity of the British, Japanese, West German and French navies in these oceans.

Numerous facts and figures bespeak the quick modernisation by a number of Western states of their armed forces, especially naval, with the main emphasis on nuclear weapons. As Western mass media report, the French navy may complete the updating of its *Lieutenant* submarine by the end of 1986. This submarine, in the opinion of Western military experts, will be a weighty addition to French nuclear capability. It will be the second French submarine carrying missiles with multiple warheads, and its 96 warheads will equal a third of the whole French nuclear arsenal located on submarines. The new weapons will increase the range of French sea-based nuclear strike forces from 1,900 to 2,800 miles, enabling the French to reach more remote targets while being in comparatively safe international waters.

The Conservative government of Great Britain is also taking steps to expand its nuclear capability. Declaring that the British nuclear deterrent depends on West

Germany-based *Tornado* bomber-fighters with tactical nuclear weapons, and submarines of an allegedly obsolete type, the Tory government asserts that these weapons systems soon will prove unable to penetrate a strong and ramified defence and that this necessitates their qualitative as well as quantitative increase.

Such a course of events is what the warhawks have long been advocating. In particular, military consultant Eric Grove, who is close to government circles, notes that Britain and France need to start increasing their nuclear-missile power at once. By deploying about 500 individually targetable warheads each, which will increase their potential from 2.7 per cent of the West's submarine striking force to 26 per cent, says Eric Grove. Britain and France will be able to become the possessors of over a quarter of the most reliable Western second-strike nuclear capability.

In words Britain and France reject the idea of a possibility to win a nuclear war. They supposedly are exclusively preoccupied with defensive considerations. However, one finds intriguing the military-political phraseology with the help of which the advocates of a nuclear-missile build-up speak of their peaceful disposition. Our submarines will be able to destroy 50 million people in half an hour, stresses Director of the French Institute of Military Strategy Dominique David, adding that "we think this is enough to deter any opponent from aggression." Again a philosophy based on terror, on a nuclear-missile retribution, again the failure to grasp the military-political realities of the nuclear age, the need for new thinking! It is strange how such theoreticians remain blind to the fact that each action generates a counter-action, that their increased military potential inevitably makes the other side to take measures in response.

Britain's and France's updating of available and

intensified construction of new nuclear-missile systems is not limited to submarines or planes. Thus, the Paris *Le Monde* some time ago reported about French plans to build a nuclear aircraft-carrier. The French Defence Minister, Andre Giraud, according to *Le Monde*, approves of the carrier-building plan. Speaking in the National Assembly, he declared that the government would review its defence policy, as it was concerned that "our flag should be present and command respect on the sea."

The construction of the first French atomic-powered aircraft-carrier *Richelieu*, over which there has been a lot of debates in France, has already become a tangible reality. Moreover, the story apparently will not end with just one carrier. This type of armaments, stressed the Chief of the French war department, makes no sense unless one carrier is permanently out at sea. Consequently, two ships are needed which will cost the French taxpayer 20 billion francs. The planes to be placed aboard these ships will cost him another 30 billion dollars.

Such a development of events is dangerous by itself. It also directly affects the Asia-Pacific region because, as has repeatedly been stressed by both London and Paris, a significant portion of their military-political and economic interests is obviously concentrated in Asia with the adjoining Indian and Pacific Ocean basins. French and British armed forces are here on a permanent basis.

Britain is a member of a number of military-political unions and alliances operating in the region, in particular ASPAC, and regularly participates in large manoeuvres together with the USA and other Pacific countries. France continues its nuclear tests in the Pacific Ocean, ignoring the will of the Pacific and world public. Its naval forces, just as those of Britain,

are permanently stationed in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

All the aforesaid facts and figures give a clear idea of how great the nuclear threat to Asia is. Yes, at present the Asia-Pacific region so far remains not so militarised or saturated with nuclear weapons as, for example, Western Europe and the adjoining part of the Atlantic Ocean. But if events develop the way they do now, it is possible that the leadership in this sphere will eventually fall to Asia. About 3,000 nuclear warheads are to be found in the Pacific region alone. Moreover, only the warheads on submarines are under control, but neither the new US *Tomahawks*, nor the other cruise missiles are being controlled. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the USA has presently included an additional component in its military doctrine.

