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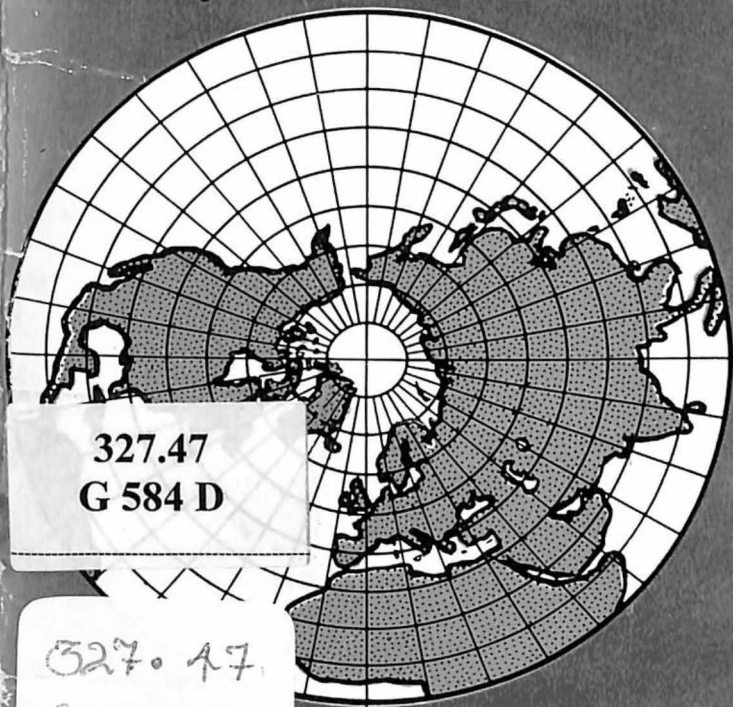


DETENTE

The Soviet Viewpoint

Mikhail
Golubnichy

THE ONLY WAY



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INTRODUCTION

The present period in the development of international relations is one of those rare, but very important stages when advances toward a fundamental restructuring of international relations—the need for which has come to a head—are gradually becoming appreciable, when a new international climate for the world is beginning to appear as a reality, offering new and far-reaching horizons of progress.

What, in particular, is this new stage in our historical development? It is that the historical, economic, political and—paradoxical though it seems at first glance—military prerequisites have taken shape for a fundamental change to be effected in mankind's development.

An examination of present-day trends shows that, for the first time in world history, the possibility has appeared of reorganising relations between nations and peoples on a just and fair basis, of embracing "the simple laws of morality and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the highest laws governing the relations between nations", as called for by Karl Marx.¹

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 11 (in Russian).

The most important feature of the present historical stage, and its new quality, is that man now has the possibility of excluding war from the life of society, of renouncing force in relations between peoples, and of changing from an era of confrontation to an era of dialogue and fruitful co-operation between states with different social systems.

Peace has been a dream throughout the whole of mankind's long-suffering history, steeped in blood, in which there has never been an end to wars and conflict. From time to time original and brave ideas were put forward for the reshaping of international relations. But however alluring the appeals for peace made in the past in the works of philosophers and in the pronouncements of politicians, they proved ineffective when measured up against practical reality. War has always been an inseparable element of slave-owning, feudal and capitalist society. Now, however, the age-old dream of banishing war has become a real possibility.

Apart from the appearance of new political and economic factors which make détente and co-operation between nations necessary for solving the problems facing mankind, there is also taking shape in the world a new moral and psychological atmosphere conducive to such change. The realisation of the impermissibility of settling international differences and conflicts of interest by war, and the consciousness of the harmfulness of the cold war and an uncontrolled build-up of arms, is taking increasing hold in political circles and in the public consciousness of many countries. Mankind has broken out of the primitive chain-mail of the cold war, in which it was being confined. It wants to breathe freely and peacefully. It is striving to escape from the vicious circle which has periodically

plunged the world's peoples into senseless, barbaric wars—wars that have all the time got bigger and bigger in scale and destructive force. Another global war would be tantamount to the suicide of the human race. A last and only chance now remains open to the world's peoples: not to wait for the tragic conclusion of another round in the arms spiral, but to break out of it now and proceed straight ahead on the highway of peaceful development. Mankind's history of thousands of years is long enough for it to have learnt to live in a world free of weapons and wars.

Is this really possible? It is, and the barrier across this road has already been lifted. The name of the road is *détente*. It is the principal means of achieving change, positive advances in international life.

The concept of *détente*, which is leading nations along a new path of historical development, is extremely wide and complex, and is made up of many factors.

What is meant by *détente*? What is its significance? Answers to these questions may differ in a most marked manner, and are not infrequently contradictory. Reactionary propaganda propounds the idea that *détente* is a device to secure for "the other side" unfair advantage. Accordingly, say the representatives of this point of view, *détente* is of limited value and must be combined with a stepping up of one's military strength.

So we can see that the answer to the question as to what constitutes *détente*, and what is its purpose, is not a simple one. A correct assessment of the essence of *détente* to a large extent also pre-determines a correct practical policy. And con-

versely, a false assessment can lead to false moves.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a clear definition of the concept in his speech in the city of Tula on 18 January, 1977: "Détente means first of all overcoming the cold war and moving towards normal, equitable relations between states. It means a readiness to settle differences and arguments, not by force, not by threats and sabre-rattling, but peacefully, at the negotiating table. Détente requires a degree of trust, and a taking into account of one another's legitimate interests."

Contacts and consultations, negotiations, understandings, agreements and treaties are what make up the fabric of détente. And this is not a fabric such as the emperor's new clothes, but a cloth that is woven out of truly durable and distinctly tangible bilateral and multilateral agreements in many spheres of political and economic life, which firmly set out the obligations of states and their governments.

Striving to supplement political détente with military détente, and to extend it to the field of economic, scientific and technical and cultural co-operation, the world's progressive forces reduce the room for manoeuvre of the forces of reaction, who stake their all on military strength as offering the only possibility for their salvation. In their manoeuvring, the forces of reaction even pose as supporters of détente. But what sort of détente is it that has, as its first law, an all-out build-up of military power?

We reject such an interpretation of détente. For us the first requirement of détente is the removal

of the military detonator. Détente means that mankind must give up the path of war and coercion and, without veering to the side, move onto the main highway of economic, scientific and technical co-operation, on which all countries would be able to move forward, and only forward, without collisions, not interfering with one another, being interested only in the rapid development and advancement of every nation.

THE BENEFITS

Although détente began to develop only a few years ago, much has been accomplished. Some of the world's complicated problems that were a cause of tension for many years have been settled, and favourable circumstances have been created for striving to put an end to the dangerous build-up of arms, and gradually establish new international relations based on trust and reason.

Détente has prepared the political soil of our planet for peaceful sowing. The seeds have already sprouted and are daily growing stronger. Through the hurly-burly of everyday politics and behind the routine of events, the changes are not always readily apparent. But they are there, and in different parts of the globe, and particularly in Europe, the outlines of a new world are beginning to show through ever more distinctly—a world of security and co-operation.

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has become the symbol of détente. The European hotbed of conflicts has been transformed into a proving ground of peaceful coexistence, relaxation of tension and co-operation. And in this lies the unique character and historical significance of the all-European conference, and of the initiative of the

Soviet Union and other socialist states in getting the peoples of Europe to hold this forum. It has to be remembered that not so long ago, the idea that all Europeans could sit at one table to negotiate a system for ensuring stable peace far into the future, for a whole epoch, seemed no less fantastic to some politicians in the West than flying to the moon appeared to the contemporaries of Jules Verne.

The accords reached at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe contain in themselves sufficient building material to erect a lasting edifice of peace in Europe that could also serve as an example for other continents.

This is precisely why the Soviet Union calls so persistently for the Final Act of the Conference to be realised in its totality, in all its provisions. The USSR is the world's first state to incorporate in its Fundamental Law—the new Constitution—all ten basic principles governing inter-state relations, as contained in the Final Act and adopted by the leaders of thirty-five states, including not only European states but also the USA and Canada. By so doing, the USSR has constitutionalised these principles, setting an example to other countries.

The principles laid down in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe were reaffirmed at the 1977-1978 Belgrade Conference which solemnly proclaimed readiness to continue along the road of détente, co-operation and strengthening security. The attempt by certain reactionary circles to revise the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and to legalise interference in the internal affairs of other states met with failure at Belgrade. The view that there is no sensible alternative to détente was reaffirmed at Belgrade.

