

Alexander Portnyagin

DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT



ALLIED PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED
NEW DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS BANGALORE
HYDERABAD AHMEDABAD LUCKNOW

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Prarthna Flats (1st Floor), Navrangpura, Ahmedabad 380009

15 J.N. Heredia Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038

3-5-1129 Kachiguda Cross Road, Hyderabad 500027

Patiala House, 16A Ashok Marg, Lucknow 226001

5th Main Road, Gandhinagar, Bangalore 560009

17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 700072

13/14 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 110002

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I. INTRODUCTION

“Armament instead of Development”—this principle imposed by militarism, should be reversed by “Disarmament for Development.” This Soviet stand was set out in a memorandum “International Economic Security—An Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations” sent to the UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar.

More and more people in the world realize that thousands of threads link, directly or indirectly, the arms race and development. And this link has the most ruinous effect on the socio-economic development of the newly-freed states, undermining their political independence.

Yet there are also people, even in the developing countries, who believe—either through their own misconception or under the influence of the harmful doctrines of Western ideologists—that the imperialist-launched arms race, just as the danger of an impending thermonuclear catastrophe, is limited in its range and, therefore, concerns only the peace-loving people of industrially developed states. These people believe that their main task is to focus exclusively on the struggle to save their people from hunger and epidemics, thus keeping clear of the worldwide movement against nuclear and conventional arms race,

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for relaxation of international tension and disarmament.

Life itself rejects such an attitude. The stand taken by the leaders of over 100 non-aligned states is evidence of this. In their Harare appeal, they declared that never before had mankind been so close to self-destruction. This makes the struggle for peace and for the prevention of nuclear war the main task of our time.

The Harare summit once again demonstrated that the arms race is directly responsible for the continued backwardness of the developing countries, and that a halt to the arms race could lead to the acceleration of the process of development in the non-aligned countries. It demonstrated the growing realisation in the newly-independent states that the urgent problems of development can only be solved if the arms race is curbed and international climate made healthier.

II. ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND ELIMINATING POVERTY

Today mankind faces a qualitatively new spiral of arms race, far more dangerous than ever before in the past: the nuclear-missile race is being extended to outer space.

This race not only heightens the danger of a thermonuclear war, but also threatens to bring about in its wake irreversible harmful effects on the course of development of nations and peoples.

We are already witnessing the appearance of such irreversible effects. Take, for example, the problem of poverty. In the Asian-Pacific states alone, according to the data of the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 518 million people live in abject poverty.

Hunger, which is a real scourge for a significant part of the world population, annually carries off hundreds of thousands of lives. At present, over 400 million people in the developing countries are undernourished and 50 million die of hunger every year. Infant mortality in these countries is 20 times higher and the average life expectancy is 20 years lower than that in the economically developed states. Death from starvation threatens 100 million children in the developing countries. Hunger, disease and poverty annually carry off over 14 million children in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

An ominous consequence of the continuing arms race is the alarming growth in epidemic and other diseases which are hard to combat due to the lack of required material and human resources. According to the data of the World Health Organisation (WHO), by the start of the eighties, 25,000 people were annually dying in the world for want of medical facilities. Shortages of cheap vaccines, pure water and food cause daily the death of over 40,000 children. In the Asian, African and Latin American countries, 1.5 billion people do not receive any medical assistance at all. According to the data of the UN Fund for Population Activities, more than a hundred out of every thousand newborns in 49 developing countries die at an early stage. The UN forecast for the coming years is alarming. In particular, 67 developing countries will not be able to bring down infant mortality rate by the year 2000 to 50 for 1,000 unless rapid progress is made in public health services.

It is a tragedy that children happen to be the worst sufferers in the areas of combat actions. The death of parents, the bombings of cities and villages and the atmosphere of violence and fear inflict serious trauma on the psyche of children. Combat actions kill far more children than do epidemics. In 1982, during the Israeli army's invasion of Lebanon, of all the civilians hospitalised at the Barbir medical centre, 19.3 per cent were children under the age of 15. Children also form a sizeable majority of the world's illiterates. Of the 800 million illiterates in the developing countries today, about 30 per cent are children.

One of the irreversible effects of the militaristic course on the economic development is the impairment of the natural human environment: pollution of the air, water and soil by health-hazardous wastes exerts a negative influence not only on the living conditions of the present generation, but on the health of the future

generations as well. It goes without saying that the rapacious use of natural resources by transnational corporations could not be halted without bringing about an end to the arms race.

How much money is needed to cope with the urgent needs of the third world? one might ask. How soon will it be possible to solve at least the most urgent problems? Obviously, an early solution of all the socio-economic as well as ecological problems in the developing countries would involve enormous amounts and also a long time.

Only a new international economic order could put an end to the economic backwardness of the developing countries and solve the problems of hunger and illiteracy. However, emergency steps could already be taken to save the children dying of hunger and to render assistance to mothers.

It has been estimated that at least three billion dollars would be required to speed up agricultural growth in the developing countries and make them self-sufficient in food. It would take another three billion dollars annually to build water purification systems, desalinators, pipelines and other structures necessary to give the world population drinking water at least until 1990. Another one billion dollars would be needed to combat infectitious diseases and provide medical facilities.