A leading Indonesian political scientist, S.P.F. Lukhulim, wrote at length about this new theory in his article *South Pacific: A Changing Face* in the Indonesian *Quarterly*, published by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. Lukhulim calls it a concept of "horizontal escalation." The main nucleus of this doctrine, according to him, is that the United States regards as a reliable deterrent the availability of a capacity to conduct war at different levels. In accordance with this concept, should a war break out in a part of the world where the USA is militarily not so strong, for example, in the Middle East, the United States, instead of conducting combat actions there, builds them up in the areas where it has military advantage—namely, in the Asia-Pacific region, specifically the North Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

The nuclear-missile arms race threatens the countries of the Asia-Pacific region not only directly, but also indirectly, leading to a whole series of "side", yet no less perilous, effects. Take, for example the SDI, the

Strategic Defence Initiative. American generals and politicians like to repeat that the SDI supposedly is an object of concern for the USSR and the USA only. Here it is not hard to notice the echoes of the theory of "two superpowers" which is being so assiduously propagated by the West. Using this doctrine, Washington and its partners are attempting to blunt the growing intensity of anti-war sentiments in the Third World, and get the emergent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America disengaged from the struggle against the arms race and space militarisation.

However, the real state of affairs shows that the Star Wars scheme directly affects the developing countries, including the Asian states. First of all, a new round of the arms race is being imposed on the young states under the banner of the SDI. US military experts say that Star Wars will require a fundamentally new kind of weapons. But where, one may ask, are the "outdated" (by the standards of the US war machine) conventional weapons, which, however, are still fit for their lethal purposes and far from becoming less expensive, to go? It is most unlikely that Washington, which views arms not only as an instrument of diktat, but also as a factor of gain, will take a decision on their elimination. Nor can there be any talk of the free provision of such weapons: in the world of business there is no room for philanthropy.

It is quite natural, therefore, that conventional arms, as the USA develops new weapons systems, will again be imposed on the same young states. This, undoubtedly, would become the cause of an abrupt spurt in the arms race. What appears to be especially dangerous is that binary and other types of weapons of mass destruction can in a very short time be assigned to the category of "obsolete" arms.

Worse, the developing countries in such a turn of

events will be forced to pay for the SDI programme to a large extent and can become an object of a strike from space. For in spite of all the talk about the "defensive" character of the SDI, everybody knows that the United States is forging a weapon of retribution that would enable it to deal strikes while being practically invulnerable. If, for example, quite a lot of resistance was put up to the US warhawks during their aggression against Libya, young states may prove powerless against space weaponry and so Washington will be in a position to vent its ire on the countries and peoples it does not like, with impunity.

In unfolding a new spiral of the arms race and, specifically, carrying out the Star Wars programme, the American side puts forth the same old arguments about the need to "ensure security" for the USA and the rest of the "free world" and about what it describes as the "engineering" of regional conflicts by the Soviet Union. It tries to link cardinal important solutions for the American and Soviet peoples and, indeed, for all mankind with the issues that while being significant by themselves, are nevertheless secondary in comparison with the problem of nuclear disarmament. Again the thesis is being advanced that the SDI is a mere "response" to the "aggressiveness" of Moscow.

But the world sees who is actually to blame for the aggravation of tension, who is pursuing an arch aggressive foreign-policy course. Of what "response" can there be any talk when the development of the SDI actually began, for example, long before the limited contingent of Soviet troops was sent into Afghanistan at the request of the lawful government of that country?

The theory that the SDI is an "instrument of security" can't be defended. Most leading military experts, including American, agree that in our time to build an impenetrable "space shield" and become invulnerable to

a retaliatory strike is practically impossible. These are dangerous illusions, which take away from mankind the last chance of achieving a real security—security without nuclear weapons. If the USA does not realise this truth, this will lead not only to a worsening of Soviet-American relations, but also to a fatally dangerous aggravation of the situation in the world, especially in regions where there are “flash points” and conflict situations, where no international legal or military agreements exist that would contain military confrontation and assure reliable security for all nations of the area.

One can only schematically conceive which way the development of events will go in the Asia-Pacific region if the USA does not abandon its dangerous course, if it fails to listen to the voice of reason and if it again rejects the Soviet peace proposals concerning a wide range of international security issues. Given this, the number of nuclear charges in the area can already double in the near future. Real, combat-like tests of various SDI systems will begin in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. One can expect that by 1995 the Pentagon will have in Asia two new aircraft-carrier task forces, dozens of atomic submarines with the latest missiles (along with the already available ones), and five squadrons of strategic fighter-bombers. The appearance of “small nuclear countries” is also possible. Ever new mountains of strategic missiles, depots of nuclear, neutron and chemical ammunition, balancing over a nuclear abyss—this is what Washington’s policy brings Asia and the world as a whole.