The changes in the international climate which came about in the first half of the seventies may be counted among those processes of social development that are able to determine mankind's fate and the fate of every individual for a long time to come. To have found a way out of the cold-war crisis, to have overcome many seemingly irremovable barriers, and to have taken a big step towards peace and co-operation between states and peoples in the past held apart by these barriers—all this in the historical context signifies the beginning of a new stage in international-political development. The part played by the socialist community in this was indicated by Leonid Brezhnev in the following words:

“Comrades, if we want to point to our main achievement in the international sphere, we can truthfully say that as a result of our efforts made in concert with the other socialist states, and with the support of all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces, we have succeeded in reducing the threat of nuclear war, and in making peace more reliable and durable.” Important components of détente are the agreements arrived at by the USSR, USA and France on the prevention of nuclear-missile war, the Soviet-American agreement concerning the limitation of strategic weapons, the agreement concerning principles of negotiations on further containing and limiting offensive strategic weapons and many other multilateral and bilateral agreements. Their importance is such that they have been the subject of a number of books and numerous articles.

The results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1978 were a major step in furthering détente and peace, marking a new stage in the development of political détente

and in creating conditions for extending it to the military sphere.

Détente has made it possible to eliminate dangerous seats of tension, and in some critical situations in different parts of the world it has been able to silence the rumble of tanks and thunder of artillery. It has led also to greater economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the world's peoples. Countries of the East and West have begun to carry out joint projects exceeding in their scale anything known in the past.

It took a great deal of effort to achieve détente, but it was effort well spent. Détente has provided favourable conditions for solving the most diverse international problems and for tackling tasks on a world scale. It is most important that we take good care of what has been achieved, and add to it. For this it is necessary to keep moving steadily forward. To stop by the wayside now would be to jeopardize the progress made.

AT A HISTORICAL CROSSROADS

A relaxation of world tension answers the objective demands of present-day international life. It meets deep-going needs. However, it would be a mistake to regard it as some sort of automatic process that will develop of its own accord, mechanically. Détente is a complex political phenomenon which reflects the multiform and contradictory nature of international life. Only by bearing this circumstance in mind can we understand those difficulties which are being encountered and which will undoubtedly continue to be encountered on the road of improving the international climate with

regard to relations between states of differing social systems.

The distinguishing feature of the present stage in international relations is the polarisation of forces that is taking place with the parallel development of two opposed tendencies. On the one hand, détente is establishing itself more firmly, expressing the main tendency of present-day international life, as increasing numbers of realistically-minded people among the politicians and in business and intellectual circles, and among working people, strive to overcome the old cold war attitudes. They are in favour of reaching mutual understanding with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of establishing and widening mutually advantageous co-operation, and of dealing with crisis situations by means of negotiations.

But on the other hand we see a strengthening of the counteraction of reactionary circles to the positive changes taking place in world politics. Those who are still grimly manning the propaganda trenches of the cold war, who have lost the capacity to see the possibilities opening up for improving the international situation, are becoming increasingly active. The struggle between these two tendencies is what is determining the whole mosaic of international relations of our time.

Leonid Brezhnev puts it this way: "International relations now stand at a crossroads leading either to a growth of trust and co-operation, or to a growth of mutual fear and suspicion and an accumulation of weapons—a crossroads leading in the final count either to lasting peace, or, at best, to a balancing on the brink of war. Détente gives the possibility of choosing the way of peace."

Everything now depends on how energetically

the people, states and leaders of society work for détente, how successful they are in prevailing against the adherents of the former policy. And speaking of the old attitudes, it has to be taken into account that the cold war was with us for two decades, long enough for these attitudes to become hardened traditions, whereas the period of relaxation of international tension is no older than a few brief years.

The further development of détente, and military détente in particular, is opposed by powerful forces. The military-industrial complex—that unholy alliance of the militarists and arms manufacturing monopolies—is continuing to pour out the implements of war. Powerful imperialist reactionary circles are the constant instigators of aggressive ventures, and smouldering fires of international tension threaten to flare up at any moment into armed clashes. In the camp of the open opponents of normalising international relations we find the Maoists, in active collusion with the most aggressive circles. The aim of all these reactionary forces is to bring the world back to a state of cold war, or worse—to exacerbate international relations to flashpoint.

The opponents of détente act in different ways and in different directions. In the recent period they have succeeded in complicating the world situation and frustrating the negotiations on that most important of problems—curbing the arms drive. In the West their activity also finds expression in the growth of military expenditure, and preparations to produce new types of weapons of mass destruction.

With the delight of a savage with a new toy, the neutron bomb is hailed as a weapon that can be safely used for offensive purposes. The Penta-

gon hawks are mounting a continuous barrage of praise for the new weapon, which is much advertised in the pages of the press. After all, atom and hydrogen bombs they are a little afraid of, for they are indiscriminating weapons, liable to reduce everything to one heap of ruins, and to pile up a single mountain of corpses from different sides. Atomic weapons threaten the aggressor, too, so that for him the neutron bomb is much more humane: the attacker can remain unscathed, and become the possessor of all the real estate, which is preserved intact. The Western press reports that full-scale production of this inhuman weapon has already had tentative approval. The testing ground and theatre for deployment of the American neutron bomb is to be Central Europe, according to the plans of the Pentagon. That is, the region of the globe that twice in the present century has seen the unleashing of world wars. The attempt is being made to present the neutron bomb as a limited, conventional weapon, that is, to equate a nuclear weapon with conventional arms, thereby eradicating the distinction between the two. It is hardly necessary to elaborate on the threat to mankind posed by this new step.

The world stands at a crossroads. It is time to put up a red light, blocking the road of the senseless piling up of arms, and to follow the way indicated by the green—the road of concrete, practical disarmament.

NO THIRD WAY

A building up of arms is incompatible with détente. At the present time the arms drive is continuing, while at the same time progress is being

made with political détente. With the two tendencies moving in opposite directions, sooner or later something has to give, and there is the danger that détente will collapse, with catastrophic consequences.

Those who talk about the possibility of a return to the cold war, or who look for a *third way somewhere between détente and cold war*, overlook the fact that the recent period has seen such advances in the development of the latest types of weapons, and such an accumulation of them, that a *relapse to a state of cold war would mean taking a road that would lead inevitably to the self-destruction of the human race. Today we are left with no choice, only one course is open to us. There is no alternative to détente.*

History cannot show us any examples where an arms race and the formation of military blocs did not lead to war. Therefore, the only reliable way of preventing war is through disarmament.

The arms drive is the most serious danger confronting the world. So long as it continues it holds over mankind the threat of imminent destruction. The increase in the quantity of arms, especially of nuclear weapons, has reached insane proportions. The present total of nuclear explosive devices in the world is equivalent to more than one million bombs of the type exploded over Hiroshima. This nuclear stockpile has eight thousand times the destructive power of all the bombs and shells, etc. used in the Second World War. It is the equivalent of 15-30 tons of TNT for every inhabitant of our planet. And these terrible figures are all the time being superseded by ever more fearful "records". Scientists say that if the arms drive continues at the present rate, in the near future it would be techni-

cally possible for the earth to be turned into a fireball, devoid of its life-sustaining atmosphere. The quantity of arms accumulated in recent years is already sufficient to destroy every living thing on earth several times over. Moreover, should a world thermonuclear war break out, nobody would escape. It would embrace all countries and peoples, irrespective of whether or not they were participants in the conflict, and of their political orientation.

A still bigger danger than the increase in the numbers of weapons is posed by their qualitative improvement. With such rapid advances being made in science and technology, already in the foreseeable future, new types of weapons might appear, based on entirely new principles, whose destructive power would greatly exceed that of nuclear, chemical or bacteriological weapons. There has been mention of ray weapons, for example, capable of damaging blood and plasma; infrasonic weapons that can affect internal organs and behaviour of people; and a genetic weapon which would destroy the mechanism of heredity.

Scientific and technological "progress" in the military field leads also to an ever greater, more fantastic increase in the fire-power of every type of weapon. One soldier, armed with a laser weapon of the future, and a quite small radio station, might command the fire-power of a whole army in the field. Foreign specialists say that the research into lasers is of such intensity that the development of a laser weapon can be expected very soon, probably in the eighties. And we are told that by the end of this decade, or very shortly thereafter, a submarine of the "Trident" class (if its development is not stopped now) will have the capability of destroying, almost simultaneously, 480 separate strategic ob-

jectives. The US military programme provides for the building of ten of these submarines by 1985, which will be armed with a total of nearly five thousand nuclear warheads.

