Text of Essay by Russian Nuclear Physicist Urging Soviet-American Cooperation

Following is the text of an essay, titled "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom," by Academician Andrei D. Sakharov, Soviet physicist, as translated by The New York Times from the Russian manuscript:

New York Times from the Russian manuscript:

This yes of the author were formed in the mine of the scientific and scientific technicogical intelligential, which manifests much anxiety over the principles and specific aspects of foreign and domestic policy and over the future of mankind. This anxiety is nourished, in particular, by a realization that the scientific method of directing policy, the action of the scientific method of directing policy, the scientific method of directing policy, the scientific and views, presupposing unprejudiced, unfearing open discussion and conclusions. The complexity and diversity of a complexity of the scientific technical revolution and with a number of social tendencies demand precisely such an approach, as has been acknowledged in a number of official statements.

In this pampheter, the author has set himself the goal to present, with the greatest conviction and frankness, two theses that are supported by many people in the world. The theses are:

people in the world. The theses are:

[11]

The division of mankind threates it with destruction. Civilization is imperiled that a universal themonuclear and the second of mankind, stupfaction from the narrotic of "mass cliniture" and bureaucratized dogmatism, a spreading of mass myths that put entire peoples and continents under the power of cruel and treachers on the second of the second o

generation from the unioreseeanie conequences of swift changes in the condition life on our plane.

In our plane in the condition life on our plane.

In our plane in the conman in the division of mankind, any
preaching of the incompatibility of
world ideologies and nations is madness
and a crime. Only universal cooperation
under conditions of intellectual freedom
and the lofty moral ideals of socialism
and labor, accompanied by the eliminaand labor, accompanied by the eliminaman labor accompanied by the elimination consideration of the labor accompanied
in preserve civilization.

The reader will understand that ideological collaboration cannot apply to
those fanatical, sectarian and extremist
ideologies that reject all possibility of
rapprochement, discussion and comprofascist, racists, militaristic and Mosts
demagogy.

Millions of people throughout the
world are striving to put an end to
poverty. They despise oppression, degmatism and demagogy (and their more
extreme manifestations—racism, Faslieve in progress based on the use,
under conditions of social justice and intellectual freedom, of all the positive
experience accumulated by mankind.

[21]

[2]

The second basic thesis is that intellectual freedom is essential to human society—freedom to obtain hand distribute information, freedom for openminded and unearing debate and free middle and unearing debate and free middle and unearing debate and free the first of the control of the contr

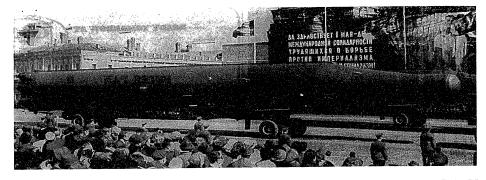
DANGERS

The Threat of Nuclear War

Three technical aspects of thermonuclear weapons have made thermonuclear weapons have made thermonuclear ware peril to the very existence of humanity. These aspects are: the enormous destructive power of a thermonuclear explosion, the relative cheapons and the practical impossibility of an effective defense against a massive rocket-nuclear attack.

[1]

Today one can consider a three-megaton nuclear warhead as "typical" (this is somewhere between the war-head of a Minuteman and of a Titan 11). The area of fires from the explosion of such a warhead is 150 times greater than from the Hiroshima bomb and the area of destruction is 30 times greater.



Intercontinental ballistic missile on display in Red Square, May Day, 1968
"A thermonuclear war cannot be considered a continuation of politics by other means. . . . It would be a means of universal suicide."

The detonation of such a warhead over a city would create a 100-square-kilo-sq

[2]

A few words about the cost and the possible number of explosions.

After the stage of explosions and dediction of the stage of the stag

[3]

The third aspect of thermonuclear peril (along with the power and cheap-ness of wahreads) is what we term the practical impossibility of prevalence in the property of the

insurmountable.

The experience of past wars shows that the first so of a new technical or the first so of a new technical or the first so of a new technical or the first so was a first so with a first so was a first

An exception to this would be the case of a great technical and economic difference in the potentials of two enemies. In such a case, the stronger experience in the potentials of two enemies. In such a case, the stronger system with a multiple reserve, would face the temptation of ending the dangerous and unstable balance once and for all by embarking on a pre-emptive adventure, expending part of its strates processed in the strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the strategy of the strategy of the stability of the world, the difference between the technical strategy of the strate

ment of antinissile defenses.

An the opinion of many people, an the opinion of many people, and the opinion of many people, and the opinion of many people, and opinion of the opinion of an oratorium on the construction of antinissile systems, would be a useful demonstration of a desire of the Soviet Union and the United States to widen the arms race for senselessity expensive antinissile systems. It would be a demonstration of a desire to cooperate, not to fight.

Two Doctrines Decried

Two Doctrines Decried

a demonstration of a desire to cooperate, not to fight.

Two Doctrines Decried

A thermonuclear war cannot be considered a continuation of politics by other means (according to the formula of Clausewitz). It would be a means of universal suicident demonstrates and the continuation of the control of the control of the control of public opinion. One is the concept of the "paper tiger." the concept of the "present tiger." the concept of the present of the

improvement of one's position every-where possible and, simultaneously, a method of causing maximum unpleasant-ness to opposing forces without con-sideration of common welfare and com-mon interests.