According to WHO estimates, over one billion people in 66 developing countries live in malaria-infested areas. At the same time, the malaria-eradication programme of the WHO is marking time due to want of adequate funds to the tune of 450 million dollars. The cost of urgent aid steps capable of producing an immediate effect and saving millions of human lives is put at about 14 billion dollars, which is less than 1.4 per cent of the world's yearly arms spending of 1,000 billion dollars. And to

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end hunger by the year 2000, one-fifth of the world's military expenditure would be enough.

This is not much if we compare the cost of some types of weaponry with the output of civilian industry. For instance, an XM tank at the start of the '80s cost 1.5 million dollars (now the cost is much higher). The cost of one tank is sufficient to provide wheat to feed 50,000 people for a whole year. The USA is spending 24 million dollars every hour for making lethal weapons. This amount could save 700,000 people from starvation deaths within one year. A B-1 strategic bomber costs 190 million dollars while a tonne of wheat about 200 dollars. And an MX missile (100 such weapons are to be adopted by the US armed forces) costs three times as much as a B-1 bomber. The price of an aircraft carrier exceeds 2 billion dollars.

However, the developing countries' problems are not only hunger, illiteracy and lack of medical assistance. Take, for example, their housing problem, which, incidentally, is also acute in the developed countries of the west. Today over 800 million people live in slums, under insanitary conditions, or have no shelter at all. Even on the eve of the '80s, WHO experts calculated that the money needed for clearing slums, combating illiteracy and providing school facilities for all children would come to 25 per cent of the world's total military expenditure.

The increasing involvement of the developing countries in the arms race negatively affects the progress of these countries and worsens their economic difficulties. Already, there are over 455 million unemployed people in the developing countries, according to ILO statistics. All these facts show that the deplorable socio-economic conditions in many developing countries are directly linked with the arms race. And the number of their problems is increasing as

the arms race is continuing. The organic relationship between an urgent solution of third-world problems and the questions of disarmament calls for the immediate curbing of the arms race and the diversion of part of the funds thus saved for the elimination of poverty, disease and illiteracy.

III. COST OF KILLER WEAPONS

The arms race, which continues because of the imperialist policies, is spreading to more and more parts of the world, and does irreparable damage to national economies. It is a drain on man-power and natural resources. Vast resources are diverted from the civilian sector to the military sector, to be spent on arms manufacture, on developing new types of weapon systems and on arms-related research.

Today, the world uses already one trillion dollars for military purposes annually, with 80 per cent being spent on conventional arms. In 1950—at the height of the cold war—global arms spending totalled 24 billion dollars. The World's expenditure on military R & D alone in 1984 came to 70-80 billion dollars. In 1985, military R & D absorbed almost one-fourth of all R & D funding. Military needs are met by major research establishments and laboratories employing highly talented scientists and engineers.

The overall numerical strength of regular armed forces in all countries has now reached some 25 million, in addition to 50 to 100 million working for the army, directly or indirectly. In the late '70s, developing nations accounted for 40 per cent of the total strength of the armed forces.

Continued improvement of weapons systems leads,

among other things, to higher production and training costs. According to US estimates, in the early '80s 47 major arms programmes alone cost 310 billion dollars. The cost of warships of the entire world (in terms of constant prices) doubled between 1960 and 1970, and in 1976 increased by 30 per cent as against that in 1970. The cost of a jet fighter (with inflation taken into account) doubles every 4-5 years, while the cost of training a pilot for the interceptor-fighter Mirage III in the first half of the '70s was just a little less than a million dollar.

The world's biggest arms spender is the US, which accounts for over one-third of global military expenditure. Statistical evidence puts the blame for the spiralling arms race squarely on the US Administration. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute says that during President Reagan's first term of office (1980-84) the world's arms spending increased by 3.5 per cent a year, compared with 2.5 per cent in the four preceding years, while in the US it has been galloping since 1980 at an annual rate of 8.5 per cent. Besides, Washington's militaristic plans seek a further increase of 40 per cent in defence appropriations between 1985 and 1989, that is, during President Reagan's second term in the White House. In the 1975-83 period, annual per capita arms spending in the US rose from 597 to 794 dollars (in terms of 1980 prices).

The US Administration allocates colossal funds for development of new types of weapons of mass destruction. The American newspaper *Boston Globe* says that in 1980 only ten cents of every dollar spent on arms in the US were used to buy nuclear and strategic weapons, whereas the respective figure for 1985 was 18 cents and this is expected to go up to 25 cents in two years' time.

The American tax-payer knows very little about the Pentagon's contracts for the military-industrial complex to develop military technology. According to *Washington Post*, the American people have been kept in the dark about the construction of 50 *Lockheed* fighter-bombers worth 40 to 50 million dollars each, about a new 7-billion-dollar General Dynamics programme to develop cruise missiles, and about Northrop's *Stealth bomber* which is the costliest one of its kind.

Some US estimates put the cost of the *Stealth* project at 80 billion dollars. R & D aside, each *Stealth* will cost 540 million dollars. The American magazine *Aviation Week and Space Technology* says that about 150 weapons systems, including 19 warplanes and 17 strategic missiles, are now in different stages of development, manufacture or modernisation.