Only a few years ago, such improbable-sounding weapons would have seemed to a person unfamiliar with this field of research as imaginative inventions in a science-fiction story. But unfortunately they are only all too real.

Time has become a most vital factor in the struggle for disarmament. At the present moment, of the weapons being prepared for mass production, attention is focussed in particular on the cruise missile and the neutron bomb. If the development and introduction of these and other new types of weapons of mass destruction is not halted, the world will find itself drawn into an arms race of an unprecedented, completely new scale. A vicious circle is being created. Every country, and the most powerful ones in particular, at the appearance of an "ultimate" weapon in the hands of an adversary, will strive to match it in the shortest possible time with a similar weapon or an answering means of defence.

Every new technical advance leads to a blurring of the distinction between tactical and strategic weapons. This applies particularly to the cruise missile, and to the neutron bomb, which, because of its comparatively low TNT equivalent, might be claimed to be a "conventional" weapon. The neutron bomb has become a symbol of inhumanity, of a policy which seeks to kill people en masse while leaving buildings and other property undamaged so that they can be seized by the aggressor.

The deployment of cruise missiles around the world could lead to serious consequences. With their

appearance, conventional weapons would acquire a new dimension: as the experts stress, for the first time a conventional weapon (i.e. without a nuclear warhead) could be used as a strategic one. A new factor, too, is the relatively low cost of the cruise missile, putting it within reach even of countries with modest resources, and the difficulty—indeed the impossibility at the present stage—of keeping it under control in view of its small size (an ordinary airplane could conceal several of the missiles, and a plane of the size of the Boeing-747 could hold a hundred).

Together with the qualitative, or "vertical" arms drive, a great danger is presented by the "horizontal" spread of weapons, i.e. their geographical proliferation, in which a large number of countries are involved, including the developing countries. For example, in the last fifteen years the military expenditure of the African countries has grown by ten times, and of the states of the Middle East, by thirteen times. Between 1965 and 1974, the expenditure on arms in the developing world more than trebled. And this applies not only to quantities of weapons, for the developing countries are also participants in the drive to acquire the very latest arms. More and more of them are becoming the possessors of the newest types of weapons of great destructive power. This circumstance poses a threat to all countries in the event of an armed clash or war between the developing countries.

No less is the latent danger in the proliferation of nuclear technological know-how. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, by 1980, more than fifty countries will have their own industrial or experimental nuclear installations, including countries that have not yet signed the agree-

ment on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Foreign experts in the field say that before long even small countries will be capable of producing hundreds of plutonium warheads a year. What can be done about the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons clearly depends in great degree on the measure of success that can be obtained with the general problem of curbing the build-up of nuclear armaments.

All the evidence points to the fact that the danger is growing. There is the ever-present possibility of setting off a chain reaction—from bullets to intercontinental ballistic missiles. So that even if we do not ourselves take the fatal plunge into the abyss, we could very easily slide into it. That is why history seems to be saying to us now: Stop. You can go no further! The rapid development of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction lifts peaceful coexistence and détente out of the category of something we aspire to, and makes them a moral imperative.

The arms drive not only represents a constant threat to the continued existence of the world's peoples, it also distorts and cripples world economic relations, causes inflation, and swallows up resources that could otherwise be used for solving urgent global problems resulting from scientific and technological progress. The armaments industry penetrates all spheres of present-day production, demands a share of everything, and skims off the cream for itself.

An ever greater proportion of the world's scientific potential is being diverted to the military sphere. The UN Secretary-General's report of 1971 to the General Assembly stated that at a conservative estimate, one quarter of the world's scientists and engineers engaged in scientific research and development

work were occupied on military projects. And, further, an estimated 40 per cent of the total means allocated in the world for scientific research, was directed to the military sphere. The figures are much higher for the United States, where approximately 70 per cent of the funds allocated for science go on military research, and something like 80 per cent of the country's scientific work force is engaged directly or indirectly in the armaments sphere.

Every new type of armament or weapons system becomes increasingly costly in line with its growing complexity or refinement. And this fantastic build-up of arms has been imposed on mankind by the military-industrial complex. Since the Second World War the cost of military hardware has increased several times over: a fighter-aircraft which used to cost 20,000 dollars now costs 7 million; a bomber has risen from 260,000 to 84 million dollars; and a tank has gone up from 40,000 dollars to one million. A submarine, which used to be around 5 million dollars, had shot up to between 100 and 150 million dollars for the latest model by 1962, and at the present time the last word in underwater craft costs about 1,300 million dollars. According to the report presented by Kurt Waldheim to the 32nd Session of the UN General Assembly, expenditure for military purposes for the preceding five years exceeded 1,800,000 million dollars at current prices. Over the past three years, the total sums estimated to have been spent on military needs amounted to 250,000 million dollars for 1975, 300,000 million for 1976, and 390,000 million dollars for 1977.

As we see, these astronomical amounts continue to grow each year, though the sums spent on military needs in just one year already exceed by a considerable amount the gross national income of more

than half the countries in the world, which account for more than a half of the earth's population. In the few minutes it takes to read these pages the world will have spent several million dollars on armaments—the rate is more than one million dollars every two minutes.

The draft federal budget proposed by the Carter Administration for the 1978-1979 fiscal year raises military expenditure to 128,400 million dollars compared to 116,700 million dollars in 1977-1978.

We now have the absurd and terrible situation that the further the Second World War—the most destructive war in history and most costly in terms of human lives—recedes into the past, the more the money that is being spent by a number of countries on armaments. More, in fact, than was spent in the course of the war itself and the years leading up to it. We are the witnesses of a chain reaction where the arms build-up, like a cancerous growth, is destroying the living tissue of the organism that is mankind, spreading its poison to all spheres of human activity, including international relations.

If the dam is to be saved from bursting, its walls must be strengthened and it must be built up higher. This is what must be done with détente, cementing it by widening and consolidating contacts and cooperation between peoples and states in the political, economic, cultural, humanitarian and other fields.

THE ARMS DRIVE CAN BE STOPPED!

The main tendency of world development at the present stage is for a further deepening of the process of détente, and this has made the attainment of a halt in the build-up of arms a practical possi-

bility. The process of the relaxation of world tension has been brought about by the decisive change in the balance of forces on a world-wide scale in favour of progress. These historical changes result in the main from the steady strengthening of the might and unity of the socialist community, and the growth of the international communist, working-class and national-liberation movements. It is necessary to note also the big part played by public opinion and progressive public organisations, and the realistic attitude adopted by many prominent public figures and politicians of Western countries.

The possibility of disarmament is determined primarily by political factors. This is being increasingly understood by the general public and political and industrial circles in the West. As J. S. McDonnell, a prominent industrialist and President of the United Nations Association of the USA noted in 1976 when on a visit to the Soviet Union, "Disarmament is possible, given the political will." Similarly, the report of a group of UN specialists, on the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament, notes that the problem of disarmament is one whose solution is dependent essentially on political will.

Disarmament is a realistic goal, but one that is extremely difficult to attain. It is difficult because a continued build-up of arms represents an ever growing source of profit for the military-industrial complex and the circles which serve it. As a result of the expansion of arms production, especially over the last fifteen years, the US military-industrial complex has grown like a yeast. Having attained unprecedented dimensions, it has taken on a separate existence of its own living by its own laws and dictating its will to the whole of society. Leonid Brezhnev observes that "...the unholy alliance of the professional

militarists and the monopolies who are making fortunes out of the weapons of war, usually known as the military-industrial complex, has become something of a 'state within a state' there, a law into itself." These forces control a considerable part of the mass media, which poisons public opinion with propaganda about the impossibility and even "danger" of disarmament. We are witnesses of a campaign, unprecedented since the time of the cold war in its scale and virulence, mounted by the opponents of disarmament and détente. These forces include generals and politicians, and even institutes whose specialty is the whipping up of war hysteria.

However, they cannot suggest any acceptable alternative. It is therefore clear why the opponents of détente do not usually come out openly against it, but oppose it in a devious way. They try to undermine détente by distorting its meaning. For example, they endeavour to persuade their public that building up arms, far from conflicting with détente, actually complements it, forming a dual process that "guarantees security". The idea that détente rests on "deterrence" and a "balance of power" is a dangerous theory. The higher the stockpile of arms built up, the more absurd becomes the policy of "deterrence", for those who adopt such a policy also create a threat to themselves.