If politics were a game of two gam-blers, then this would be the only pos-sible method. But where does such a method lead in the present unprece-dented situation?

dented situation?

The War in Vietnam

In Vietnam, the forces of reaction, lacking hope for an expression of national will in their favor, are using the force of military pressure and the force of military pressure and norms and categories out figgrant crimes against humanity. An entire people is being sacrificed to the proclaimed goal of stopping the "Communist tide."

They strive to conceal from the American control of the control of the force of the

being sacrificed to the proclaimed goal of stopping the "Communist tide."

They strive to conceal from the American people considerations of personal and party pressige, the cyniciens more cruckly the logical considerations of personal control of the process of American policy in Vietnam, as well as the harm this war is doing to the true goals of the American people, which coincide with the universal tasks of holstering peaceful cooxistence. To end the war in Vietnam would there but it also is a matter of saving peace in all the world. Nothing undermines the possibilities of peaceful coexistence more than a continuation of the war in Vietnam.

The Middle East

existence more than a continuation of the war in Victnam.

The Middle East
Another tragic example is the Middle East. If direct responsibility on Victnam rets with the United States, in the Middle East direct responsibility rests not with the United States but with the Soviet Union (and with Britain in 1948 and 1956).

On one hand, there was an irresponsible encouragement of so-called Arab the Middle Control of the

On the other hand, intere was an equally irresponsible encouragement of Israelian interesting the second of the se

all concrete aims and local tasks to the basic task of actively preventing an actively preventing and the state of actively preventing and ton, of actively pursuing and expanding peaceful coexistence to the level of cooperation, of making policy in such a way that its immediate and long-range effects will in no way sharpen interficulties for either side that would strengthen the forces of reaction, militarism, nationalism, Fascism and revanchism.

International affairs must be completely permeated with acientific methanism, and the state of the

New Principles Proposed

New Principles Proposed

The international policies of the world's two leading superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union) must be based on a universal acceptance of unified and general principles, which we initially would formulate as follows:

we initially would formulate as follows:

[11]

All peoples have the right to decide their own fate with a free expression of will. This right is guaranteed by international control over observance by all governments of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." International control presupposes the use of economic sanctions of the property of the control of the rights of man."

of "the rights of man." [2]

All military and military-economic forms of export of revolution and counterrevolution are illegal and are tantamount to aggression.

All countries strive toward mutual help in economic, cultural and general-organizational problems with the aim of eliminating painlessly all domestic and international difficulties and preventing a sharpening of international tensions and a strengthening of the forces of reaction.

[4]

reaction.

[4]

International policy does not aim at exploiting local, specific conditions to widen zones of influence and create difficulties for another country. The goal of international policy is the property of the Rights of Man' and to prevent a sharpening of International tensions and a strengthening of inilitarist and nationalist tendencies.

Such a set of principles would in no way be a betrayal of the revolutionary struggle against reaction and counter-revolution. On the contrary, with the limitation of all doubtful cases, it would be easier to take decisive action in those extreme cases of reaction, course other than armed struggle. A strengthening of peaceful coexistence would create an opportunity to avert such tragle events as those in Greece and Indonesia. Such a set of principles would pre-

and Indonesia.

Such a set of principles would present the Soviet armed forces with a precisely defined defensive mission, a mission of defending our country and our allies from aggression. As history has shown, our people and their armed forces are unconquerable when they are defending their homeland am are great social and cultural achievements.

Hunger and Overpopulation

Hunger and Overpopulation

Specialists are paying attention to a
growing threat of hunger in the poorer
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ent increase of the word by the 50 per
ent increase of the word by the 50 per
ent increase in food production, the balance in the
poorer half of the world has been unfavorable. The situation in India, Indomerica and in a large number of entensia, in a number of countries of Latin
America and in a large number of the
food the second of the second of the second
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and the second of the second of the second
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to worsen it in the coming years.

The answer would be a winder of the second
to worsen it in the coming years.

The answer would be a wriment of
the second of the second o

have profound consequences for the entire world and for every human being. It will provoke a wave of wars and hatred, a decline of standards of living throughout the world and will leave a tragic, cynical and anti-Communist mark on the life of future generations. The first reaction of a Philistine in hearing about the profile profil

superpowers, 500k upon each other arrivals and opponents.

In the tragic present situation and the superpowers of the superpowers and the superpowers of the superpowers are superpowers. It must be clearly understood that if a threat of hunger is, along with a striving toward national independence, the main cause of "agaraian" revolution, the "agaraian" revolution in itself will not eliminate the threat of hunger, at least not in the immediate future. The threat of hunger cannot be eliminated that the superpower is the superpower of the superpower

comestic policies.

Inequality of Américan Negroes

At this time, the white citizens of the
United States are unwilling to accept
even minimum sacrifices to eliminate
the unequal economic and cultural position of the country's black citizens,
sition of the country of the population.

who make up 10 per centrof the population.

It is necessary to change the psychology of the American citizens so that they will voluntarily and generally and the psychology of the American citizens so that they will voluntarily and generally and the control of the psychology of the psychology of people. This, of course, would entail a serious decline in the United States rate of economic growth. The Americans should be willing to do this solely for beside of long the psychology of people and mandrid on our planet. Similar changes in the psychology of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed courful and the psychology of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed courful and the psychology of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed courful and the property as the position of the surfue and the property and the property of the psychology of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed courful and the property and the property of the psychology of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed courful and the property of the

of people and practical activities of governments must be achieved in the Soviet Union and other developed countries.