What is without precedent in the history of the arms race is the programme to deploy strike weapons in space, known as the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) or Star Wars, the most immoral undertaking at a time when tens of millions are dying from starvation. The Pentagon's annual report reveals that the Star Wars project received 1,397 million dollars in fiscal 1985 and 3,722 million in 1986 and the projected figure for fiscal 1987 is 4,908 million dollars. Experts estimate that 770 billion dollars will have to be spent within ten years if SDI is to come anywhere near being technically effective. This sum is more than double the Pentagon's present annual budget. And the entire project will require an estimated one to three trillion dollars!

The roots of militarism lie deep in the economies of leading imperialist nations. In the US, for instance, 25,000 contracting firms and nearly 100,000 subcontractors are working for the Pentagon. Significantly, profits in the war industries, guaranteed as

they are by the government, are normally far higher than those in the civilian sector.

The NATO allies of the US are not far behind. Among the European NATO members, West Germany boasts the biggest war industry, with its arms spending at DM 22,600 million in 1970 and 48,700 million in 1980. In 1985, it was expected to exceed DM 100 billion. As in the US, the lion's share of defence contracts in West Germany goes to a limited number of companies making up the hard core of the military-industrial complex. In 1981, thirty major arms manufactures with an annual turnover of more than DM 100 million were fulfilling 52 per cent of all defence contracts, and ten of them carried out 37 per cent of all defence contracts.

The picture is much the same in Britain, where the bulk of defence contracts are awarded to 30-40 companies, which means that concentration of arms production in that country is even greater than that in the US.

The arms race, spurred on as it is by the imperialists, has long since spread beyond a few industrialised nations. The steadily growing arms exports of the major capitalist countries, the US first and foremost, help promote the involvement of Third-World nations in the process of militarisation. The US is the biggest death merchant of the capitalist world, and its arms exports are constantly on the increase. Between 1950 and 1980, these totalled 120 billion dollars, while in the first years of the Reagan Presidency these amounted to 25 billion dollars, besides 3 billion dollars involved in deals clinched by private US companies. The *Aviation Week and Space Technology* says that during Reagan's first term of office the US accounted for 27.4 per cent of the 104,300 million dollars worth of world arms sales. The sheer scale of its arms supplies is borne out by the fact

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that American shipments of the deadly cargo go to 130 countries.

The United States is exporting all types of weaponry it produces and mostly the latest models, with the exception of advanced strategic systems and nuclear arms.

Today no one in the West can possibly conceal the principal driving force behind the arms race in the developing world. It is the policy of imperialism designed to keep Asian, African and Latin American countries within the ambit of its economic and political domination by every conceivable means, including direct and indirect use of force and efforts to block revolutionary processes in the Third World. At the same time, conflicts and instability compel some developing countries to strengthen their armed forces in order to be able to defend their gains. Also fuelling the arms race in liberated countries is the desire of Western governments to have pro-imperialist anti-popular forces carry out on a large scale armed action against national-liberation and revolutionary movements.

The Third World's growing involvement in the arms race has caused the nations which are militarily stronger to form groups now seen as regional power centres. In the late '70s, for example, 13 developing countries accounted for 70 per cent of Third World arms spending and 20 for more than 75 per cent of its overall troop strength.

The situation in the Middle East demonstrates that heavy concentration of weaponry in any particular region is brought about by imperialist policies. In a bid to achieve their self-serving aims, the imperialist nations, above all, the US, are working to bolster their positions in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and the conterminous regions of Africa—primarily by flooding them with armaments. In the early '80s, the countries of

these regions accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of Third World arms spending.

The figures we have presented is far from complete, and concern mostly conventional arms. Yet they clearly show that the unprecedented arms race started by the imperialists in terms of nuclear and other weapons is the greatest crime committed against mankind.

IV. MILITARISATION AND THIRD-WORLD DEBT

The efforts of developing nations for a new international economic order are fiercely resisted by imperialism which is bent on frustrating or, at least, delaying their economic emancipation. Imposing the arms race upon emergent states is a major objective followed by imperialism.

Progressive individuals and organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America increasingly realize the great danger posed by militarization, regionally and globally. They see that the solution of the issues they had inherited from colonialism largely depends on whether or not the world will succeed in halting the arms race and in starting the process of disarmament, because channelling development resources into military expenditures hinders the economic growth of newly-freed countries and also threatens to aggravate old social and economic problems and create new ones.

Operating through multinational corporations, foreign capital is inflicting increasing economic losses on developing countries. In March 1983, the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit stated that between 1970 and 1980 the influx of direct foreign investment in the countries of the Third World totalled 62.6 billion dollars, while the outflow of funds in dividends and interest amounted to 139.7 billion dollars. This means

that the multinationals received 2.2 dollars in return for every dollar invested, the corresponding figure for the US-based transnationals being 4.25 dollars.

According to the UN centre on transnational corporations, between 1980 and 1983 direct foreign investments in Africa totalled 5.5 billion dollars, while 22 billion dollars were withdrawn from the region. A similar picture also holds true of Asia and Latin America. The *Asian Wall Street Journal* reported that many countries of South-East Asia were experiencing great difficulties in repayment of debts. For instance, Thailand borrowed 500 million dollars from four multinationals in the United States, Japan and Britain for debt-servicing in 1983-84. The newspaper said the loan was a trap because its terms were tougher than the terms of the previous loans which were to be repaid with its aid.