The imperialist countries have forged a sword that they now cannot unsheathe and raise without risking their own destruction. Consequently, a further sharpening of it cannot confer greater security but, on the contrary, diminishes it. This is becoming ever more obvious. General MacArthur, one of those concerned in the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, declared at a session of the US Senate, that in view of the tremendous destructive power of modern weap-

ons, war had ruled itself out as the final arbiter for settling international disputes when politics had failed. The old catch-phrase "If you want peace, prepare for war" has nowadays become an absurdity, and in any case it is disproved by the whole course of history. It should be reformulated, based on past experience, to: "If you want peace, you have to work for it."

But this maxim is not to the liking of the opponents of détente, who advance their own slogans, the sense of which boils down to: "Securing peace means fighting the Soviet threat". But if those who make such a hullabaloo about "the Soviet threat" are really worried by the might of the Soviet armed forces, why then do they decline the repeated offers of the socialist countries to reduce the level of armaments, to make a start upon disarmament, to slash military budgets, and to simultaneously dismantle the military organisations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

It has been noted more than once in the world press that the bogey of "the Soviet menace" is trotted out to the Western public according to a timetable. The alarm is always raised with a special clamour when the time comes around for approving the new allocations for the military-industrial complex. In 1956, the cry was raised in the USA that America was "lagging" behind the Soviet Union in the number of bombers, and this was enough to secure for the Pentagon enormous allocations. Only later was it officially admitted that the USA then had 4-5 times more strategic bombers than the USSR. In 1960 there was another great fuss, this time about America's alleged lag in missiles. After fantastic sums had been approved to overcome this grave shortcoming the Pentagon acknowledged that its missile capability was 30 times greater than that of the

USSR. Behind the smokescreen of this deceit the USA increased its strategic arsenal by 10-12 times in the 1960's.

Allegations about "the Soviet menace" are disproved by the whole history of the Soviet state. Since its establishment in 1917, the Soviet Union has never threatened anyone. On the contrary, it has more than once been the victim of aggression.

It is not the Soviet Union but the NATO countries that are ahead in the arms drive. This is confirmed by Western sources themselves, and in particular, by the latest report of the United Nations Association of the USA, whose authors include such authorities on military and political questions as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Paul C. Warnke. The report concludes that the NATO countries, headed by the United States, spend "far more" on defence than the Warsaw Pact countries. In the 27 years of the existence of NATO, the military expenditure of the member countries has increased by nearly nine times.

In contrast, the Soviet Union has always striven to reduce its military expenditure. It cut its defence allocation from 11 per cent of the state budget in 1971 to 7.2 per cent in 1977. For 1978 it is 7 per cent.

The Soviet Union spends on defence only as much as it considers genuinely necessary to ensure its security, and to defend the gains of socialism, together with the fraternal countries. It is no more than is deemed sufficient to ensure that any would-be aggressor will not be tempted to try force to settle the historical dispute between the two opposed social systems. "The defence capability of the Soviet Union," said Leonid Brezhnev, "must be such that no one will risk disturbing our peaceful life. We do not aim at

superiority in the sphere of armaments but at a reduction, at lowering the level of military confrontation. That is our policy."

In addition, our opponents try to justify their arms build-up by what they call the historical inevitability of a "competition in armaments". But there is no such inevitability. It was a Prussian general of last century, the renowned military theorist, Karl von Clausewitz, who defined war as "an extension of foreign policy conducted by military means". But with the development of the nuclear-rocket weapon, war involving its application can no longer be used as an instrument of policy. The great thinkers of mankind foresaw this outcome. Lenin observed: "Having increased many-fold the destructive power of war, science and technology will have made war impossible." The leading representatives of the human race have always believed in the ultimate possibility of achieving disarmament, and have regarded war and armaments as an inescapable accompaniment, not of human society generally, but only of militarism and imperialism. Victor Hugo, for example, never doubted that the day would come when guns would be put into museums, "just as instruments of torture are now put there", and that people would be astounded that such barbarity had ever been possible.

There is more than theoretical proof of the possibility of disarmament. Practical results have already been achieved in this field. We may point, for example, to the 1972 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof. And 1972 and 1973 saw the conclusion of the historic Soviet-American agreements on the prevention of nuclear

war and on measures to limit the numbers of strategic offensive weapons, and the agreements directed at curbing the build-up of nuclear arms, at restricting the most powerful weapons of mass destruction. In 1974 the USSR and the USA concluded the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests.

The following year, 1975, saw the coming into force of the international Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction. This convention, worked out on the basis of the Soviet proposal, is aimed at removing from the arsenals of states this most dangerous weapon of mass destruction. And in the same year, an international conference in Geneva, in conformity with the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (which has now been signed by more than a hundred states), adopted measures to strengthen moves aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The initiative for practically all the above agreements came from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Besides the agreements already achieved, the practical possibility of disarmament is evidenced, too, by the concrete and perfectly practicable (assuming the political will) propositions put forward by the Soviet Union and other countries. In the last three decades, following the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union has made more than eighty concrete proposals directed at strengthening peace and at disarmament. To provide a full enumeration and characterisation of all the proposals put forward by the USSR in the field of disarmament would take more space than is available to us here. We shall therefore limit ourselves to the most recent Soviet

proposals in this field. The most comprehensive of these proposals is the Memorandum on Ending the Arms Race and on Disarmament, tabled by the USSR at the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly in 1976. It embraces all aspects of the problem of disarmament.

The constructive propositions advanced in Leonid Brezhnev's Kremlin speech of 21 October, 1977, are of great importance for supplementing political détente in Europe with military détente. They have come to be regarded as a platform of action and were introduced formally at the Belgrade follow-up meeting to the Helsinki Conference. The draft submitted envisages the conclusion by the participants in the Conference of an agreement not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Clearly, if such a treaty could be achieved, it would go a long way towards excluding the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out in Europe. The platform of action also envisages the achievement of an agreement at least not to widen by the addition of new members the military-political groupings and alliances that oppose each other in Europe.

Taking the appropriate opportunity afforded by the sixtieth anniversary celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev proposed that a radical step be taken—that all states concerned agree to the simultaneous ending of the production of nuclear weapons, that all nuclear powers undertake to make a start on the simultaneous reduction of their stockpiles of nuclear weapons up to the complete liquidation of these stocks under strict international supervision, and that a prohibition be imposed for a specified period of time on all nuclear testing, with a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

In March 1978 the Soviet Union together with other socialist countries presented the draft of a convention to prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling, deployment and use of the neutron weapons. If adopted by the NATO countries this convention would help ensure the security of all states and, by no means in the last instance, of the NATO countries themselves. It stands to reason that the Soviet Union's response to the American neutron bomb, especially if it is deployed in Europe, would be the development of a neutron bomb of its own. The arming of NATO with the neutron bomb would mean the beginning of a new spiral in the arms race. This would cloud the prospects for negotiations on problems of disarmament, complicate the process of détente and worsen relations between East and West.

In April 1978, addressing the 18th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, Leonid Brezhnev proposed a complete stop to any further quantitative or qualitative growth in the armaments and armed forces of states with a large military potential, so that conditions would be created for their subsequent reduction. Specifically he called for discussion of a programme of the following measures, to be put into effect within a definite time limit:

Ending the production of nuclear weapons of all types;

Ending the production of and banning all other types of mass destruction weapons;

Ending the development of new types of highly destructive conventional arms;

Renouncing the expansion of armed forces and the increase of the conventional armaments of the states which are permanent members of the UN Security Council and of countries linked with them by military agreements.

In putting forward its many proposals for reducing the level of armaments, including the proposal for disarmament, the Soviet state always emphasises that it is agreeable to any formulation and order for solving any of the problems of disarmament, provided only that the solutions are based on the principles of reciprocity, equality and the security of all. The main thing is not to stand still, making excuses about the difficulty of the problem. If it is one that cannot be solved immediately, at a stroke, we should strive to settle one question at a time, so that step by step we will succeed in the final aim—disarmament. Such is the approach that has been tried out in recent years, and it has justified itself.

In order to discuss the different problems of disarmament as a whole, with the participation of all countries, in an effort to take a decisive step forward along the road of disarmament, the Soviet Union has proposed the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, and it has called for the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, scheduled for 1978, to be regarded as an intermediate stage, as an important opportunity for preparing for this Conference.

DISARMAMENT: AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

In the West, the opponents of disarmament play on the notion that closing the arms factories will allegedly cause a general decline in production, and large-scale unemployment. Indeed, it is claimed that the manufacture of arms serves to stimulate economic development, offers a way of overcoming econo-

mic crises, and provides jobs. For example, the British economist, G. Thayer, in his book *The War Business*, takes the view that armaments can be used as a means for correcting balance-of-payments problems, and to promote the general welfare.