The position of the author, a 15-year tax equial to 20 per cent of national incomes must be imposed on developed nations. The imposition of such a tax would automatically lead to a significant reduction in expenditures for weapons. Such common assistance in the contribution of the such a significant reduction in expenditures for weapons. Such common assistance in the contribution of the such as a significant reduction in expenditures for weapons. Such common assistance billizing and improving the situation in the most under-developed countries, and it the most under-developed countries. The problem of high birth rates with relative ease, as has been shown by the experience of developed countries, without the barbaric method of sterilization.

The such as the contribution of this delicate question are inescapable in the advanced countries as well. Mankind can develop smoothly only if it looks upon itself in a demographic sense as a unit and the such as a such as the such as the

Pollution of Environment

simplification.

Pollution of Environment

We live in a swittly changing world.
Industrial and water-engineeting projviring lands, the use of poisonous chemideals—all this is changing the face
of the earth, our "abbitat."

Scientific study of all the interrelationships in nature and the consequences of our interference computes of
poison the control of the control of the earth, our "abbitat."

Scientific study of all the interrelationships in nature and the consequences of our interference computes of
particular the study of all the interplationships in a transport are being dumped into the air and
water, including cancer-inducing substances. Will the safe limit be passed
everywhere, as has already happened in
a Carbon dloxide from the burning of
coal is altering the heat-reflecting qualities of the atmosphere. Sooner or later,
this will reach a dangerous level. But we do not know when. Poisonous chemicals used in agriculture are primated infield compounds, causing serious damage to the brain, the nervous system,
blood-forming organs, the liver and otheorgans. Here, too, the safe limit can
been fully studied and it is difficult to
control all these processes.

The use of antibiotics in poultry raising has led to the development of new
disease-causing microbes that are resistences of a similar control of the problems
of dumping detergents and radioactive
wates, erosion and salinization of solis,
the flooding or meadows, the cutting
Continued on Following Page

Continued on Following Page

Joint Action by Two Nations Viewed as Essential to Avert Perils Facing Mankind

Continued From Preceding Page

of forests on mountain slopes and in watersheds, the destruction of birds and other useful wildlife like toads and frogs other useful wildlife like toads and rogs and many other examples of senseless despoliation caused by local, temporary, bureaucratic and egotistical interest and sometimes simply by questions of bureaucratic prestige, as in the sad fate of Lake Baikal.

bureaucratic prestige, as in the sau clark Balkai.

The problem of geohygiene (centh hydiene) is highly complex and closely ited to extonents at the common and the common and the common and the common and common the common tendents. This on a national and especially not on a local basis. The salvation of our environment requires that we overcome our divisions and the pressure of temporary, local interests. Otherwise, the Soviet Union will poison the Unicas and the present this is a hyperbole. But with a 10 per cent annual increase of wastes, the increase over 100 years will be 20,000 times.

Police Dictatorships

Police Dictatorships
An extreme reflection of the dangers
confronting modern social development
is the growth of racism, nationalism
and militarism and, in particular, the
rise of demagogic, hyporticular and
monstrously cruel dictatorial police regimes. Foremost are the regimes of
Stalin, Hitler and Mao Tse-tung, and a
number of extremely reactionary regimes in smaller countries, Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Greece, Albania,
Haiti and other Latin-American countries.

tugal. South Airea, declaration and the tath-American countries.

Hati and other Latin-American countries.

These tragic developments have always desired from the struggle of ego-tistical and group interests, the struggle for unlimited power, suppression of intellectual freedom, a spread of intellectual freedom, and the suppression of the other and the spread of the struggle freedom of the freedom of the spread of the struggle freedom freedom

unlimited power.

The Rule of Hitler

The world will never forget the burning of books in the squares of German cities, the hysterical, camibalistic the hysterical, camibalistic the property of the destruction of entire peoples, including the Russians. Fascism began a partial realization of these plans during the war it unleashed, amilhating the war it unleashed, amilhating villages, carrying out a criminal policy of genocide (during the war, the main blow of genocide during the war, the main blow of genocide (during the war, the main blow of genocide (start) and the start of t

From the factories of death.

Analyzing the causes of Hitler's coming to power, we will never forget the role of German and the will never forget the role of German and the will not forget the role of German and the will not forget the role of German and the will not forget the role of the rol

The Stalinist Period

The Stalinist Period
Fascism lasted 12 years in Germany.
Stalinism lasted twice as long in Soviet Union. There are many common
features but also certain differences.
Stalinism exhibited a much more subtle
kind of hypocrisy and demagogy, wire
reliance not on an openly cannibalistic
program like Hitler's but on a pocalist
ited to the common staling the co

sive, scientific and popular socialist declogy.