IV. IS THERE A WAY OUT?

"The main problem that has arisen before mankind today is that of survival," Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986. "This problem is equally acute and urgent for Europe, Africa, America and Asia. However, in each part of the world it looks different." If we look at the problem in the context of the developments in Asia and the Pacific, we shall see that the situation in that vast region is far from being perfect. I would like to say once again that though on the whole the Pacific is not militarised as much as Europe, the risk of its being militarised is quite great and the consequences of that eventuality may be extremely dangerous. A look at a map will suffice to prove this. Major nuclear powers are situated there. There are also big and well equipped land armies and powerful naval and air forces deployed there. Many countries in the region have a big enough scientific, technological and industrial potential to escalate the arms race to any proportions. The problem is compounded by the existence of conflicts in that part of the world. One should bear in mind that it was in Asia that American imperialism waged two major wars since 1945—in Korea and in Indochina. There has been an armed conflict in some parts of Asia and the Pacific almost each year throughout the past four decades.

For all its troubles, Europe has its Helsinki process of dialogue, negotiations and agreements. It creates some stability and reduces the risk of armed conflict. Asia and the Pacific have nothing or almost nothing of the kind. If anything has been changing there lately, the change has been for the worse. Unfortunately, militarisation and the threat of war in that part of the world are becoming an increasingly dangerous reality. The Pacific is gradually becoming an arena of confrontation. This is something that causes particular concern among the peoples living there.

Yet, we must not abandon ourselves to pessimism. In the present situation in the political, military and other fields it would be an unpardonable luxury to give up everything as lost and not to try to hold back the negative trends in the world as a whole and in individual regions. The Soviet Union and all progressive mankind are looking for a way out of the present situation. And we can say without false modesty that Moscow's contribution to the noble cause of strengthening peace in the world in general and in Asia and the Pacific in particular is quite substantial.

Mention should be made here, first of all, of the latest Soviet proposals addressed to the United States and the whole world. Special place among them is occupied by a programme for ensuring universal security through ridding the world of all weapons of mass destruction by the end of the century, which the Soviet Union put forward on January 15, 1986. Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15 statement, in which that programme was set forth, continued the peace offensive launched by the Soviet Union at the 27th Congress of its Communist Party. Among the global Soviet peace initiatives is the unilateral nuclear test moratorium, which the Soviet Union extended four times. As regards the Soviet position on the situation in Asia and the Pacific, it was

spelled out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok.

Various Soviet proposals concerning that region have one thing in common: it is concern for the future of the world and the desire to rid mankind from the threat of nuclear-missile catastrophe. I would like to repeat that they are addressed to the whole world and to the United States in particular. This is only natural. "There is no doubt that without the United States and its participation the problem of security and cooperation in the Pacific cannot be solved to the satisfaction of all countries concerned," Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok.

Take the Soviet moratorium, for example. The situation in the world, including Asia and the Pacific, would improve dramatically if the United States joined it. If the United States and other nuclear powers accepted the Soviet proposal and stopped nuclear weapon tests, the following guarantees would be created. First, the Pacific would be guaranteed against any nuclear test in the future. In the 1946-1958 period alone the United States carried out 66 atomic and hydrogen weapons tests in the South Pacific, and France conducted 79 nuclear tests there between 1975 and 1986. According to informed sources, the Pentagon is planning to test "nuclear elements" of its Star Wars programme at its missile testing grounds in Kwajalein.

Second, that would help prevent the development of new, sophisticated systems of weapons, including nuclear and space weapons and their deployment in Asia and the Pacific, where a vast nuclear arsenal of thousands of nuclear weapons has emerged.

Here are some of the dangerous aftermaths of the nuclear missile race for Asia that could be averted if the United States joined the Soviet moratorium.

Since the beginning of 1986 the US Air Force has

been adopting new heavy bombers, *B-1B*, each capable of carrying 22 cruise missiles or 38 nuclear-tipped surface-to-air guided missiles. The Pentagon is planning to build up to 300 *B-1B* bombers by 1989. A part of these bombers will be based in Guam.

In the end of 1986 the Pentagon will begin receiving new *ICBMs* called *MX*. By 1989 the United States is to deploy 100 *MX* missiles, each capable of carrying 10 *MIRVs* with 600-kiloton warheads. These missiles alone will increase the US nuclear missile potential by 1,000 warheads, each with a yield 30 times that of the American atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

In 1992 the US armed forces will begin to adopt a new *ICBM* called *Midgetman*. The Pentagon is planning to deploy nearly 1,000 *Midgetman* missiles with mobile and stationary modes of basing. The flight paths of *MX* and *Midgetman* missiles will be over the Pacific and some sources say that *ICBMs* of both kinds may be deployed in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

By the year 2000 the US Navy will have adopted at least 20 *Ohio* class submarines with *Trident-2* missiles aboard. Each submarine will have 24 *MIRV* each capable of carrying from 7 to 14 nuclear warheads. Thus, the United States will have between 3,360 and 6,700 new nuclear warheads on submarines alone and a large part of these submarines ply the waters of the two oceans washing the Asian shores. In the next decade Washington is to deploy a total of 17,000 nuclear warheads on all types of delivery vehicles. It is quite clear that a large part of these warheads will go to increase the Pentagon's already vast nuclear stockpiles in Asia and the Pacific.