This financial burden of most of the developing countries is due to the fact that they are exposed to neo-colonialist exploitation within the world capitalist economy. Neo-colonialism is rooted in developing states' dependence on the former metropolitan countries which supply them nearly all machinery and technology they need and two-thirds of their import of foodstuffs and which consume three-quarters of their exports. Since the multinationals direct the distribution network (storage facilities, tonnage, insurance, finance, communications, etc.), they are able to control 70-95 per cent of the states of 19 major export commodities of the Third World. Multinationals handle the exports of the emergent states in the following proportions: phosphates and sugar, 50-60 per cent; rice, bananas, rubber, tin and oil, 70-75 per cent; bauxite, tea, and copper, 80-95 per cent; coffee, cocoa, pine apples, tropical timber, cotton, tobacco and jute, 85-90 per cent; and iron ore, 90-95 per cent. All this enables the gigantic

corporations to apply restrictive business practices to producers, consumers and competitors, particularly to oust them from markets and enforce monopoly prices on their clients.

Multinational banks have now elbowed out transnational corporations as the main exploiter of the developing nations. The outflow of money from the poor "South" to the rich "North" is steadily increasing the national income of the imperialist states, which are using these huge funds to intensify the arms race. The reverse side of the process is that the development prospect is growing bleak for the Third World, with the burden of structural and cyclic crises being shifted on to the newly-freed states. According to UN experts, 29 developing countries showed 6 per cent rise in their GNP in 1970-74 and 11 countries in 1980-84, 4-5 per cent increase was shown by 20 and 16 countries, and less than 3 per cent rise by 25 and 21 countries, while stagnation or reduction in the GNP was observed in 5 and 31 countries respectively. This is not surprising because debt-servicing claims up to one-third of the export receipts of these states. This exploitation, besides differences in development levels, increases the gap between newly-freed nations and the developed countries. With the average lag in per capita income between the imperialist states and the developing countries being 1:11, the corresponding index for imperialist states and least developed states is 1:39.

Developing countries invest heavily in industrialization technology. Experts estimate that the Third World's direct payments for patents, licenses, trademarks, know-how and technological services run into 9-10 billion dollars a year, while overall technological dependence costs the countries concerned 30-50 billion dollars a year.

Developing nations are trying to make up for the

limited possibilities of domestic capital accumulation with the help of external factors, especially foreign aid. The social aspect of this aid is changing now, as the newly-freed countries are undergoing an intensive process of social differentiation. The Western aid is being increasingly used to promote the newly-freed countries' social and economic evolution towards capitalism. Official aid, in proportion to the overall influx of funds into the Third World, fell in the 1970s. Official aid accounted for nearly 50 per cent of the external finance reaching the Third World in the early 1970s and 34.9 per cent of this total in the late 1970s. This fall was not accidental. In the early 1970s, when the developing countries insisted that the developed capitalist states transfer resources to the Third World in partial compensation for the centuries-old colonial exploitation, the imperialists began reducing official aid in order to force emergent countries to resort to commercial borrowing.

One of the reasons for developing countries' debt burden is the arms race imperialism has forced upon them. Another reason is the military aid and also economic aid on onerous terms given to a state which gives in to imperialist pressure. The Stockholm International Institute of Peace Research stated that between 1972 and 1982 the debts incurred on account of military expenditures in the developing non-oil producing countries amounted to 68 billion dollars—nine per cent of overall debts which accrued over the 1982 period.

In reality, the dimensions of involvement of the Third World in the arms race are much bigger. Military spending in the developing countries has assumed astronomical proportions. In the 1970s, the developing countries accounted for 75 per cent of the import of weapons worldwide. Between 1969 and 1980, they

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spent 450 billion dollars on arms imports—as much as the combined GNP of Africa and South Asia in 1980.

The much-advertised US economic and military aid, while bringing huge profits to US corporations, is actually perpetuating the poverty of Asia, Africa and Latin America. US Senator Frank Murkowski gave the following figures to illustrate the extent of debt owed to Washington by the recipients of US military aid.

Country	Overall debt (million dollars)	Debt related to U.S. military aid (million dollars)
Israel	12,000	8,800
Egypt	8,500	4,600
Turkey	3,500	1,100
Jordan	830	305
Morocco	950	105

Many Asian countries have a tremendous external debt burden which is rooted in the imperialist policy pursued by the United States: Phillippines, 25 billion dollars; Malaysia, 13 billion dollars, Pakistan, 12 billion dollars and Thailand, 11 billion dollars.

Swallowing the bulk of US aid, the arms race is ruinous to the Middle East economy, says the book "*A Compassionate Peace. A Furture for the Middle East.*" The book also explains that for the region's rich countries military spending means diversion of resources from the area of social and economic growth, while in the poor countries arms purchases stimulate inflation and worsen their miserable economic condition.

The Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram* said that one reason behind the country's economic plight was the notorious US aid—with six of the seven dollars Washington has "given" to Egypt flowing back to US corporations.

US aid has disastrous consequences for Africa. In Reagan's first five years of office, the number of the recipients of US military aid increased from 16 to 37, while US food supplies to Africa were reduced drastically. As a result, in the 1986 fiscal year military aid increased by 200 per cent as against that in 1980. Commenting on this the *Christain Science Monitor* wrote ironically that those familiar with the plight of the starving Africans know that they do not need US military aid at all.

As a result of the policy of plunder followed by leading capitalist countries, particularly the United States, the external debt of Africa exceeds 170 billion dollars. African countries have to take fresh loans to service earlier debts. According to the magazine *Opinion* which appears in Dar-es-Salaam, Africa has already paid to developed capitalist countries much more than it has received from them.