This served as a convenient screen for deceiving the working class, for weakening the vigilance of the intellectuals and other rivals in the struggle for power, with the struggle for power power, with the struggle for power power

it was the Soviet people, its most active, who suffered the most service statives, who suffered the most service statives, who suffered the most service statives, who suffered the most service station people service station in the service station in th



Soviet Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin and President Johnson at Glass-boro, N. J., in June, 1967. The interpreter is Viktor M. Sukhodrev. "The raprehenent with the capitalist word . . . must rest not only on a socialist, but on a popular, democratic foundation."

crime, Hitler, and the other reasons for the national tragedy of 1941 have been well described in the book by Nekrich, in the notes of Maj. Gen. Grigorenko and other publications — these are far from the only examples of the combination of crime, narrow-mindedness and short-sightedness.

from the only examples of the combation of crime, narrow-mindedness and short-sightedness.

Stalinst domesment and isolation from Stalinst domesment rather particularly in the countryside, in the policy of minimized exploitation and the predatory forced deliveries at "symbolic" prices, in the almost serf-like enlawment of the peasantry, the depriving of peasants of the most simple means of mechanization and the appointment of the peasantry, the depriving of peasants of the most simple means of mechanization and the appointment basis of their cuming and obsequiousness. The results are evident — a profound and hard-to-correct destruction of the economy and way of life in the countryside. Which, by the law of interconnected vessels, damaged industry as well. In the country of the company of the control of th

An Unpublished History

An unpuonsnea inistory

A profound analysis of the origin and development of Stalinism is contained in the 1,000-page monograph as addition the 1,000-page monograph as additionable to the state of the

is world ... miss ress not only only independent of the investigation of crimes of which they had been withersess of which with the said by each of the said of the said

basically Stalinist (from our point or view, they reflect the interests of the bureaucratic elicy.

His views diff,
His views

The Cult of Maoism

The Cult of Maolsm
In recent years, demagogy, violence, cruelty and vileness have seized a great country that had embarked on the path of socialist development. I refer, of course, to Charles and the course of th

according to the Chinese radio, "jumped with joy" during public executions of "ideological enemies" of Chiarman Mao. The idiocy of the cult of personality tesquely tragicomic forms, carrying to the point of absurdity many of the traits of Stelinism and Hitlerism. But this absurdity has proved effective in making fools of tens of millions of people and in destroying and humiliating the including the people and in destroying and humiliating the including the people and in destroying and humiliating the people and in destroying and humiliating the including the people and in destroying and humiliating the including the people and in destroying the tragedy in China is unclear. But in any case, it is impossible to look at it in isolation from the internal economic difficulties of China after the collapse of the adventure of "the great leap forward," in groups for power, or in isolation from the foreign political situation—the war in Vietnam, the estrangement in the world and the inndequate and lagging struggle against Stallinism in the Soviet Union.

greatest damage from Maoism is often seen in the split of the world Communist movement. That is, of course, not so. The split is the result of a disease and to some extent represents the way to treat that disease. In the presence of the disease a formal unity epipled compromise that would have led the world Communist movement into a blind alley once and for all.

Actually the crimes of the Maoists

against human rights have gone much too far, and the Chinese people are now in much greater need of help from the world's democratic forces to defend their rights than in need of the unity of the world's Communist forces, in the Maoist sense, for the purpose of combatting the so-called imperialist perior to the Model of the Mode

The Threat to Intellectual

somewhere in Africa or in Latin America or in the Middle East.

The Threat to Intellectual

The Second of the Middle East.

The Threat to Unitellectual

This is a threat to the independence and worth of the threat to the maining of human life.

Nothing threatens freedom of the personality as threat to the meaning of life like war, poverty, terro. But there are also indirect and only slightly more remote one of these is the stupefaction of man (the "gray mass", to use the cynical term of bourgeois propositators) by mass culture with its intentional or commercially motivated lowering of instances of the commercial produced the commercial produced to the commercial produced to the commercial with its carefully protective censorship.

Another example is related to the question of education. A system of endingering the commercial produced in the commercial produced in the commercial protective censorship.

Another example is related to the question of education. A system of examination achievements of social progress. But everything has a reverse side. In this case it is excessive standardization, to the curriculum, employees itself-to convictions are beginning to be formed. It is lightly under the curriculum of examinations for official positions led to mental stagnation and to the canonizing of the curriculum, employees the curriculum of examinations of curriculum of examinations of curriculum of examinations of c

Warns on Experiments

and electronic control of such processes.

Warns on Experiments

It seems to me that we cannot completely lignore these new methods or prohibit the progress of science and representations of the second of the second control of the second cont

be eliminated.

Let us now return to the dangers of today, to the need for intellectual freedom, which will enable the public at large and the intelligentista to control and assess all acts, designs and decisions of the ruling group.

Marx and Lenin Quoted

Marx and Lenin Quoted

and assess all acts, designs and decisions of the ruling group.

Marx and Lenin Quoted

Marx once wrote that the illusion that the "bosses know everything best" and "only the higher cricles familiar with the official nature of things can and "only the higher cricles familiar with the official nature of things can who equate the public weal with governmental authority.

Both Marx and Lenin always stressed the viclousness of a bureaucratic system as the opposite of a democratic system as the opposite of a democratic social content of the cont

fresh and deep ideas. Such ideas, after all, can arise only in discussion, in the face of objections, only if there is a potential possibility of expressing not only true, but also obloous ideas. This was clear to the obloous deas. This was clear to the hardly anyone nowadays would have any doubts on that score. But after 50 years of complete domination over the minds of an entire nation, our leaders seem to fear even allusions to such a discussion.

discussion.

