

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

Islamic traditions in the Middle East, dire poverty in black Africa, and Moscow's firm grip on Eastern Europe dim democratic prospects in these regions, Huntington believes. He is more optimistic about Latin America (notably Brazil), where "cultural traditions, levels of economic development, previous democratic experience, social pluralism, and elite desires to emulate European and North American models all favor movement toward democracy." The prosperous industrializing countries of East Asia—South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore—may also move in a democratic direction, despite hostile religious and cultural influences.

Huntington says that, in general, "the limits of democratic development in the world may well have been reached." Even so, by promoting economic development and free-market economies and by increasing its influence in world affairs, the United States may be able to aid the democratic cause.

Nurturing Ties To Moscow

"Why Trust the Soviets?" by Richard J. Barnet, in *World Policy Journal* (Spring 1984), World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Distrust and ill will have poisoned relations between the United States and the Soviet Union since the late 1970s. Yet "it is a dangerous delusion to believe that we are not already trusting the Soviet Union," warns Barnet, a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

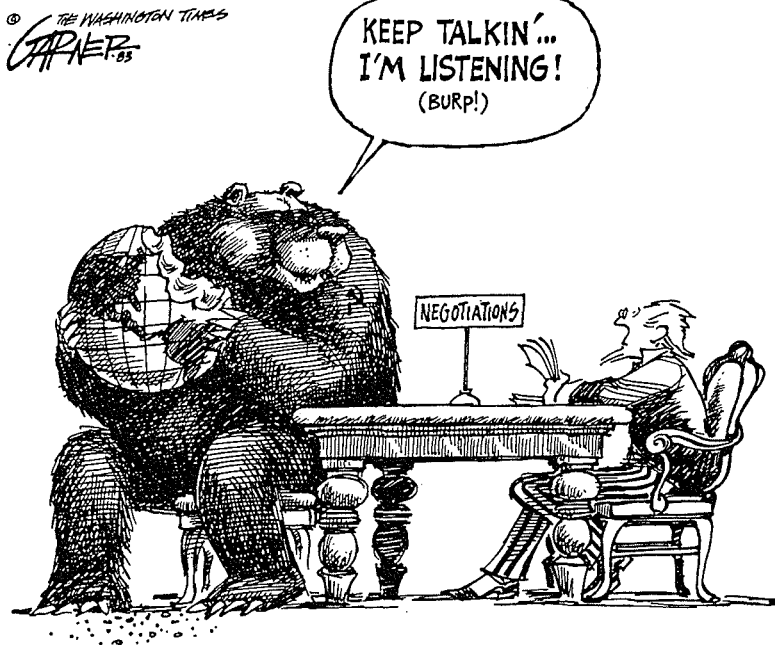
"No less than arms control," he writes, "the arms race is a system based on *faith*—faith that human nature works in the way that deterrence theorists say it does, faith that deterrence itself should be credited with preventing war." In short, U.S. policy-makers are trusting Moscow to act in certain ways. A new kind of trust, he says, is needed to halt a "slide toward war."

To be sure, today's rivalry has real causes: Each side sees the other as an "expansionist" power, but views its own behavior as "defensive." Adding to the enmity is American disillusionment with the *détente* of the 1970s. But Barnet contends that *détente* was oversold by U.S. politicians: Moscow never agreed to end its arms build-up or to curb its role in the Third World; the Kremlin agreed only to "manage" the arms race. Building real trust would mean going far beyond *détente*-style policies.

The most likely source of conflict is the Third World. Yet both superpowers have suffered sharp setbacks there over the years—the United States in Iran and Vietnam, the Soviets in Egypt, Somalia, China. The cost of trying to control events in such nations has become "prohibitive," argues Barnet. By pledging to keep U.S. and Soviet arms and forces out of the Third World, the two powers could reduce the potential for conflict. Eventually, in Barnet's view, they would also need to abandon all military bases beyond their own borders.

It makes little sense for the United States to treat the Soviet Union like a second-rate power by excluding it from Middle East peace talks or attacking it with "poisonous rhetoric" that feeds the Kremlin's paranoia.

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American advocates of "linkage" oppose arms control talks with Moscow until the Soviets curb their expansionist policies.

Barnet writes: "Until Soviet leaders feel secure enough to permit greater diversity in Eastern Europe . . . and even within the Soviet Union itself, Soviet society will remain militarized to a degree that is incompatible with a normal relationship with the United States."

"Around the world," Barnet concludes, "even in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe, the avoidance of nuclear war has become a popular political issue that can no longer be easily manipulated by governments." This ground swell of public opinion, along with the high cost of the arms race, opens the door to a "historic" transformation of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Creating Two New Superpowers

"Europe's Nuclear Superpowers" by George M. Seignious II and Jonathan Paul Yates, in *Foreign Policy* (Summer 1984), P.O. Box 984, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737.

Talk of the nuclear "superpowers" brings just two countries to mind, the United States and the Soviet Union. But they may be joined by two more nations during the 1990s.

According to Seignious and Yates, retired Army general and U.S. Senate