In developing countries, with the state being the main economic force, the lion's share of economic investment comes from the budget. That is why growing military spending undercuts the investment possibilities of these countries. The proportion of military expenditures in developing countries' budgets varies from 8.4 per cent in Oceania to 15 per cent in South Asia and 24.3 per cent in the Middle East. With this index falling in the Third World as a whole in the 1970s, things changed in the early 1980s due to international developments taking the course for the worse. The oil-exporting countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Libya and the Persian Gulf principalities) have increased military expenditures by 500 per cent as against that in 1970s. Saudi Arabia now ranks sixth in the world in military expenditures, having outstripped Britain.

About 15 newly-freed countries have military industries of their own. Brazil, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt and

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some other states manufacture combat aircraft, warships and missiles. Even the least developed countries assemble weapons from imported components. In mid-1985, these countries accounted for 15 per cent of worldwide weapons production.

With industrialization not yet completed in developing countries, even modest arms manufacture creates an unbearable strain on their manufacturing capacity and manpower resources.

The Pentagon-inspired arms race, while bleeding white the emergent countries' economies, undermines the security of the recipients of US military aid, promoting dangerous regional conflicts. The US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has stated that between 1973 and 1983 the annual growth in military expenditures averaged 4.7 per cent in the developing countries and 2.7 per cent in the West. Judging by the Agency's statistics, particularly alarming is America's militaristic policy with regard to South Asia—a policy which has led to a steep increase in the armed forces of the countries concerned. In 1983, the strength of the armed forces increased by 12.8 per cent in South Asia as against 0.3 per cent for the world as a whole.

Although a limited number of developing countries produce weapons, all of them import arms, combat technology and military services. This has a pernicious effect on their economies. In countries which are not major arms-manufacturers, the growing import of military items and services is leading to a deficit in trade balances. War-related imports, which devour export receipts, could have been used to finance a growing external debt that worsens the negative balance-of-payments position.

Developing countries are suffering from worsening conditions of external trade, with the same annual volume of their raw materials fetching a diminishing

quantity of manufactures. As Fidel Castro told the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior*, 24 years ago 200 tonnes of sugar bought one 180-hp bulldozer while today 800 tonnes of sugar are required to buy it.

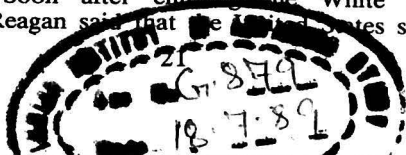
This is also true of Africa's trade relations with the imperialist states. After political independence, most African countries have remained economically tied to capitalism. Because of West's commercial discrimination, they sell their raw materials cheap while paying for manufactured goods through their nose. The Tanzanian President told the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit that in 1984 his country sold twice as much cotton as in 1975 to purchase a tractor.

The import of military articles means sending money down the drain since arms technology does not improve either living standards or production sector. Even if weapons are given as a gift, their repairs, maintenance and support facilities are financed by the recipients.

Growing arms imports boost inflation in the developed countries and in the Third World. Arms industry stimulates inflation which is exported, together with weapons, to the developing countries. The level of inflation is higher in the Third World than elsewhere. In 1979-1980, inflation in the developing non-oil-producing countries averaged 20-30 per cent as against 9-12 per cent in the industrial capitalist states.

The import of combat technology hinders efforts for economic independence and economic self-reliance and against neocolonialism. Weapons provide imperialism with another lever to influence the socio-economic development of the Third World.

Developing countries' dependence on the import of arms components and spare parts is used by imperialists to expose these states to political pressure in critical situations. Soon after entering the White House, President Reagan said that the United States saw the



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deliveries of conventional arms and other military products and services as a major element in its global military position and a component of its foreign policy.

American weapons are sent to reactionary dictatorships on which Washington leans for suppression of liberation movements, and these weapons weaken and sometimes even defeat the efforts of countries repulsing the aggressive imperialist forces and fighting for freedom, independence and national dignity. Washington delivers weapons provided their recipients welcome US troops or give military bases. Among the major buyers of US combat hardware are Israel, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Taiwan and Pakistan.

The policy of militarism of the United States and its allies shows that the imperialists want to worsen the international situations, escalate the arms race, and unite all reactionary regimes under Washington's control. The NATO countries, particularly the United States, are using combat technology to draw the Third World into the vicious circle of the arms race in order to pass on the burden of political and economic consequences of militarism to developing nations, to increase their foreign debt. The arms race, which the West exports to the Third World, deprives developing countries of the possibility to use resources in national interests and inflicts heavy economic losses on them.

V. THE BENEFITS OF DISARMAMENT

Halting of the arms race and beginning of the process of disarmament would open up wide opportunities for the solution of social and economic problems of countries on all continents.

One of these problems is unemployment. As has already been stated, the state of unemployment in developing countries is much worse than in the industrialised Western nations. It is very difficult for the newly-independent countries to ensure a high level of employment because this problem is linked with their over-all economic development. Employment potential depends on the level of economic, social, political and cultural development of these countries, and one of the conditions for the solution of this problem is to narrow the gap between the levels of economic development of the developing and industrialised nations.