At this point we must touch on some disgraceful tendencies that have become evident in the last few years. We will cite only a few isolated examples without trying to create a whole picture. The crippling censorship of Soviet artistic and political literature has again been intensified. Dozens of brilliant writings cannot see the light of day. They include some of the best of Solzhenitsyns works, executed with great artistic and moral force and continued and tribute and proceedings of the continued of the continued

disgrace?
Wide indignation has been aroused by the recent decree adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic, amending the Criminal Code in direct contravention of the civil rights proclaimed by our Constitution. [The decree included literary protests among acts punishable under Article 190, which deals with failure to report crimes.]

acts punishable under Article 190, which deals with failure to report crimes.]

Literary Trials Assailed

The Daniel-Sinyavsky trial, which has been condemned by the progressive public in the Soviet Union and abroad for the progressive public in the Soviet Union and abroad for the soviet of the

view of all political trials that are still raising doubts among the progressive public.

Was it not disgraceful to allow the arrest, 12-month detention without trial to the control of t

Persecution Is Charged

writers and artists.]

Persecution Is Charged

Was it not disgraceful to permit the conviction and sentencing (to three conviction and sentencing (to three conviction and sentencing (to three conviction) and sentencing (to the conviction) and sentencing in defense of their conrades? Was it not disgraceful to allow persecution, in the best witchhunt tradition, of dozens of members of the Soviet intelligentials who spoke out against the arbitraness of members of the Soviet intelligential who spoke out against the arbitraness of attempt to force honorable people to sign false, hypocritical "retractions," to dismiss and blacklist people, to deprive young writers, editors and other members of the intelligential of all means.

Here is, a typical example of this kind of activity.

Comrade B., a woman editor of books on motion pictures, was summoned to the party's district committees. The first question was (fine burg to sign? Allow me not to reply to that question, she answered. All right, you can go, we want to talk this over, she was told. The decision was to expel the woman from the party and to record the woman from the party and the woman from the party and the woman from the party and the woman from the party

evidently either too intimidated or too dogmatic in his views? Is it not disgraceful to allow another backsiding graceful to allow another backsiding proceed to allow another backsiding proceed to allow another backsiding proceed to the spirit of anti-Semitism was never fully dispelled after the nineteen thrities).

Was it not disgraceful to continue to be restrict the civil rights of the Cric cent of their numbers (mainly children and oid people) in the Salinist repressions? Nationality problems will continue to be a reason for unrest and dissatisfaction unless all departures from Leninist principles are acknowled to the control of their numbers of the control of t

our country. Effect on Other Parties

significant manifestations of neo-Stalinism in our country.

Effect on Other Parties
We are convinced that the world's
Communists will also view negatively
any attempts to revive Stalinism in our
country, which would, after all, he an
country, which would, after all, he an
country, which would, after all, he an
communist ideas throughout the world.
Today the key to a progressive restructuring of the system of government in the interests of mankind lies
in intellectual freedom. This has been
in intellectual freedom. This has been
slowlable of the particular, by the Czechotslowlable of the particular, by the Czechotslowlable of the future of
socialism and all mankind. That support should be political and, in the
early stages, include increased ecoThe situation involving censorship
(Glavilic) in our country is such that it
can hardly be corrected for any length
of time simply by "liberalled," directives. Major organizational and legislample, and the situation in the would clearty and convincingly define what can
no press and information that would clearty and convincingly define what can
not what cannot be printed and would
place the responsibility on competent
people who would be under public confor information on an international scale
(press, tourism and so forth) be expanded in every way, that we get to
know ourselves better, that we not try
to save on sociological, political and
of information on an international scale
(press, tourism and so forth) be expanded in every way, that we get to
know ourselves better, that we not try
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to save on sociological, political and
international scale
(press, tourism and so forth) be expanded

THE BASIS FOR HOPE

THE BASIS FOR HOPE

The prospects of socialism now depend on whether socialism can be made attractive, whether the moral attractiveness of the ideas of socialism and the glorification of labor, compared cownership and the glorification of capital, will be the decisive factors that people will bear in mind when comparing socialism and capitalism, or whether people will remember mainly the limitations of intellectual freedom fascistic regime of the cult [of personality]. I am placing the accent on the moral aspect because, when it comes to achieving a high productivity of social labor or developing all productive living for most of the population, capitalism and socialism seem to have "played to a tie." Let us examine this ouestion in detail.

The U.S.-Soviet Ski Race

The U.S.-Soviet Ski Race

"played to a tie." Let us examine this ausstion in detail.

The U.S.-Soviet Ski Race

Imagine two skiers racing through deep snow. At the start of the race, one of them, in striped jacket, was many kilometers ahead, but now the start of the race, one of them, in striped jacket, was many kilometers ahead, but now the start of the race, one of them, in striped jacket, was many kilometers ahead, but now the start of the race of the start of the start of the race of the start of the st

Continued on Following Page

Basis for Hope Seen in Rapprochement Between Socialist and Capitalist Systems

Continued From Preceding Page

resources, from fertile black earth to coal and forest, from oil to manganese and diamonds. It must be borne in mind that during the period under review our people worked to the limit of its capacity, which resutted in a certain depletion of resources.