Before drawing attention to the factors that refute this false thesis, it must be stated, in the first place, that the theory of "prosperity through arming" flies in the face of common sense. The renowned philosopher and mathematician, Bertrand Russell, noted that it would be paradoxical and ridiculous to believe that "we can only keep alive by preparing to kill each other". Russell emphasised that the talk in reactionary circles about an economic decline in the event of disarmament was fostered "by those who are interested in the armaments industry".

Everyone knows that the production and sale of arms has for long been a veritable gold mine for the military-industrial monopolies of NATO, who have been raking in fabulous profits from the grossly inflated orders given them by the state. A Senate investigating committee of the US Congress looking into the affairs of 169 American firms supplying military equipment to the Pentagon and the NATO countries, found that 164 of them received profits ranging from 50 to 200 per cent. For three firms the rate was more than 500 per cent, and the profits of one exceeded 2,000 per cent. The profit level rose in proportion to the cost of the more advanced items of equipment. One wonders if there is any limit to this madness, this insensate greed for the enormous sums of money paid out by the merchants of death. The fate of our planet must not be allowed to rest in the hands of those who enrich themselves by this ugly trade.

The attempts of the representatives of the military-

industrial complex to depict the arms drive as being a "stimulus to the economy" are nothing short of absurd. Stripped of their propaganda rhetoric, the "arguments" of the industrialists and generals boil down to the rather obvious statement that "the manufacture of arms requires workers". But from this the conclusion is then drawn (not on economic grounds, and not on the basis of historical experience) that militarisation supposedly provides greater work opportunities for the population, whereas disarmament, on the contrary, causes unemployment.

Actually, the truth of the matter is the very reverse of all this. In reality, the "contribution" of military production to a country's economic growth is an illusion. Militarisation, the building up of arms, imposes a heavy burden on the economy of any country, and regardless of its social system. And militarisation of the economy is not able to overcome social contradictions and difficulties. It can only aggravate these contradictions and make them still more insoluble. Military spending might stave off—but only for the moment—certain economic problems, but only at the cost of making them still more difficult to deal with in the future.

Production for military purposes has a negative effect on the whole of society. It retards the growth of the constructive branches of industry, and actually leads to a lowering of the number of jobs, taken as a whole, that could otherwise have been made available. Where there is already unemployment, the military sector upsets the economic mechanism of the whole country, leading to still greater unemployment. This is the conclusion come to by many Western economists and sociologists. It is also borne out by practice.

After the end of the Second World War, the United

States demobilised nine million servicemen in the course of a single year. But the average number of unemployed in the USA in 1946 never exceeded 4 per cent. At the present time, with the continuing increase in military spending in the United States, the number of unemployed in the country, even taking the official figure, amounts to more than 7 per cent of the work force. The growth in military spending by the US from 1971 to 1975 was accompanied by a growth in the number of unemployed from five million to eight and a half million. In other words, in the USA, which appropriates a greater proportion of its GNP for military purposes than any other country, there is also the highest level of unemployment.

Even Western economists of the die-hard variety have to acknowledge that a lowering of living standards and a reduction in the capital investments needed for developing industry are in very many cases the consequences of a growth in military spending. The facts go to show that in the capitalist countries, the arms drive is one of the most significant factors, not only behind the cyclical crises, but also in the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

There are many Western economists who consider that a change-over from military to peaceful production would provide jobs for approximately double the number of persons at present employed in war factories and arsenals. This view is supported by authoritative research conducted by the American United Nations Association. But it is not only a matter of the number of jobs. No less important is the nature of the work, the use which is made of the work force. Military production always represents means that could otherwise have been used for developing social production. Student allowances for

twenty university places (41,000 dollars), equal the cost of one operational flight of a B-52 bomber. The amount spent on the development and purchase of new weapons systems (105,200 million dollars) would be sufficient to carry out all the work to be done in the USA to clean up the environment. In terms of food, the cost of one nuclear-powered aircraft carrier is equivalent to 2.8 million tons of wheat, and one jet bomber would be enough to buy 100,000 tons of sugar. The former US president, Dwight Eisenhower, acknowledging the burden of the arms drive, once remarked that every gun produced, every warship launched, and every missile installation was, in the final count, a theft against the hungry and cold, the ragged and barefoot.

The reduction, or, better, the full curtailment of production for military purposes would provide the means for solving urgent social problems. Western experts have made interesting calculations with regard to the benefits that could be received by ending the arms build-up. The cost of producing the C-5a military aircraft would be sufficient to feed all the hungry in the United States; and three of the new nuclear-armed submarines would be sufficient to meet the full cost of unemployment benefit payments, and also to provide free medical treatment to all those in need of it.

Disarmament could also greatly improve the financial position of states. It offers the sole effective way of overcoming balance-of-payments problems and ending inflation. Interestingly enough, at the end of 1959, at a moment when there was a temporary relaxation of international tension, the US Chamber of Commerce acknowledged the beneficial effect of disarmament on the economy.

The possibility of disarmament for the United

States from the economic point of view was substantiated in particular by the *U.S. News and World Report* in its August 1959 issue, with references to the experience of reducing the armed forces and military spending of the United States after the Second World War. As reported by the journal, US military expenditure was reduced from 88,600 million dollars in 1944 to 18,800 million dollars in 1946, and further reduced to 11,400 million dollars in 1947. This was an 87 per cent reduction, involving a sum greater than the total military spending by the US for the 1961/62 financial year. Moreover, the level of employment then was higher than it is at present.

All this shows that the economic "arguments" of the opponents of disarmament have no basis in fact.

THE ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF DÉTENTE

The extension of détente to the economic sphere is necessary not only for the solution of the social and economic problems which afflict many countries. If man casts off his back the crippling burden of the arms drive, he will then be free to realise the new, vast possibilities—that he has not yet been able to appreciate—opened up before him by scientific and technological progress, for solving peacefully the tasks confronting him. From the point of view of economic benefit, the practical utilisation of the latest achievements promises infinitely greater reward than could be gained through military conquest. Developing this thought in his book, *World Without War* (London, 1958), the British scientist, J. Bernal, wrote: "The material objectives about which nations have fought for centuries and for which they are prepared to fight now are completely trivial in com-

parison with what the same effort would win even more quickly in peace."

There is also another connection between political détente and the necessity of solving economic and social problems: these problems can be solved only collectively by the efforts of all countries on the basis of the closest co-operation between them. Those problems connected with the scientific and technological revolution, which in practice confront all countries, are of such magnitude that they go far beyond national boundaries and demand for their solution the collective application of all the combined experience, knowledge and means accumulated by mankind. They are problems which cannot be solved successfully in conditions of military tension and confrontation.

The logic of the development of the scientific and technological revolution demands the carrying out of research that is becoming increasingly complex. Such fields of investigation as space research, oceanographic research, meteorology, and a number of other spheres of research can be carried out effectively only by the joint efforts of scientists of a number of countries.

An international division of labour in the sphere of science and technology, combining the efforts of scientists and engineers of different countries, the sharing of achievements and exchange of licences and patents, are necessary conditions in the present-day world for making the most effective use of the resources which every industrially developed country spends on science. To put it briefly, further economic, scientific and technological development calls out for greater international scientific co-operation and contacts—which is only possible in conditions of détente.

There are particularly favourable prospects for economic détente in Europe. The indications are that, even by simply maintaining the present trend, imports by the socialist countries from Western Europe could rise to a value of over 15,000 million dollars a year by 1980, with mutual trade turnover reaching roughly double that figure. Should it prove possible to achieve qualitative advances in the framework of all-European co-operation, in particular, a co-ordination of trade with regard to long-term investment policy, this would considerably increase the scale of business contacts and make it possible to create on the continent of Europe a more rational system of specialisation as between the different branches of industry, to renew production resources at a faster rate, and to raise the economic, scientific and technological potential of Europe and utilise it to the best effect.

The strengthening of co-operation between states in an all-European framework could substantially enhance Europe's economic and political importance in the world. Its economic potential is greater than that of any other continent. With one-fifth of the world's population, Europe accounts for about 55 per cent of world industrial production and 47 per cent of the total world income. Europe is the world's most dynamically developing continent as regards the rate of its economic advance. For example, for the period 1966-1977, the average annual industrial growth rate of the CMEA countries amounted to 8.1 per cent, and of the countries of Western Europe to 5.5 per cent. These figures are higher than for other regions of the world, with the exception of Japan. The European countries have an immense investment programme under way. At the present time capital investments of the states of Europe in new industrial

construction, housing, the infrastructure, and the modernisation of existing enterprises exceed in absolute terms 300,000 million dollars. This amount is divided about equally between the CMEA countries and the West European states.

