

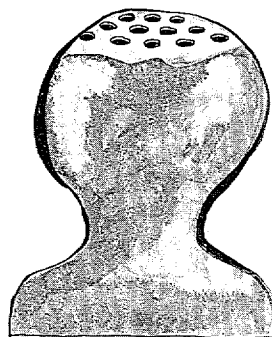
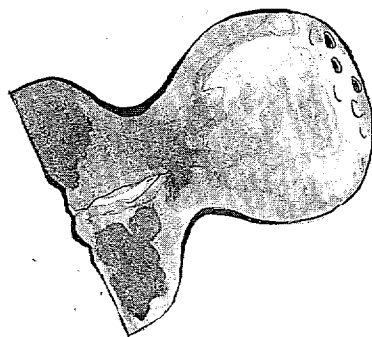
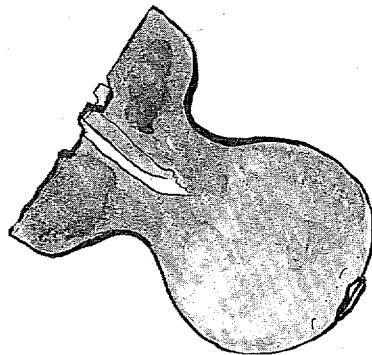
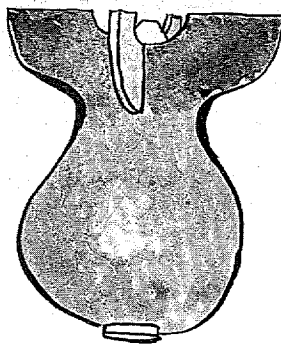
tional groups. Taking away men's arms without removing from their heads and their hearts the causes of violence is as lasting in its effects as catching a shadow or writing on water.

There is nothing, of course, to prevent us from envisaging ways of reducing military expenditure that might at least have the symbolic value of goodwill gestures and contribute towards the creation of a climate of trust, without which the whole enterprise is doomed to failure. But, once again, the real danger lies less in the accumulation of arms than in the reasons that lead men to manufacture and then use them.

Arms trade

The arms trade raises yet other problems. It accelerates the arms race on its own; to the extent that it contributes to the spread of weapons, it is an additional unsettling factor. In this respect, it is even more dangerous than the arms race involving the super-powers, since it increases the number of those with access to military force in areas where power is so fragile and unstable that there is no guarantee that arms will not be used. When this problem is raised, the Chinese reply that it is indispensable for the Third World to arm itself in order to be able to combat the supremacy of the great powers; if this is the case, however, it is difficult to understand why those same great powers are the main purveyors of arms.

The arms trade does have its own logic, which is more closely related to profit than to fear. The sale of arms appears in the first place to be a commercial necessity, to write off the cost of the investment made in manufacturing arms for national defence. The buyers thus partially help to finance the arming of the industrialized countries. In the second place, the arms trade has become a valuable source of funds at a time when the *nouveaux riches* prefer to buy tanks or supersonic airplanes rather than jewellery or perfume. Even though it is clear that the arms race is suicidal for the industrialized countries, collusion between petroleum suppliers and arms manufacturers has become a basic element in the security of the former and the trade balance of the latter. In this respect, there is no point in denouncing a clandestine international gun-running conspiracy. Governments themselves openly organize this trade with the complicity of companies in search of profits — and in some cases of trade unions interested in maintaining jobs and wages. Finally, the arms trade is an important source of political influence. It creates in the buyer a



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long-lasting dependence on technology, parts and instructors from the supplying country.

The arms trade thus justifies itself, quite apart from any immediate concern for security. It has become assimilated with other industrial, commercial and monetary activities to the extent that, if it were suddenly stopped, it would have a devastating effect on the economic and social stability of the countries that de-