We must also bear in mind the skitrack effect, in which the Soviet Union adopted principles of industrial organization and technological development previously tested in the United States. Examples are the method of calculating the national fuel budget, assembly-line techniques, antibiotics, nu-clear power, oxygen converters in steelmaking, hybrid corn, self-propelled har-vester combines, strip mining of coal, rotary excavators, semiconductors in electronics, the shift from steam to diesel locomotives, and much more.

There is only one justifiable conclu-

sion and it can be formulated cautiously as follows:

1. We have demonstrated the vitality of the socialist course, which has done a great deal for the people materially, culturally and socially and, like no oth er system, has glorified the moral significance of labor.

2. There are no grounds for asserting, as is often done in the dogmatic vein, as is often done in the doginate vent, that the capitalist mode of production leads the economy into a blind alley or that it is obviously inferior to the socialist mode in labor productivity, and there are certainly no grounds for as-serting that capitalism always leads to absolute impoverishment of the work-

Progress by Capitalism

The continuing economic progress be ing achieved under capitalism should be a fact of great theoretical significance for any nondogmatic Marxist. It is precisely this fact that lies at the basis of peaceful coexistence and it suggests, in principle, that if capitalism ever runs into an economic blind alley it will not necessarily have to leap into a desperate military adventure. Both capitalism and socialism are capable of long-term development, borrow-ing positive elements from each other and actually coming closer to each other in a number of essential aspects.

I can just hear the outcries about revisionism and blunting of the class approach to this issue; I can just see the smirks about political naiveté and immaturity. But the facts suggest that these is real economic progress in the United States and other capitalist countries, that the capitalists are actually using the social principles of socialism, and that there has been real improvement of the position of the working people. More important, the facts suggest that on any other course except ever-increasing coexistence and collaboration between the two systems and the two supernowers, with a smoothing of contradictions and with mutual assistance, on any other course annihilation awaits mankind. There is no other way out.

Two Systems Compared

We will now compare the distribu-tion of personal income and consumption for various social groups in the United States and the Soviet Union. Our propaganda materials usually assert that there is crying inequality in the United States, while the Soviet Union has something entirely just, entirely in the interests of the working people. Actually both statements contain halftruths and a fair amount of hypocritical

I have no intention of minimizing the tragic aspects of the poverty, lack of rights and humiliation of the 22 of rights and humiliation of the 22 million American Negroes. But we must clearly understand that this problem is not primarily a class problem, but a racial problem, involving the racism and egotism of white workers, and that the ruling group in the United States is interested in solving this problem. To be sure the government has not been as active as it should be; this may be related to fears of an electoral character and to fears of upsetting the un-stable equilibrium in the country and thus activate extreme leftist and especially extreme rightist parties. It seems to me that we in the socialist camp should be interested in letting the ruling group in the United States settle the Negro problem without aggravating the situation in the country.

At the other extreme, the presence of millionaries in the United States is not a serious economic burden in view of their small number. The total con-sumption of the rich is less than 20 per cent, that is, less than the total rise of national consumption over a five-year period. From this point of view, a revolution, which would be likely to halt economic progress for more than five years, does not appear to be an economically advantageous move for economically advantageous move for the working people, And I am not even talking of the blood-letting that is in-evitable in a revolution. And I am not talking of the danger of the "irony of about which Friedrich Engels wrote so well in his famous letter to V. Zasulich, the "irony" that took the form of Stalinism in our country

There are, of course, situations where revolution is the only way out. This applies especially to national uprisings. But that is not the case in the United States and other developed capitalist countries, as suggested, incidentally, in the programs of the Communist parties of these countries.

As far as our country is concerned, here, too, we should avoid painting an idyllic picture. There is still great inequality in wealth between the city and the countryside, especially in rural areas that lack a transport outlet to the private market or do not produce any goods in demand in private trade.

There are great differences between cities with some of the new, privileged industries and those with older, antiquated industries. As a result 40 per cent of the Soviet population is in difficult economic circumstances. In the United States about 25 per cent of the population is on the verge of poverty.

On the other hand the 5 per cent of the Soviet population that belong to the managerial group is as privileged as its counterpart in the United States.

The Managerial Group

The development of modern society in both the Soviet Union and the United States is now following the same course of increasing complexity of structure and of industrial management, giving rise in both countries to managerial groups that are similar in social character.

We must therefore acknowledge that we must ineretore acknowledge that there is no qualitative difference in the structure of society of the two countries in terms of distribution of consumption. Unfortunately the effectiveness of the managerial group in the Soviet Union (and, to a lesser extent, in the United Sect. of the society of the so in the United States) is measured not only in purely economic or productive terms. This group also performs a con-cealed protective function that is rewarded in the sphere of consumption by concealed privileges.

Few people are aware of the practice under Stalin of paying salaries in sealed envelopes, of the constantly recurring concealed distribution of scarce foods and goods for various services, privi-leges in vacation resorts, and so forth.

I want to emphasize that I am not opposed to the socialist principle of payment based on the amount and quality of labor. Relatively higher wages for better administrators, for highly skilled workers, teachers and physicians, for workers in dangerous or rmful occupations, for workers in science, culture and the arts, all of whom account for a relatively small part of the total wage bill, do not threaten society if they are not accompanied by concealed privileges; moreover, higher wages benefit society if they are

The point is that every wasted minute of a leading administrator represents a major material loss for the economy and every wasted minute of a leading figure in the arts means a loss in the emotional, philosophical and artistic

wealth of society. But when something is done in secret, the suspicion in-evitably arises that things are not clean, that loyal servants of the existing system are being bribed.

