

mobilize support for sanitized, controlled conflict with the Soviets to implement the controlled disintegration of the advanced and Third World sectors—a policy which, with or without SALT, will lead to a thermonuclear confrontation with the Soviets in which the U.S. would be obliterated as a nation. Or we can seize this opportunity to engage in a great national debate on the nature of a true war-avoidance and peace-winning policy based on scientific and economic leadership by the U.S. for global development.

## IISS head spells out coming East-West conflict

*Following are excerpts from International Institute for Strategic Studies head Christoph Bertram's article "Does the Third World Have an Effect on the East-West Relation?" which appeared in the weekly Die Zeit.*

The good old model of East-West polarity—here America, there Russia—has not altogether disappeared from our awareness. How deeply rooted it is, time and again becomes clear when events in the Third World—in Angola, in the Horn of Africa, in Southeast Asia—are forcibly fitted into the framework of East-West politics. However, the old model no longer corresponds to reality. The world has changed

First. The East-West opposition is no longer the only and most dangerous international conflict material. While Europe and the superpowers do not enjoy absolute security, they are nonetheless in an incomparably better position than the rest of the world.

Secondly, wars and conflicts in the Third World will increase in the coming decade. With the decay of the earlier system of order—which also made conflicts in the Third World more difficult because it could subsume them under the discipline of East-West determent—conflict materials again come to the fore....

The fourth point. Between the western industrial powers there exist, in spite of considerable agreements, weighty differences in interest in their policies vis-à-vis the Third World. These differences are principally due to their different raw materials dependency.

Now not every small war or every little conflict somewhere in the Third World is relevant to the security policies of the states of East and West....

In the case of three types of conflicts in the Third World, however, this is different: when a local conflict threatens to lead to a direct military confrontation between East and West; when war and unrest in certain regions of the Third World put into question the raw materials needs of our economies; and when, finally,

negative conclusions are to be drawn from the behavior of a state in faraway conflicts, concerning its reliability as an ally regarding the security situation in Europe, which touches us directly. . . . The second category is more important. There are many examples. A new oil embargo as the result of a Mideast war, continuous disruptions of supplies as the result of civil war, unrest, international revolution in areas which are decisive for our raw materials imports—as, for example, in the Persian Gulf or in the south of Africa. The problem exists. However, it lies not so much in the danger to the present raw materials supply. With regard to this disruptions might be possible to handle. The problem, rather, lies in the danger to future supply. A long-lasting guerrilla war between the white minority regime in South Africa and its black neighbor states or a growing unrest in Iran will not so much endanger the output of existing mines and oil wells, but it will endanger the massive investments upon which the future exploitation and thus access to sufficient raw materials in the coming decade depend.

The third category is the most difficult to describe.... Conflicts in the Third World very frequently attain a proxy or symbolic function; they are imparted from the outside with the East-West stamp and are evaluated as indicators for the status and the outlook for the East-West relationship. No wonder that the Soviet Union is astonished about the Western reaction concerning its African activities....

The system of international order of the last three decades has dissolved, and the structures of a new system are at least recognizable in outline. In the transition period military might will gain increasing weight. The readiness for intervention in the Third World will increase and simultaneously the reluctance in the Third World itself to force the solution of political problems with military means is diminishing.

Third, the danger of conflict in the Third World combined with the increasing worry in the industrial countries concerning safe access to raw materials gives a new political weight to events in the developing countries.

Cooperation between East and West in the northern hemisphere becomes increasingly questionable in the face of unchecked and militarily determined rivalry in the southern hemisphere. A separation between the two may be desirable but it is not possible to carry out. Soviet opportunism and Soviet expansionism in the Third World must weigh heavily on detente even if the security of the Western community is seldom immediately concerned....

...There is much which indicates that the Soviet Union will, in the face of growing internal difficulties, ...seek a way out by means of that ability to which she primarily owes her position as a world power: namely, the area of military might....