A paradoxical situation has taken shape in the developing world. On the one hand, the developing countries have a shortage of basic necessities, such as, food and housing and have an underdeveloped infrastructure (roads and transport). On the other, a vast number of able-bodied people have no opportunities to work and to participate in the production of goods, that is in the production of vital means of subsistence necessary for the survival of the majority of the population of these countries.

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The plight in which developing countries find themselves is due to several factors. Among these is the domination of transnational corporations, which plunder the population of the newly-independent states; the existence of the vestiges of feudalism and tribalism which hinder economic development; the shortage of capital; the rapacious investment policy of imperialism; and the lack of skilled labour.

Against the backdrop of the worsening problems of the developing countries, it is hard to overestimate the importance of aid which the industrialised countries could give to them (on conditions different from those imposed by the TNCs) if the arms race were halted and if a part of the funds released through disarmament were used for the development of the national economies of these countries. Large-scale assistance for economic development would make it possible to create, in a short space of time, tens of millions of jobs and ease the problem of unemployment in developing countries.

This does not mean, however, that an end to arms race could only have an indirect impact on the economies of developing countries, that is through an increase in foreign aid. Disarmament would also enable these countries to use vast internal resources for developmental purpose. As mentioned above, developing countries spend vast funds to purchase arms, both in absolute terms and in percentages of their GNP.

According to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, in the early 1980s overall annual military expenditures were as follows: in Sudan (before the overthrow of Gaafar Nimeri) 245 million dollars, or 4.4 per cent of GNP; in Tanzania 179 million dollars, or 4.6 per cent of GNP; in Thailand 1,280 million dollars, or 4.7 per cent of GNP; in Pakistan, 1,540 million dollars, or 5.1 per cent of GNP; in Egypt, 2,170 million

dollars, or 12.2 per cent of GNP; in Saudi Arabia 27,700 million dollars, or 29 per cent of GNP.

From studies and official forecasts made by western experts, one can form an idea of the impact reduction in military spending will have on employment. Most of the experts come to the conclusion that investments in military field create fewer jobs than investments in non-military sectors. It is well known that the military sector is more capital intensive than the civilian sector. The creation of one job in the arms-manufacturing industry sometimes requires several times more capital investments than the creation of one job in the civilian sector or in the civilian services sector. The *New York Times* said, for instance, that 7,000 million dollars invested in arms production provide 35,000 jobs. This is enough to provide jobs for 77,000 workers in housing construction and 100,000 workers in the field of education.

Investments in the production of sophisticated military hardware, which involves expensive research and development, create a minimum number of jobs. Thus, 1,000 million dollars invested in the B-1 bomber programme create only 22,000 new jobs. According to the US Bureau of Labour Statistics, shifting 10,000 million dollars from Federal defence spending to health and social security would make it possible to create 245,000 new jobs.

A similar situation is emerging in the developing world. Militarisation of its economy leads to accumulation of skilled labour and research personnel in the military sector. Since most developing countries have a shortage of skilled labour, this trend harms the civilian sector and hampers its development.

A reduction in military expenditures would release vast resources for increasing investments in the civilian sectors of economy. According to UN experts'

estimates, the world's military expenditures account for 25-30 per cent of the overall of investments. The actual figure is much bigger, because a part of military outlay is secretly included in the overall volume of investments. These experts say that a reduction in military spending and use of funds thus saved for investment in civilian industries would speed up the average annual rate of world's economic growth by 1-2 per cent.

Mention should be made here of the increasingly popular ideas and specific proposals on the conversion of military industry into civilian production. While admitting the urgent need to bring about disarmament, many people ask where workers and specialists employed in the military sector would go if it becomes a reality. Service industry, education and public health cannot provide all of them with jobs in accordance with their qualifications. However, the problem can be solved through conversion of military enterprises into civilian production. This is not an abstract idea. After the war in Vietnam, a number of American arms-manufacturing companies converted their plants to civilian production.

The advocates of the arms race claim that the expansion of military-related research and development has a favourable impact on economic development as a whole because it stimulates scientific and technological progress. This argument does not hold water because fundamental research in the fields of nuclear physics and electronics, for instance, had been conducted before it was suggested to use their results for military purposes. Consequently, fundamental research develops independent of military programmes and goals.

Expenditures on military research and development are too high a price to be paid for relatively small-scale transfer of technology from military sphere to civilian industries. According to S. Melman, Professor at the

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Columbia University, the economic effect of the utilisation of military inventions in civilian industries come to about 5-10 per cent of the overall sum of military expenditures. Other US experts also point to the enormous damage which militarism does to economic development. They say that as a result of exorbitant military spending the US economy loses every 12-14 years an equivalent of its annual output, and that civilian technology could have reached by 1980 the predicted level of 2000 had its technological novelties been used primarily in civilian production rather than in military production.

Prospects for an improvement in the economic situation in many countries largely depend on progress made in tackling numerous global problems of our time. However, only halting of arms race, elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and substantial reduction in military spending can provide an effective source of funds for economic and social progress in the developing world and for the solution of such global problems like economic backwardness, widespread hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy; increasing shortage in energy, raw materials and food; environmental protection; and peaceful exploration of world's oceans and space.