All this would never come about, however, if the United States followed the Soviet example and banned nuclear tests.

Flexibly combining in its programme for the creation

of a comprehensive system of international security, global and regional issues, and realising that an improvement in the military and political situation in some region of our inter-dependent world will immediately bring about improvements in other regions and the world as a whole, the Soviet Union has put forward a series of concrete proposals on ways to ensure security in Asia. These proposals were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok. I would like to make special mention of the military and political implications of these proposals, because lately American political scientists and military experts have been speculating a lot about the need to "defend" the interests of the United States and its allies in Asia and the Pacific, about the Russians' growing "aggressiveness" in that region and about a Soviet military build-up there.

Who should Washington "defend itself" against in Asia and the Pacific? Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok that the Soviet Union threatened neither the United States nor its Asian allies. Long before Vladivostok the Soviet Union had put forward a series of constructive peace proposals of great importance for ensuring security to all states, including Asian. To back up its words with concrete deeds, the Soviet Union declared at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in June 1982 that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. It also pledged not to increase the number of its Asia-based medium-range nuclear missiles and suggested that the issue of Soviet medium-range missiles in the east of the USSR be negotiated along with the issue of American medium-range missiles in the Far East.

Those proposals were further elaborated and enlarged in Vladivostok. Thus, Moscow proposed negotiating scaling-down of naval activity in the Pacific,

especially of ships carrying nuclear weapons, seriously easing rivalry in anti-submarine weaponry, and concluding an agreement that would pledge the sides to refrain from anti-submarine activities in some regions of the Pacific. The Soviet Union proposed reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to limits of reasonable adequacy. In this context, Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok, the Soviet Union was prepared to discuss with China practical measures to bring about a balanced reduction in the size of ground forces.

The Soviet Union believes that there has long been a need to discuss practical confidence-building measures and non-use of force in the region, beginning with less difficult issues, such as security-building measures on sea lanes in the Pacific and prevention of international terrorism.

In Vladivostok the Soviet leader reiterated his country's commitment to the cause of making the Indian ocean a zone of peace and support for the proposals of a number of the region's countries that nuclear-weapon-free zones be created in Asia and the Pacific.

The Soviet Union continued its peace offensive at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik. The meeting in Iceland gave the leaders of the two countries a historic chance to reach agreement on a fundamental issue of international security—bringing about a substantial lowering of the level of military confrontation. That would open up opportunities to improve the situation in the world and in all its regions—Europe, Africa, America and Asia.

The world's public pinned big hopes on the continuation of Soviet-American dialogue. On the eve of the summit India's External Affairs Ministry distributed a statement of the six countries that signed

the Delhi Declaration (the Delhi Six). We welcome the Soviet Union's decision to extend its moratorium on nuclear explosions, the statement said. We are still convinced that the nuclear test moratorium will be the most effective first step towards ending the arms race and creating an atmosphere of trust.

The meeting in Reykjavik aroused great interest practically in all Asian capitals. Many countries, regardless of their different foreign policies, agreed that an agreement in the northernmost country of the world would make the political climate on our planet "warmer." Japan's Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari said that success of the Soviet-American talks would have a favourable effect on Japanese-Soviet relations. Dialogue in Reykjavik aroused enthusiasm and new hopes in India, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Vietnam. All countries linked success of the talks with chances for building up trust, easing military tension, putting out conflicts and re-routing a large portion of military expenditures to peaceful projects.

The constructive position taken by the Soviet side in Reykjavik, its flexibility and readiness for sensible compromise opened up good opportunities for signing mutually-acceptable agreements on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic "triad", on medium-range missiles in Europe in accordance with the US "zero option" plan and on missiles in Aisa. However, the American leaders' adamant insistence on the Strategic Defence Initiative, which aims, in effect, at giving the United States military superiority, wrecked chances for agreements that could become a turning-point in international relations and pave the way from confrontation to detente and cooperation.

This should not breed pessimism, however. Mankind is living through a dramatic period but it still has the

ability not only to ensure its own survival but also to learn to live in a new, civilised world, without the fear of war, a free world which will make everyone happy and ensure every human being the best possible conditions for his development. But for this, we must continue waging a vigorous struggle against our common foe—the threat of universal destruction. And to be able to wage this struggle we must maintain a sense of historical and social optimism.

