

Sudden Shock of RECOGNITION

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An article by this writer, captioned "Festering Problems," appeared in these columns on September 6th. It dealt primarily with last year's Soviet-American grain deal—by now universally recognized as an inflationary economic disaster. But this, we pointed out, "has not deterred our government, businessmen and bankers from plunging into vastly bigger Soviet trade deals," involving, in the words of a New York Times editorial, "a substantial flow of American resources to the Soviet Union in return for a series of I.O.U.'s."

The article also raised the crucial question of "the uses to which the Soviet dictatorship plans to put this record-breaking food tonnage." In view of evidence that the Soviet Union is building up large grain reserves, we asked whether Moscow was "preparing to exploit the one weapon heretofore lacking in its armory of political aggression—great stockpiles of food—to entice hungry peoples in Latin America, Africa and Asia into the communist orbit."

Little were we prepared, at the time of writing, for the startling Washington dispatch in the Times, only eleven days later (September 17), based on American and European intelligence reports. Leonid Brezhnev, top boss of the Soviet world, it revealed, has emphasized to Eastern European leaders that Detente with the West "was a tactical policy change to permit the Soviet bloc to establish its superiority in the next 12 or 15 years."

Further, "a common military judgment is that the Soviet Union may be using accommodation in part to lower the guard of the West while it pursues a buildup in the 1980-1985 period to achieve military superiority."

THE RECORD THREATENS

Though the intelligence reports have not been confirmed, their essential accuracy is beyond doubt. They are fully in line with constant declarations by Brezhnev and other Kremlin spokesmen that improved political relations with the West will be matched by intensified "ideological struggle"—their cover-words for what we call Cold War. *To ignore this reality, as we are doing in our runaway enthusiasm for Detente, is as perilous as was, in its time, the ignoring of Hitler's blueprint for conquest in Mein Kampf.*

One vital aspect of the calamitous American grain deal needs to be emphasized. We refer to the fact that the transaction—the largest volume of grain exports on record, at a time of grain deficits now threatening appalling famines in India, Pakistan, Philippines, African Drought Belt, Bangladesh—**was arranged without consulting France, England, Canada, Australia and other free-world allies. They were just as shocked by the magnitude of the grain drain as were the American people.** History, it must be said, will also record that these very countries in turn did not always consult *their* allies, including the United States.

Certainly all of them would have profited from pooling their information and experience. Inflation, the costliest of all economic blunders, might have been averted. Such coordination also would have served to alert American farmers and save them from being cheated by Soviet shenanigans in the United States. **It is a sad commentary on the supposed free-world alliance that it is energized to act in unison only when facing a major and obvious crisis—after which the unity is again put into cold storage.** When will we learn the power of unity, the many-splendored way of international life embracing as it does much more than military?

Clearly the Kremlin, taking advantage of Western complacency induced by Detente delusions, plans to draw or push hungry nations into the communist camp-of-no-return; and to carry on more energetically than ever its global offensive against human freedom. Simple prudence therefore demands that our world carefully reassess its Detente **optimism** and question whether the Cold War is at least on the wane, if not ended.

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For over two decades the United States and the West generally have sought a live-and-let-live accommodation with communist governments. Their hopes were tied to the Kremlin's formula of Peaceful Coexistence. They clung to it through endless disillusionments, *even after the Soviet blood-baths in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1967.*

By the 1970's, however, the coexistence slogan had worn so thin that a substitute word—Detente—was eagerly embraced. Actually there are no differences between the two. *Now, as then, Moscow openly and loudly proclaims its unswerving commitments to world-revolutionary goals.*

HARD FACTS AND REMEDIES

Dictionaries define Detente as "relaxing of international tensions." No responsible American, of course, is against easing tensions or abating the Cold War. **What we should oppose is the know-nothing relaxation on our side, while the other side, under the banner of "ideological struggle," relentlessly pursues its old world-revolutionary objectives.** Our wild rush to pour billions in American credits into Soviet Russia, to bolster its shaky economic system and thereby its military power, can be explained only by the strange fiction that the Cold War is really over.

Nothing has happened since Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany and President Nixon launched the Detente in the best of good faith. On the contrary, **the Kremlin has tightened the screws of police-state oppression on its own subjects.** Its worldwide apparatus of subversion of non-communist countries remains intact. **The infamous Berlin Wall still stands as a symbol of the captivity of 100 million Europeans. Have we demanded that it be removed, as evidence of Moscow's good faith in Detente?**

At the current All-European Security conferences, to which we agreed as part of the Detente package, the communist delegates denounced and resisted all proposals for freer movement of ideas, information and people between their world and ours!

The New York *Times* of September 23 reports: "Professor Hans J. Morgenthau, the Leonard Davis Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the City University of New York, writes in the October issue of the magazine *The New Leader*: "a government that cuts itself and its people off from objective contact with the outside world, that becomes the prisoner of its own propaganda . . . is bound to prove an unreliable partner in detente."

Why should we be more eager for accommodation than the communists? Why should we feel obliged to soft-pedal our traditional commitments to human rights and tacitly put our seal of approval on the communist seizures of countries from East Germany to Tibet? Is it really in our interest to strengthen the Soviet police-state economically and militarily against its own population and against the free world?

No one can in good conscience oppose Detente. But if it is to be realistic, not a one-sided charade, Soviet Russia must be pressed to promptly grant elementary freedoms to the peoples in its empire. "Human Detente" must come first, as Senator Henry M. Jackson wrote recently, otherwise "there can be no real movement toward a more peaceful world." The Kremlin should demonstrate in concrete acts, not words, that the Cold War is truly being abated, if not ended.

Common sense dictates that we avoid tranquilizing self-deceptions. **Only collaboration with our friends, both within and outside the walled-in communist prison-states, deserves priority over collaboration with self-declared enemies.**