It seems to me that the rational way of solving this touchy problem would be not the setting of income ceilings for party members or some such measure, but simply the prohibition of all privileges and the establishment of unified wage rates based on the social value of labor and an economic market

approach to the wage problem.

I consider that further advances in our economic reform and a greater role for economic and market factors accompanied by increased public control over the managerial group (which, in-cidentally, is also essential in capitalist countries) will help eliminate all the roughness in our present distribution pattern.

An even more important aspect of the economic reform for the regulation and stimulation of production is the establishment of a correct system of market prices, proper allocation and rapid utilization of investment funds and proper use of natural and human resources based on appropriate rents

in the interest of our society.

A number of socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are now experimenting with basic economic problems of the role of planning and of the market, government and cooperative ownership, and so forth. These experiments are of great significance.

Rapprochement Advocated

Summing up, we now come to our basic conclusion about the moral and ethical character of the advantages of the socialist course of development of human society. In our view, this does not in any way minimize the significance of socialism. Without socialism, bourgeois practicism and the egotistical principle of private ownership gave rise to the "people of the abyss" described by Jack London and earlier by Engels.

Only the competition with socialism and the pressure of the working class made possible the social progress of the 20th century and, all the more, will insure the now inevitable process of rapprochement of the two systems. It took socialism to raise the meaning of labor to the heights of a moral feat. Before the advent of socialism, national egotism gave rise to colonial op-pression, nationalism and racism. By now it has become clear that victory is on the side of the humanistic, inter-

national approach.

The capitalist world could not help giving birth to the socialist, but now the socialist world should not seek to destroy by force the ground from which it grew. Under the present conditions this would be tantamount to suicide of mankind, Socialism should ennoble that ground by its example and other in-direct forms of pressure and then merge

The rapprochement with the capitalist world shou'd not be an unprincipled, antipopular plot between ruling groups happened in the extreme case [of the Soviet-Nazi rapprochement] of 1939-40. Such a rapprochement must rest not only on a socialist, but on a popu lar, democratic foundation, under the control of public opinion, as expressed through publicity, elections and so forth.

Such a rapprochement implies not only wide social reforms in the capitalist countries, but also substantial changes in the structure of ownership, with a greater role played by govern-ment and cooperative ownership, and the preservation of the basic present features of ownership of the means of production in the socialist countries

Our allies along this road are not only the working class and the progressive intelligentsia, which are interested in peaceful coexistence and social prog-ress and in a democratic, peaceful transition to socialism (as reflected in the programs of the Communist parties of the developed countries), but also the reformist part of the bourgeoisie, which supports such a program of "convergence." (Although I am using this

term, taken from the Western literature, it is clear from the foregoing that I have given it a socialist and democratic meaning.)

Typical representatives of the reformist bourgeoisie are Cyrus Eaton. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and, especially, President John F. Kennedy. Without wishing to cast a stone in the direction of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev (our high esteem of his services was expressed earlier). I cannot help recalling one of his statements, which may have been more typical of his entourage than of him personally.

On July 10, 1961, in speaking at a reception of specialists about his meeting with Kennedy in Vienna, Comrade Khrushchev recalled Kennedy's request that the Soviet Union, in conducting policy and making demands, consider the actual possibilities and the difficulties of the new Kennedy Administration and refrain from demanding more than it could grant without courting the danger of being defeated in elections and being replaced by rightist forces. At that time, Khrushchev did not give Kennedy's unprecedented request the proper attention, to put it mildly, and began to rail. And now, after the shots in Dallas, who can say what auspicious opportunities in world history have been, if not destroyed, but, at any rate, set back because of a lack of understanding.

Bertrand Russell once told a peace con-gress in Moscow that "the world will be saved from thermonuclear annihila-tion if the leaders of each of the two systems prefer complete victory of the other system to a thermonuclear war" (I am quoting from memory). It seems to me that such a solution would be acceptable to the majority of people in any country, whether capitalist or socialist. I consider that the leaders of the capitalist and socialist systems by the very nature of things will gradually be forced to adopt the point of view of the majority of mankind. Intellectual freedom of society will

facilitate and smooth the way for this trend toward patience, flexibility and a security from dogmatism, fear and adventurism. All mankind, including its best organized and active forces, the working class and the intelligentsia, is interested in freedom and security.

Four-Stage Plan for Cooperation

Having examined in the first part of this essay the development of mankind according to the worse alternative, leading to annihilation, we must now attempt, even schematically, to suggest the better alternative. (The author concedes the primitiveness of his attempts at prognostication, which requires the oint efforts of many specialists, and here, even more than elsewhere, invites positive criticism.)

In the first stage, a growing ideological struggle in the socialist countries between Stalinist and Maoist forces, on the one hand, and the realistic forces of leftist Leninist Communists (and leftist Westerners), on the other, will lead to a deep ideological split on an international, national and intraparty scale.

In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, this process will lead first to a multiparty system (here and there) and to acute ideological struggle and discussions, and then to the ideological victory of the realists, affirming the policy of increasing peaceful coexistence, strengthening democracy and expanding economic reforms (1960-80). The dates reflect the most optimis-

tic unrolling of events.