The continent has a vast concentration of skilled workers, engineers and scientists, capable of tackling any production, technological or scientific problem. About half the world's scientific work force is located here, and the CMEA countries, alone, account for more than one-third of it.

The combined scientific and technological potential of Europe, therefore, is fully equal to that of America. However, this potential is not realised as it could be because of the lack of unity and co-ordination of scientific and technological research in Europe taken as a whole. Yet the possibilities of such concentrated forces are great, especially in view of the fact that the structures of the scientific potentials of Western and Eastern Europe are to a considerable degree complementary.

In the socialist countries, principally the USSR, the greatest emphasis has been on the development of basic research, which leads the world in many branches of science. Western Europe, for its part, has a developed research and production base, and well-organised business relations as regards the world market. Taken together, these constitute a good foundation for the comprehensive, mutually profitable solving of scientific and technological problems, and joint manufacture and exchange of products with a high per-unit input of scientific information. Commercial licensing for new techniques and technology also represents a promising sphere of co-operation between East and West. The strengthening and development of various forms of scientific and technolo-

gical co-operation between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe could help to solve many major problems.

There are excellent prospects in Europe for co-operation between the states of the two different social systems. Already, three-quarters of the trade turnover between the European socialist countries and capitalist states is with the countries of Western Europe, and the possibilities are still far from exhausted.

An important question in the development of comprehensive co-operation in Europe is that of the business relations between the two main integrated economic associations. In February, 1976, the CMEA put forward the constructive proposal that the member-countries of the CMEA and the EEC conclude an agreement concerning the principles that should govern their mutual relations. Such an agreement could make a positive contribution to the fostering of commercial and economic co-operation between the two organisations taken as a whole, and the individual member-countries of each.

On the foundation of détente, the first results in the development of economic, scientific and technological relations between nations, especially those having different socio-economic systems, have already been achieved, and they are impressive. Evidence of the extent of the change that has taken place is afforded by the expansion of the USSR's foreign trade turnover following the signing of the Final Act of the European security conference. In 1975 and 1976 the USSR's external trade grew by 40 per cent. Compared with 1974, Soviet trade with France rose by 80 per cent, with Britain, by 37 per cent, and with West Germany, by 36 per cent.

The widening of the Soviet Union's foreign econo-

mic ties finds concrete expression in the fact that practically every month sees the signing of the agreements covering economic, industrial, and scientific and technological co-operation, and large-scale long-term contracts. Ten such agreements were concluded in 1976. The first half of 1977 saw the signing of a long-term programme (up to 1990) of development and further co-operation with Finland, a long-term programme of co-operation with the Belgium-Luxembourg Economic Union, two agreements with Greece, one covering trade, and the other, scientific and technological co-operation, and other agreements of a similar nature. The significance of some of these projects extends beyond the end of the present century. They include: a 5,000-kilometre trans-European gas pipeline which will have a capacity of 30,000 million cubic metres of natural gas a year (being built with the participation of leading West German, French, Italian and Austrian firms); large auto plants in Togliatti, Izhevsk and on the River Kama, in which American, West German, Italian and French companies are taking part; a mineral fertiliser plant; a huge steel complex near Stary Oskol, being constructed with the participation of a number of West German firms; an agreement concerning the construction of a system of gas pipelines linking Iran, West Germany, Austria and France, through the territories of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; and the building of a gas pipeline from Orenburg to the western border of the USSR.

Scientific and technological co-operation is developing successfully on the fertile soil of détente. The experience of Franco-Soviet co-operation in both basic and applied research is indicative in this respect. As a result of this co-operation the scientific potential of the two countries has grown significantly in

such fields as high-energy physics, space research, the synthesis of new materials, geological prospecting, and television. Examples of this joint work include French participation in research being conducted with the help of the Soviet Union's super-powerful accelerator at Serpukhov, joint research into fundamental problems of physics, the testing of the French laser reflector installed on *Lunokhod-1*, and the USSR's participation in the development of nuclear power industry in France.

On the initiative of the socialist countries, trading relations with the Western states are being built on a long-term basis. At the present time there are more than 80 agreements of this nature between them, and also a number of contracts covering economic, scientific and technological co-operation. Recently a Soviet-French programme for economic co-operation was drawn up and approved for a ten-year period. It was for the first time that an agreement for such a lengthy period was concluded between a socialist and a capitalist country. The development and further strengthening of the trend toward these long-term and comprehensive agreements in the economic relations between East and West can be of material assistance in solving the problems of improving the structure and stimulating the growth of world trade.

OBSTACLES TO BUSINESSLIKE CO-OPERATION

That the present level of development of trade between East and West far from corresponds to their production capacities and their actual needs is evident enough. For example, trade between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe accounts

altogether for only about three per cent of world trade turnover, although their total industrial production is more than half the world industrial output.

The absence of close economic ties between East and West, their economic estrangement, to a certain extent complicates the question of determining the optimum size and technological level of a whole number of branches of industry. One thinks, in particular, of the wasteful parallel development or duplication that takes place in many types of work as a result of the weakly developed specialisation and co-operation in production between the socialist and capitalist countries, and the too great isolation in conducting scientific and technological research, which inevitably reduces the efficiency of existing production and increases the burden of investments for new construction, reconstruction and technological advancement.

The urgent task of our time is to unite our efforts, in the interests of the countries belonging to different socio-economic systems, to rid ourselves of everything that artificially interferes with the development of these ties and clear the way for raising our co-operation to a new qualitatively and quantitatively higher level as demanded by the epoch. Such co-operation would be of enormous mutual economic benefit. This is beginning to be appreciated more and more by business circles and by public opinion. To retain artificial obstacles in the way of the free development of trade and economic co-operation between countries not only bars the way to making use of new and great possibilities, but also causes considerable material loss. Such a state of affairs contradicts détente and acts against it.

The system of economic discrimination was born in the period of the cold war. At this time, as some Western researchers admit (for example, Gunnar Myrdal, A. Adler-Karlsson and some others), the NATO countries, without advertising the fact, carried on a virtual economic war against the socialist countries. A special Co-ordinating Committee (COCOM) was set up in 1951 as the main instrument for organising an economic embargo against the socialist countries. It was made up of all the NATO member-countries (except for Iceland) and Japan, and its main concern was to ensure that the embargo was carried out. This Committee still exists and functions (though in a somewhat curtailed form) up to the present day. At the height of the economic war against the USSR and other socialist countries, meetings of COCOM were held every day, in conditions of the strictest secrecy. In those days the COCOM embargo lists were so comprehensive and detailed that even plastic combs were included as prohibited goods. The Committee discussed in all seriousness such questions as whether to prohibit the sale of plastic buttons to the socialist countries. The Swedish scientist we have already mentioned, A. Adler-Karlsson, cites the joke of a certain state official: Western politicians apparently sought thereby to weaken the military capability of the Soviet Union, counting on incapacitating the soldiers by forcing them to fight with one hand—the other being needed to hold up their trousers.

Notwithstanding the fruitlessness of its efforts, COCOM is still functioning. It is a survival of the cold war and its founders are clinging to it in order to hinder the process of détente.

Other forms of discrimination which continue to be practised by the United States and a number of

other Western countries in their trade with the socialist countries are also a legacy of the cold war.

Western public opinion and business interests are more and more coming to understand that artificial barriers, discrimination and embargoes boomerang against the Western countries themselves, adding to their economic problems and their difficulties with unemployment. And as recent history shows, embargoes and other limitations on economic relations have not been able to hold back, let alone prevent, the economic, scientific and technological advance of the socialist community.

But Western propaganda continues its attempts to deceive the public with assertions that economic, scientific and technological exchange is more advantageous to the USSR and other socialist countries, and that the West is not interested in this exchange. In reality, the Western countries stand to gain no less, and possibly even more from such exchange than the socialist states. It has been calculated, for instance, that East-West trade taken as a whole provides employment for more than two million workers in the industrialised capitalist countries. According to West German press reports, about half a million workers in the Federal Republic are at present engaged in fulfilling orders for the socialist countries. "Nearly all the well-known large and medium-sized industrial firms which are producers of the means of production have trade ties with the East, either directly or indirectly," noted a report of the FRG Department of Information in 1977. All this is of very considerable significance when the army of unemployed in the West, according to official figures, continues to exceed 15 million.

