

The Third World and the Cold War

dens for Western defence, but it is related to the differences in world view as well. These differences must be acknowledged and debated but cannot be allowed to dominate approaches to problems. A Western consensus is urgently needed.

What should the West do? Here are some thoughts.

1) We need to recognize the inevitability of crises affecting our interests and develop the mechanisms to deal with them.

2) We need instruments for rapid consultation. As many of these crises are going to occur outside the traditional NATO area, we must have effective means of consultation and crisis management.

3) Where vital strategic interests are engaged, the option of military cooperation among states principally affected has to be contemplated realistically. Military recourse would be necessary primarily if the Soviet Union were more or less directly involved itself. We hope this will not happen. But it is less likely to happen if countries in the West are equipped to respond to such an event politically as well as militarily.

4) We need to strengthen collective security to resist recourse to force in international relations. The use of force has become banal. Article II(4) of the UN Charter, which prohibits any use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a state, has to be enforced. The UN's peacemaking and peace-keeping machinery has to be strengthened, not weakened.

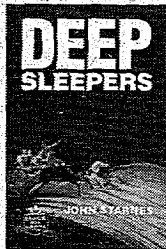
5) At the same time, we must be careful not to support with arms or other means regimes with no popular legit-

imacy, just because they are anti-communist. We need to immunize developments in the Third World from the East-West angle to the greatest extent possible. This is not only desirable in itself, but is related to the need for applying the right policies for promoting development in the Third World and for being on the right side of events there.

6) We need to support the legitimate aspirations of developing countries to achieve an international system more responsive to their needs, needs which are, in some respects, identifiably different. And we need to deal with world poverty, which is extensive, unacceptable and correctable. We have to try. There is a moral imperative, as well as basic self-interest.

7) A *modus vivendi* is needed with the Soviet Union for global activities which respects the legitimacy of their interest in world developments, but which also avoids destabilization of strategic Western interests. To achieve such an understanding, there is going to have to be a better relationship with the Soviet Union. This will depend to a large extent on USSR behavior but it can also only result from meeting with the USSR, from keeping that dialogue going.

If arms control and reductions were contemplated against the background of the above objectives, they would be a lot more obtainable. The world is a precarious place. There is not a great deal we can do to prevent violence from erupting in various parts of it, but we can try to limit those outbreaks, and also to insulate other developments in the Third World from East-West competition; their problems are surely severe enough.



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