In his statement on the results of the Soviet-American summit at a press conference in Reykjavik Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union was not going to “slam the door shut.” The Soviet leaders are prepared to continue efforts to clear the way to a nuclear-weapon-free world to enable all members of the international community, the present and the future generations, to live and work under a peaceful sky and in peaceful space.

“The time to act has come,” the Soviet leader said. “And we must not waste it. We shall not be idle. We shall not abandon our peace policy and our struggle to halt the arms race, ban and eliminate nuclear weapons and ward off the threat hanging over the world. And I am convinced that we are not alone in waging this struggle.”

It is a forceful statement. Not all questions of world politics are decided in the White House. We are witnessing the emergence of a new approach to the problem of war and peace. The world has reached a critical point in its development and more and more people are coming to realise this. People in different countries, with different ideological and political views, are coming to the conclusion that mankind can no longer live in the chaos of the arms race. The resolutions of the non-aligned summit meeting in Harare, which expressed the non-aligned countries’

determination to dismantle the war machine, bear this out. The Lima Manifesto, adopted by the 17th Congress of the Socialist International in late June of 1986, also confirms this. The participants in these two major international forums unambiguously called for an end to nuclear testing and non-militarisation of space.

One should regard in the same context progress in the area of banning chemical weapons and the signing in Vienna of a convention on nuclear power safety. More and more often Washington discovers that even its allies in military blocs do not support its policy on many issues.

The creation and activities of the Delhi Six group of nations also testify to the growing potential of the forces working towards peace and guided by common sense and goodwill. The Delhi Six brings together different countries situated on different continents. India, Argentina and Tanzania are non-aligned countries. Mexico participates in the non-aligned movement in observer capacity, Sweden is neutral and Greece is a member of NATO. Thus, the Delhi Six group represents not only millions of people but also a vast geographical region and a wide range of political views. It is, in effect, the forerunner of broad-based international coalitions committed to the cause of promoting world peace and eliminating the nuclear threat.

The vast region of Asia and the Pacific has not remained outside this movement for peace and disarmament. Anti-war, anti-militarist and anti-nuclear sentiments are steadily gaining strength there. Major peace proposals of Asian countries bear this out. Among them is the demand that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace and cooperation.

One of the signs of the growing interest of Pacific nations in lessening tension in the region is a treaty on a

nuclear weapon-free zone in the South Pacific, which was endorsed last August by the 17th session of the South Pacific Forum, a regional political and economic organisation grouping 13 states and self-governing territories in the South Pacific. Needless to say that a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific will be a major contribution to the efforts to create a security system in Asia and the Pacific. It will serve to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and generally help solve the problem of cleansing the world of them.

The movement to prevent a nuclear war and create nuclear weapon-free zones is gaining ground in ever new parts of the world, including Asia and the Pacific. Thus, North Korea has proposed making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The countries of Indochina and a number of member-countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) favour the creation of a non-nuclear zone in South East Asia. The US efforts to turn ASEAN, a peaceful regional organisation, into a military alliance meets with growing resistance in the ASEAN countries. No wonder US Secretary of State George Shultz's 10-day tour of Asian and Pacific nations in July 1986 was a failure. Rejecting the American arguments in favour of US military expansion in the south east and other regions of Asia, the ASEAN countries declared their commitment to peace and said that they would continue to work towards making South East Asia a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

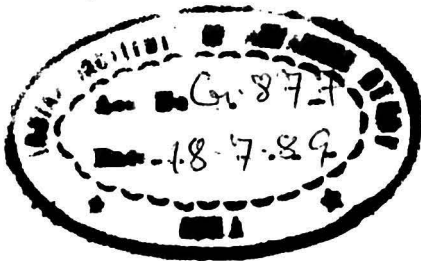
Mention should be made of China's position on the treaty on a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific. "We support the South Pacific nations in their just struggle to eliminate the nuclear threat and create a nuclear-weapon-free zone," a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said on August 12, 1985. He noted that the Chinese government would study the treaty and other

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questions related to the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Thus, the world has built a vast potential for peace in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for universal security. There are also concrete methods by which this struggle can be further waged. The most important of them are the Soviet nuclear test moratorium and the package of far-reaching Soviet initiatives aimed at ridding the world of all nuclear weapons.

Now it is more important than ever before that the world's potential of common sense and cooperation be mobilised to prevent the world from sliding down to the nuclear catastrophe. And there is ample reason to believe that Asia and the Pacific will play a growing role in the development of these favourable trends in the world.



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