The author, incidentally, is not one of those who consider the multiparty system to be an essential stage in the development of the socialist system or, even less, a panacea for all ills, but he assumes that in some cases a multiparty system may be an inevitable conse-quence of the course of events when a ruling Communist party refuses for one reason or another to rule by the scien-tific democratic method required by

In the second stage, persistent de-mands for social progress and peaceful coexistence in the United States and other capitalist countries, and pressure exerted by the example of the socialist countries and by internal progressive forces (the working class and the in-telligentsia) will lead to the victory of the leftlst reformist wing of the bourgeoisie, which will begin to implement a program of rapprochement (conver-gence) with socialism, i.e. social progress. peaceful coexistence and collabo ration with socialism on a world scale and changes in the structure of ownership. This phase includes an expanded role for the intelligentsia and an attack on the forces of racism and militarism (1972-85). (The various stages overlap.)

In the third stage, the Soviet Union and the United States, having overcome their alienation, solve the problem of rate alreadon, solve the problem of saving the poorer half of the world. The above-mentioned 20 per cent tax on the national income of developed countries is applied. Gigantic fertilizer factories and irrigations systems using atomic power will be built, the resources of the sea will be used to a vastly greater extent, indigenous personnel will be trained, and industrialization will be carried out. Gigantic factories will produce synthetic amino acids, and synthesize proteins, fats and carbohydrates. At the same time dis-armament will proceed (1972-90).

In the fourth stage, the socialist convergence will reduce differences in social structure, promote intellectual freedom, science and economic progress and lead to creation of a world government and the smoothing of national contradictions (1980-2000). During this period decisive progress can be expected in the field of nuclear power, both on the basis of uranium and thorium and, probably, deuterium and lithium.

Some authors consider it likely that explosive breeding (the reproduction of fertile materials such as plutonium uranium 233 and tritium) may be used in subterranean or other enclosed

During this period the expansion of space exploration will require thousands of people to work and live continuously on other planets and on the moon on artificial satellites and on asteroids whose orbits will have been changed by nuclear explosions.

The synthesis of materials that are superconductors at room temperature may completely revolutionize electrical technology, cybernetics, transportation and communications. Progress in biology (in this and subsequent periods) will make possible effective control and direction of all life processes at the levels of the cell, organism, ecology and society, from fertility and aging to psychic processes and heredity.

If such an all-encompassing scientific and technological revolution, promising uncounted benefits for mankind, is to be possible and safe, it will require the greatest possible scientific foresight and care and concern for human values of a moral, ethical and personal character. (I touched briefly on the danger of a thoughtless bureaucratic use of the scientific and technological revolution in a divided world in the section on "Dangers," but could add a great deal more.) Such a revolution will be possible and safe only under highly intelligent worldwide guidance.

The foregoing program presumes: (a) worldwide interest in overcoming the present divisions:

(b) the expectation that modifications in both the socialist and capitalist countries will tend to reduce contradictions and differences;

(c) worldwide interest of the intelligentsia, the working class and other progressive forces in a scientific democratic approach to politics, economics and culture:

(d) the absence of unsurmountable obstacles to economic development in both world economic systems that might otherwise lead inevitably into a blind aliey, despair and adventurism.

Every honorable and thinking person who has not been poisoned by narrowminded indifference will seek to insure that future development will be along the lines of the better alternative. How-ever only broad, open discussion, with-out the pressure of fear and prejudice, will help the majority to adopt the cor-rect and best course of action.

Proposals Summarized

In conclusion, I will sum up some of the concrete proposals of varying degrees of importance that have been discussed in the text. These proposals, addressed to the leadership of the country, do not exhaust the content of the article.

The strategy of peaceful coexistence and collaboration must be deepened in every way. Scientific methods and principles of international policy will have to be worked out, based on scientific prediction of the immediate and more distant consequences.

The initiative must be seized in working out a broad program of struggle against hunger.

A law on press and information must be drafted, widely discussed and adop-ted, with the aim not only of ending irresponsible and irrational censorship, but of encouraging self-study in our so-ciety, fearless discussion and the search for truth. The law must provide for the material resources of freedom of

All anticonstitutional laws and decrees violating human rights must be abrogated.

F51

Political prisoners must be amnestied and some of the recent political trials must be reviewed (for example, the Daniel-Sinyavsky and Galanskov-Ginz-burg cases). The camp regime of political prisoners must be promptly relaxed.

T67

The exposure of Stalin must be carried through to the end, to the comfully weighed half-truth dictated by caste considerations. The influence of neo-Stalinists in our political life must be restricted in every way (the text mentioned, as an example, the case of S. Trapeznikov, who enjoys too much influence).

The economic reform must be deepened in every way and the area of experimentation expanded, with conclusions based on the results.

T81

A law on geohygiene must be adopted after broad discussion, and ultimately become part of world efforts in this

With this article the author addresses the leadership of our country and all its citizens as well as all people of goodwill throughout the world. The author is aware of the controversial character of many of his statements. His purpose is open, frank discussion nder conditions of publicity.

In conclusion a textological comment.

In the process of discussion of previous drafts of this article, some incomplete and in some respects one-sided texts have been circulated. Some of them contained certain passages that were inept in form and tact and were included through oversight. The author asks readers to bear this in mind. The author is deeply grateful to readers of preliminary drafts who communicated their friendly comments and thus helped improve the article and refine a number of basic statements

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