These and many other problems have now transcended the frontiers of individual countries and even regions. Take, for example, the ecological problem, that is, the problem of protecting and controlling the environment. The noxious effects of uncontrolled use of scientific and technological achievements require that all countries make vigorous efforts to protect the environment for normal development of humanity. There are quite a few disquieting facts that testify to the urgency of the problem. More than 400 million tonnes of solid particles were discharged annually into

the air in the mid-seventies. Pollution of world's oceans continues at a frightening pace: the annual quantity of industrial and other wastes discharged into the Pacific is estimated at nine million tonnes and the quantity of such waste discharged into the Atlantic is more than 30 million tonnes. In spite of the pollution-control measures taken in most countries, the overall situation is getting worse.

Global problems are hard to solve not only because of their colossal dimensions but also because only a comprehensive approach can help mankind cope with them. To protect the environment from pollution by noxious gases discharged into the atmosphere by jet and internal-combustion engines, mankind must develop fundamentally new types of engines that would be safe for the environment. This, however, calls for a technological breakthrough in the field of transport and such a breakthrough can be made only if multi-billion allocations made for arms race are diverted to civilian purposes.

Industry is the second largest source of pollution of atmosphere, water and soil. The bulk of industrial capacity should be shifted to technologies which do not yield industrial wastes, if we want to make industry safe for the environment. This would need a kind of technological revolution and the utilisation of vast resources being wasted today on the production of armaments.

Thus, a fundamental change in goals and priorities in scientific and technological policy and a re-orientation of vast resources swallowed by military industry to research in the fields of vital importance for human existence are indispensable conditions for the solution of world's social and economic problems.

VI. DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

In our highly interconnected world, most large-scale social and economic problems can be tackled only as a package. It is hardly possible to solve one or two problems, leaving the rest untackled.

But it is difficult to imagine that these problems could be tackled in the event of a nuclear catastrophe. There would be no one left to attend to problems. Mankind is therefore facing one enormous task—that of preventing a nuclear war.

What is a modern nuclear war like? In describing it, scientists differ as to when exactly life will cease to exist, but are unanimous in predicting that all living things will disappear forever. What is the first thing to be done to check the course of events leading to destruction of humanity?

The Soviet Union has proposed a programme for preventing a nuclear war and eliminating weapons of mass destruction before the end of the century, which the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, set forth in his Statement of January 15, 1986.

The US rulers have shown no signs of wanting to revise their policy of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union and join in the effort to implement this large-scale peace programme. To improve the

international situation, the Soviet Union later suggested to begin with the simplest and easiest steps. On August 6, 1985, the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, it imposed a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests, which has been extended several times since. The decision to extend it for the fourth time, until January 1, 1987, is the USSR's response to appeals from the international community, from the non-aligned movement, from politicians, public figures and organisations.

Several countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe have called upon the USA to follow the Soviet example. According to opinion polls, over two-thirds of Americans favour a moratorium on nuclear tests. The UN General Assembly acclaimed the Soviet moratorium as a model worthy of being followed by others. One hundred and twenty countries participating in its 40th session voted for the resolution on ending and banning nuclear tests and only three—USA, Britain, and France—voted against. The widely-known appeals made by the leaders of six countries—Argentina, Greece, Mexico, India, Tanzania, and Sweden—to the leaders of the USSR and the USA, and the Harare Appeal to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan of the United States, adopted by the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit, express the will of millions upon millions of people. The Harare Appeal embodies the non-aligned countries' profound desire to see accords reached as early as possible, to act as a barrier to nuclear war.

The peoples of newly-freed countries play an important part in world-wide efforts to improve the international situation. This is only logical because the present-day conflict and the arms race weigh heavily on them, with imperialism seeking to cover its monstrous military spending at their expense. That the 200, and

odd billion dollars funneled out from developing countries every year nearly equals US military budget is not a mere coincidence. Militarism, then, has a direct stake in preserving and intensifying the system of neo-colonial super-exploitation.

In the last few years, many countries in Asia, Latin America and, particularly, Africa, have found themselves in a difficult situation. Drought has spelt tragedy for millions of people, worsening as it does the already acute problems of poverty, hunger, disease, and appalling infant mortality.

The financial aid given off-and-on cannot help overcome the crises plaguing many developing countries, the more so as this "aid" entails fresh debts and further deterioration of their economy. This cannot cure the disease. Radical steps are needed to eradicate its deep-seated causes, inherited from colonialism and also generated by neo-colonialism. These steps must be combined with efforts to tackle the disarmament issues, because progress in disarmament would mean greater security for people all over the world and additional funds for development.

With reference to processes under way in Asian countries, Mikhail Gorbachev said in Vladivostok: "These states have tens, hundreds of glaring problems, problems inherited from the colonial past and emerging from contradictions in present-day development. And these states are being dragged into blocs; the freedom of utilizing their own resources is being curtailed. They are being forced to increase their military budgets, and are being drawn into the arms race and militarisation of the economy and of the whole life of society.

"All this deforms the processes of internal development, creates tension and, naturally, hampers a normalisation of relations between nations and states."

Therefore, every kind of support ought to be given to the

efforts to many governments, particularly those of developing countries, as well as of the progressive forces of the world, to deal with the economic and social consequences of arms race in the present-day world. The conference which the 40th session of the UN General Assembly had resolved to hold in Paris in the summer of 1986 would have contributed greatly to the implementation of the principle "Disarmament for Development." It was expected that the conference, whose convening was supported by the Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned movement at its meeting in New Delhi in April 1986, would consider a wide range of issues concerning the negative effects of the arms race and military spending on economic and social development, and the ways and means for releasing additional resources for development through disarmament. At meetings of the conference preparatory committee in New York in June 1986, many non-aligned countries pointed to nuclear disarmament as a top priority. They also suggested setting up a fund financed from cuts made in military spending.