Neither do the assertions that the USSR is inte-

rested in promoting these ties because of its "technological backwardness" correspond to reality. People who talk like this simply ignore the obvious fact that the Soviet Union today is the world's second industrial power. The passing of time reveals both the strength and the weakness of states. Bearing this in mind, the propaganda line handed out in the West to the effect that Soviet foreign policy is dictated by a "need for Western technological know-how", appears more than a little ridiculous. If the young Soviet state, backward and economically ruined as it was, could defeat the interventionists and successfully defend its ideals, it is absurd to imagine that USSR policy in international affairs could now be dictated by considerations of receiving some sort of economic "help" from the West.

Actually, of course, the stories about "Soviet technological dependence" on the West are used as an excuse for maintaining the artificial barriers in the way of scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and the USA. Equally clear, too, is their aim of turning the relations between the two countries back to a cold-war state.

It is well known that many branches of the national economy of the USSR are highly advanced technologically, well ahead of the corresponding branches in other countries. Among the achievements of Soviet industry might be mentioned the development of the power industry, including nuclear engineering, laser and space technology, welding, the creation of new artificial materials, and other leading branches.

Even if there was any substance to the allegations that the USSR "lags behind" the West in the technological sphere, a boycott or restrictions on scientific, technological and economic contacts could not

hold back its development. The technological capability and achievements of the USSR are such that the country is able to solve by itself any problem which might arise in this and related fields. Of course, it is sometimes cheaper and simpler to buy something needed than to make it oneself. It would hardly be sensible for the USSR to deny itself the advantages offered by the international division of labour.

For the Soviet economy, trade and co-operation with the West is a supplementary, not a determinative factor of its development.

Imports from capitalist countries amount to less than two per cent of the Soviet gross national product. Clearly, therefore, the USSR's industrial and technological progress does not depend on Western technology. In August, 1976, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, an adviser to the US State Department, appearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said that in his opinion it was doubtful whether any power, the United States included, could have exerted a significant influence on the growth and accumulation of physical power by the Soviet Union, which the world had observed over the last thirty years. But it is the United States which is especially stubborn in retaining discriminatory measures against the USSR in the matter of trade. It continues to refuse to accord most-favoured-nation status to the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries. This expression is somewhat of a misnomer, of course, because what is involved is not the granting of some special rights or privileges, but the removal of discrimination and inequality, of customs and other artificial barriers to the development of economic and trade relations. It is a question only of agreeing to those conditions which other states use in their eco-

conomic relations and trade. It only remains to add that the United States grants most-favoured-nation status to its 140 trade partners.

The bill approved by the US Congress in 1974 under the pressure of its "hawks", which discriminates against the USSR in the matter of trade and credit, is also an impediment to the development of economic relations. It led to the breaking of a Soviet-American trade agreement. It has been estimated that the value of Soviet trade with the US, in industrial goods alone, including raw materials, could have amounted by now to about 10,000 million dollars, if not more. Could have, but in fact for the last two years it has come to little more than one-fifth of this volume, and is even declining. These lost opportunities cannot be retrieved. The vacuum created in Soviet-American trade was quickly filled by other countries. And, naturally, the Soviet Union gives preference to those partners with whom it is possible to trade on an equal basis.

In Europe, too, there are still serious obstacles in the way of mutually profitable economic exchange. A number of Common Market countries impose quantitative restrictions that affect up to a quarter (by value) of Soviet exports. And these limitations apply to the most promising export lines—aircraft, cars, tractors, road-building machinery, river vessels, industrial fittings, watches, cast iron, rolled steel, and a number of chemical products.

In the Common Market countries goods imported from the CMEA countries are subjected to licensing, and to a lengthy co-ordination procedure with state bodies for "technical" and "administrative" reasons—procedures that have no place with respect to goods from non-socialist countries. And the Common Market countries have been resorting even

more frequently—without any foundation—to invoking the so-called “anti-dumping regulations” against the CMEA countries. Finally, the “strategic” embargo still continues in operation on the delivery of a whole range of goods to the socialist community, which limits the possibility of placing orders for machinery, plant and technological processes. All this, needless to say, is in glaring contradiction to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. The facts show that it is not the differences between the social systems that stand in the way of East-West economic co-operation, but the attempts to capitalise on these differences for political purposes. This is realised by public opinion and by the more realistic representatives of Western political and business circles, who are increasingly expressing their support for a mutually profitable development of East-West economic relations.

DÉTENTE—AN ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE

Besides the threat of a nuclear catastrophe posed by the growth of armaments, there is also another danger. In view of the divisions that exist between the world's peoples and of the diversion of vast resources to war preparations, many vital problems relating to the environment, sources of energy, health care, and many others common to all mankind have been neglected. Everyone is alarmed at the damage being done to the environment. We are faced with the global problem of rescuing the World Ocean from pollution by the products of man's activities. The poisoning of the oceans, seas and rivers leads to upsetting the natural balance and destroying the material base of man's existence. The sea is not only

a provider of food, but also an important source of our oxygen, without which people and animals cannot live. The first forms of life originated in the ocean, and now, as a result of the pollution of the environment, the possibility might arise that the ocean will come to threaten the existence of life, because ultimately all wastes end up in the sea. The ecologists and other specialists say that urgent joint action by all countries is needed to protect the world's oceans and seas.

Just as dangerous is the pollution of the land and the air. Here, too, time is working against us. The longer the task of rectifying the damage done is delayed, the harder will it be to put matters right, and in some cases changes in the natural environment may become irreversible.

To provide sufficient food is becoming an ever more serious problem. Forty per cent of the world's population live on the border of starvation and in poverty. A further deterioration in the material situation of the majority of the people, who live in the developing countries, could lead to world-wide social convulsions and cause an unprecedented economic crisis.

It is not accidental that now, even among the upper ruling classes and monopoly circles, more people are demanding that at least some of the means presently being spent on armaments be used for carrying out measures to protect nature and for solving the urgent social problems that confront man on a world-wide scale.

The strengthening of economic co-operation on the basis of political détente and of a rejection of military confrontation is necessary also in view of the closer linking together of the world economy. The

tendency in Europe and on a larger scale for growing integration processes reflects the internationalisation of economic life and is an objectively determined global phenomenon.

The necessity for deepening economic co-operation between all countries is dictated by objective conditions. The dynamic development of productive forces, the growing world population, the unprecedentedly rapid advance of science and technology, and the great strides made in communications and transport, etc., all increase the mutual dependence of states.

This means that, from the economic point of view, a return to the cold war, the breaking of natural economic links between peoples, could cause irreparable loss to the population of the world, and, in an ultimate sense, might even lead to the despoliation of nature and, consequently, to economic catastrophe. Steps have to be taken now to overcome this tendency before the negative consequences in the world of nature become irreversible.

The drawing up and putting into operation of international programmes for restoring the ecological balance in the world, for solving the food, energy and raw materials problems, and for tackling the "ills of the century" generally, is possible only if there is a strengthening of trust and co-operation between the countries of different socio-economic systems, that is to say, with a further deepening of détente.

But there exists, too, a reverse kind of dependence: the all-round encouragement, widening and development of economic, trade, scientific, technological and other ties between states, independent of their socio-economic systems and level of development, create a favourable base for improving political relations between them, for greater mutual trust,

and for strengthening peace and international security. In other words, mutually profitable economic relations between East and West help create a material foundation for achieving a lasting peace.

It is very difficult, in fact it is impossible, to draw a clear line of demarcation between political, military and economic détente. They are indivisible, particularly in the sense that success in one direction creates a more favourable situation in another.

Economic, scientific and technological co-operation is the corner-stone on which security rests. It guarantees the stability and solidity of the whole edifice of peace.

CULTURAL DÉTENTE

Relations and contacts between peoples in the cultural and other humanitarian fields are an important factor in the system of inter-state relations, reflecting, as they do, the state of political and economic relations. And here, too, we have another example of dependence: contacts at a personal level, and the exchange of information and ideas can best be carried out, not in a world bristling with armaments, but in one that is free from them. It is difficult for cultural and other contacts between people to grow and flourish in an atmosphere of fear, distrust and mutual suspicion. Therefore, concern to extend political détente to include military détente, also means concern to create the most favourable conditions for drawing people closer together culturally and intellectually.

In its turn, exchange in the field of art and culture generally, assists in creating a climate of mutual interest and trust between peoples. International

cultural contacts play an important part in promoting détente and consolidating a climate of co-operation between peoples of different countries.