For their part, the Western countries led by the US resorted to making a bid to foil the conference seeking to thwart the imposition of any limits on the growth of military spending, tone down the criticism of their efforts to fuel the arms race, and convince others that disarmament would, as they claimed, yield no direct and immediate benefits for development. Significantly, during the deliberations in the preparatory committee, Western powers opposed proposals on channelling to developing countries a part of the resources released through arms reduction and disarmament. They claimed, notably, that there was no direct linkage between disarmament and development and that issues of disarmament and development ought to be tackled in parallel and

independently of each other. Obviously, this stand conceals the desire to deadlock and frustrate the preparations for a conference on a link-up between disarmament and development.

Despite the West's pressures and attempts to put off the conference indefinitely (or, to be more precise, to prevent it from being convened), the preparatory committee voted at its June session to hold this important forum in 1987.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it pointed to the link between disarmament and development in the all-embracing system of international security, a programme formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. It provides for working out the principles of utilising part of the funds saved by cutting military budgets for the benefit of the world community, primarily developing countries. The Soviet Union has been vigorously campaigning for holding an international conference to discuss the connection between disarmament and development. It has repeatedly suggested establishing a concrete mechanism for redistributing funds used for armaments in favour of development. In 1956 and also in 1958, the USSR proposed to the UN that a specialised fund to assist developing countries, financed from cuts made in military budgets, be set up. These proposals were rejected by the West which was totally opposed to any reductions in military spending. In 1973, in submitting to the UN the proposal, "Reduction of Military Budgets of Permanent Member States of UN Security Council by 10 per cent and Utilization of Part of the Funds Thus Saved to Provide Assistance to Developing Countries," the Soviet Union came up with the idea of creating a specialised committee to redistribute the funds thus released. The proposal was supported by most countries. The General Assembly adopted the Soviet-proposed resolution, "Reduction of

Military Budgets of Permanent Member States of UN Security Council by 10 per cent and Utilization of Part of Funds Thus Saved to Provide Assistance to Developing Countries". Had the Western states complied with the resolution, half the funds thus saved would have been enough to eliminate hunger the world over.

All-out support for implementing the principle "Disarmament for Development" is inseparable from the Soviet Union's international drive for peace and social progress. Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress says, is not merely the absence of war. "It is an international order under which...vast resources are no longer used for military purpose [and] it would be possible to use the fruits of the labour exclusively for constructive purpose...Favourable opportunities would also arise for solving the global problems facing mankind by the collective efforts of all the states."

Therefore, the USSR sees the connection between disarmament and development in that the prevention of nuclear war and concrete measures for arms reduction and disarmament are an indispensable condition for success in promoting economic development of states, including those which have only recently gained political independence.

The Soviet Union has consistently supported developing countries' legitimate demand for restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. It sees a direct connection between establishing a new international economic order and normalising international relations all over the world. The UN General Assembly approved the "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" when detente had become easier to achieve in the first half of the 1970s.

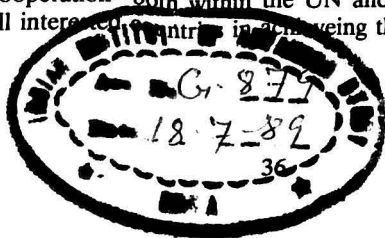
By contrast, increasingly sharp and pointed attacks—and occasionally frontal offensive—were made on the proposal for new international economic order, by the U.S. amid intensified confrontation and spells of cold war.

In the sphere of economic and scientific cooperation with developing countries, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries proceed from the principles of equality, mutual advantage and regard for each others' interests. Therefore, in terms of its principles, objectives and content, Soviet Union's cooperation with the developing world is based on a new form of international economic relations, which opposes the system of exploitation of these countries by the TNCs and helps strengthen their hand in the struggle against neo-colonialism. This gives ground to believe that the imperialist policies, aimed at preserving the social, political and economic status quo in the world and the system of exploitation and enslavement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are doomed to failure. In the final analysis, the historical process has been and will be determined by the effort of the newly-freed countries to preserve political independence and consolidate economic independence rather than by the US Administration's desire to escalate the arms race indefinitely or by the selfish interests of the military-industrial complex and the TNCs. It is for this reason that the imperialist-fostered principle, "Armament instead of Development" must be replaced by the principle "Disarmament for Development".

VII. CONCLUSION

The growing nuclear and conventional arms race is the first among the many factors undermining the socio-economic positions of developing countries. Ending the colossal, unprecedented wastage of vast resources—both human and material—for military purposes, and their redistribution among civilian industries, would yield positive results. On the one hand, this would help improve the international climate and, on the other, take the edge off socio-economic problems all over the world, primarily in developing countries where they are the acutest.

It is mostly by ending arms race, by renouncing imperialist policy of "economic terrorism" and simultaneously resolving disarmament problem that these issues can be tackled. In its memorandum submitted to the UN, entitled "International Economic Security—An Important Condition for Healthy International Economic Relations", the Soviet Union proclaimed its readiness for constructive cooperation—both within the UN and outside it—with all interested countries in achieving this essential goal.



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