That is why the Soviet state encourages cultural exchange in every way it can, seeking to widen it and strengthen the agreements it has with other countries in this sphere. Such an approach to the development of international cultural relations is for the Soviet Union one of steadfast principle. It derives from the Leninist cultural policy and is an expression of the foreign-policy principles pursued by the USSR.

This is the policy that has been followed since the first days of the existence of the Soviet state, even in those difficult years when the Soviet people were laying the foundations of socialism, and the reactionary forces of the world were trying to encircle the young republic, not only militarily and with an economic blockade, but also to isolate it, to exclude the new Soviet state from "civilised" society, as they called it. Lenin stressed the importance of establishing contacts with all that was progressive and advanced in world culture. It is noteworthy that even in the most difficult period for the young Soviet state, from March, 1918 to the end of 1922, that is, the period of the Civil War and foreign intervention, Lenin had more than thirty meetings with cultural figures from abroad.

Let us hold up to examination the allegations of those in the West who try to make out that the socialist countries avoid and even "fear" exchange of information with states of a different social structure.

The fact is that you will find it very difficult to name any country in the world today where the people are as well informed in general, and about life abroad in particular, as they are in the Soviet Union.

UNESCO statistics show that the USSR leads the world, far ahead of other countries, in the publication of foreign literature. In 1976 the Soviet Union put out 1,587 titles of books by foreign authors. They were translated from 45 languages in a total printing of approximately 100 million copies.

In the sphere of television, a Western survey, carried out under the auspices of UNESCO, showed that television programmes originating in the USA and Western Europe were shown in the USSR and other socialist countries for a total viewing time of 3,000 hours in a year. Programmes in the reverse direction had a viewing time of not more than 1,000 hours. In the socialist countries original programmes from the West take up about ten per cent of viewing time, whereas the corresponding figure for programmes from the socialist countries shown in the West is only two per cent.

The story is much the same with regard to the cinema. In 1976 the Soviet Union bought 130 films from a hundred different countries—70 from socialist states and 60 from capitalist countries. Over a nine-year period (1966-1975) the USSR bought from the USA 61 films, which were shown throughout the country. But in this same period the United States bought only 25 Soviet films, nearly half of which were not released for general showing.

This is the answer to the question of who is leading in the matter of East-West cultural exchange.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND DÉTENTE ARE INCOMPATIBLE

Those forces which are interested in aggravating political and military tension are doing their best to substitute psychological warfare for cultural ex-

change between peoples. The object is to poison the international atmosphere so as to stifle détente, not only in the cultural, but in the military and economic spheres as well.

The aim of this form of warfare is to play on human emotions and sensibilities, instincts and prejudices by spreading false information, by slander and the distortion of facts, by the spreading of provocative rumours, and, generally, by attempts to demoralise people.

These hostile actions have already caused considerable damage to East-West relations. They have reduced the possibilities of co-operation between states, caused friction between them, prevented the settling of important questions of world politics, and have put a brake on, or halted altogether, the process of cultural exchange. All this, needless to say, is incompatible with détente.

There is another reason, too, why it is important to give battle to and put down the forces engaging in this warfare. It is because we are living in a period marked by what has been dubbed the "information explosion". Thanks to the scientific and technological revolution and the advances made in the field of communications, the mass of information now being put in front of people is growing in geometrical progression. Every day, nearly 360 million newspapers are put out in the world, and some 650 million radios and 250 million television sets are switched on. Information is gathered and disseminated by the world's 160-odd news agencies, and is broadcast by around 15,000 radio stations in practically all languages.

It goes without saying that if the whole of this stream of information is not kept under control so that it conforms to accepted standards of internatio-

nal law, it might be used for anti-social purposes, for setting people against each other and fanning hatred. Conversely, objective and truthful information makes for closer relations between peoples and states. All the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference undertook to promote "the creation of an atmosphere of trust and respect between peoples", and to "refrain from war propaganda, and to renounce the use or threat of force", and this clearly has a direct relation to the activity of the mass information media. The question at issue is not one of "muzzling the free press", as some politicians and papers and magazines in the West try to make out, but one of introducing a certain measure of control in the propaganda field so that such activity is carried on in a framework that excludes ideological subversion and provocation, and propaganda of war. The new Soviet Constitution specifically proscribes any form of propaganda of war.

But it is necessary to point out that in the West, influential mass-circulation newspapers still continue to pour out vicious propaganda in the spirit of the cold war. Particularly regrettable—in view of the Helsinki Conference and adoption of the Final Act, which aims at developing the exchange of information in the interests of mutual understanding and the strengthening of friendly relations between countries—is the continued operations in West Germany of the foreign-controlled radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe". These cold-war propaganda stations, which are a cover for the CIA, interfere in the internal affairs of many European countries, carry on hostile propaganda against the socialist states, and resort to every kind of underhand method in their unscrupulously activity.

As another way of undermining détente and in-

terfering in the internal affairs of other states, we now have the hypocritical "human rights" campaign, a campaign, moreover, that concerns itself only with the "rights" of individual renegades who have broken the law of the country in which they live. Those who show such touching concern for human rights should first of all look closely at themselves and the situation immediately around them to see if everything is as it should be in their own home as regards—not imaginary, incidentally, but—actual infringements of human rights. They would also do well to bear in mind that political rights in the West, where they are not already restricted, in practice have very little value for the great majority of people in the absence of guaranteed economic and social rights. Frequently, these rights are not even formally acknowledged in the West. In marked contrast to this situation, the new Constitution of the USSR spells out, more clearly and comprehensively than has ever been done before anywhere in the world, the social, economic and political rights and freedoms of citizens and provides concrete guarantees for the exercise of these rights.

Those who interfere in the internal affairs of other states under the pretext of "defending human rights" or for any other reason, and who abuse the means of mass information, usually claim that this is all part of the ideological struggle. Thereby they try to equate psychological warfare with ideological struggle. But there is a clear distinction between the two. The first seeks to undermine détente, while the second does not contradict it. The first leads to an explosive confrontation of the opposed social systems, whereas the second forms part of the honest competition between them. This is well understood by many politicians in the West. In an interview with

the Paris weekly, *Le Point*, the British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, said he did not agree with the view that "the refusal of the Soviet Union to end the ideological struggle" signified "the end of détente". He considered that the Soviet Union was quite sincere in its détente policy. This was too important a matter for the USSR, he said. And détente by no means included an armistice in the battle of ideas. It would be unrealistic to expect the USSR to agree to stop propounding the ideology in which it believes, just as unrealistic as it would be to expect the West to give up propagating its ideas.

The ideological struggle is not an invention of the Communists. It is a permanent condition of human society, an objective reality, an integral feature of the life of mankind. To abolish, to eliminate it is not within the power of any government. But the interests of peace and international co-operation demand the outlawing of psychological warfare and of all those methods of propaganda which lead to a worsening of the international situation, which incite enmity between peoples, and which constitute interference in the affairs of other countries.

Only by promoting détente in the ideological sphere can contacts between people grow and flourish into a full-flowing exchange of ideas for our mutual cultural enrichment.

* * *

Never before have such positive changes and advances taken place in world politics as in this decade. Increasingly, the international situation has come to be shaped and determined by the factors of détente. Agreements have been concluded which show that the arms drive can be halted, can be brought under control.

But then, at this crucial moment, the road of détente is being blocked by the Pentagon with its cruise missile and neutron bomb. The new types of death-dealing weapons threaten an escalation of the arms drive—just what the headquarters of the military-industrial complex is counting on. The activities of the forces of reaction, which are directed at undermining détente, contradict the official declarations and agreements reached by the governments of a majority of countries of the world.

The sole government which openly and officially declares its opposition to détente is the government of China. China, today, is not a party to a single international agreement in the disarmament sphere. It does not want to assume any obligations, either in the field of nuclear disarmament or with reference to conventional types of weapons, that would tie its hands and interfere with its extensive arms-building programme.

People in different countries are asking themselves the same questions: which is the stronger tendency, which is gaining the upper hand—reckless folly, or reason and common sense? What will be the end of an unrestrained arms race? Who is to blame for it? Is there really no way of stopping it? These are by no means rhetorical questions. In this nuclear age they are the concern of all—of every individual and of all states. When all is said and done, the answers to them will signify whether or not there is to be a new world war, will tell what fate is in store for the future generations.

The world's peoples have an immense amount to gain by co-operating with one another, and an immense amount to lose—perhaps everything—by senselessly confronting one another.

Михаил Иванович Голубничий
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Détente—the Only Way

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