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Through the speedy rise of science and the spread of its numerous applications in the last few centuries, Europe has significantly quickened the growth of world culture and, in addition, enhanced the pace of world history. By bringing ancient contradictions to fatal climaxes and giving birth to new social ideas, Europe has served as a pivot round which turned global social transformations, revolutions, and wars. Thus, deeply involved in world developments, Europe has been unable to resolve her own difficulties outside this total complex.

Devastated and exhausted by two world wars, Europe has continued to carry an anguishing burden of extended antagonisms of the super-powers. In an era of nuclear strategies these conflicts threaten general destruction. That is why it came as a deeply felt relief when the rigid bloc divisions began to melt, and when a more universal approach pushed back the former ideological intolerance. An important role in this easing of tensions and coming nearer together - even if under the shadow of intercontinental missiles - was played by the non-aligned countries which had from the beginning advocated the cause of peaceful co-existence, and set all their hopes in the United Nations. The principle of active co-existence is today accepted by all Warsaw Pact countries and by almost all NATO countries, with the notable exception of the United States, which continues the policy of military intervention. But despite the aggressive actions and the still existing ultra-dogmatic militant ideologies, it is clear that universal solidarity and understanding of the perilous situation is gaining an upper hand over bloc commitments and belligerent furies. Such new attitudes have gained General de Gaulle widespread support, even though he has opposed NATO with traditional proclamations and himself entered the nuclear race for reasons of "national prestige". Other NATO member-countries too, though not so loudly, express their disapproval of the policies of the American Administration and the Pentagon, showing no willingness to be drawn into the war against Vietnam, and possibly even China. If NATO had first appeared as a shelter to some people in the West, it is now seen more and more as an element of danger,

both because of the American policy in Asia and elsewhere, and because it cements the already outgrown bloc oppositions.

The Warsaw Treaty was created to counteract NATO and would cease to exist as soon as NATO was dissolved, as indicated at the recent meeting in Bucharest. The abolition of the two bloc organizations would have a beneficial effect, not only on the split Europe, but on the world at large (whereas the signing of the non-aggression agreement between them would not be so significant, as no real danger of an imminent conflict between them exists anyway). Instead of serving as a hotbed of the third and last World War, Europe could be the one to wipe out military power blocs and appear on the world stage as a decisive factor of peace and co-operation.

Some European countries have expressed fears that the elimination of blocs might create a no less dangerous vacuum. But this can be avoided if the removal of sharp differences were accompanied by stronger ties between all European nations for the purpose of building mutual security, welfare and cultural enrichment. The existing division into western, eastern and non-aligned countries breaks many of the traditional and natural unities, and impedes organic growth. When striving for new European unity today, we should remain aware of the fact that the two decades of division have created differences that cannot be reconciled overnight. Seeking too much too soon, perhaps even a ready-made political form, we run the risk of achieving nothing. Much more important than juridical schemes are the processes that should be initiated at all levels to take us to the desired goal. The foundations on which New Europe is to be built must be laid at the meetings of head of Europe's states, parliamentary representatives, business people, cultural workers, and ordinary men and women.

Of course, meetings alone will not do much: they will soon be forgotten, as many are already, unless they produce binding decisions, organizational forms, or published texts. A cautious start could be made at the government level with the most readily acceptable, i. e. consultative organization. A standing "European Conference for Security and Co-operation", composed of statesmen, parliamentarians and necessary experts, would prepare decisions which the governments of Europe could then adopt to foster their mutual security, economy and cultural activity. Special groups for different questions and different regions could be formed within this Standing Conference; even the non-military bodies of the existing bloc organizations could continue to operate within this framework as long as the need for this exists. In order to be efficient in its operation, the Conference would have to develop adequate expert services, drawing heavily on the results of work of many institutions in Europe and elsewhere.

The unification of Europe will formally proceed along the lines laid down in the United Nations Charter, and materially in direct confrontation with all the crucial problems of the contemporary world. General and complete disarmament remains our main objective, as formulated in the Geneva Preamble of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. Although this could be achieved in a short time, if all parties concerned show equal readiness and good will, the global system of power forces us now to direct our immediate effort to first great steps - equally important for the security of Europe and the rest of the world. These steps were discussed in great detail at the Twelfth Pugwash Conference at Dubrovnik, in a favourable climate following the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. Their mere listing will suffice here: extension of the Moscow Treaty to ban all tests; prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons; establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of reduced armament; general reduction in conventional armament; reduction of nuclear stockpiles owned by the super-powers to the level of a minimum deterrent, or nuclear "umbrella". The realization of this first stage of disarmament would undoubtedly make the earth a safer place to live in, and the final step would no longer be a pacifist dream.

Reasons of security alone would not be sufficiently powerful to push towards the integration of Europe if it were not for the equally important economic and cultural factors which operate in the same direction. Trade has considerably intensified in recent years between the regions formerly artificially divided. Differences in economic systems have not proved to be a significant obstacle to this development. Difficulties become greater when a more rational division of labour in Europe as a whole is sought. How can a capitalist enterprise fit into a planned socialist economy in a joint productive effort? The problems seem insoluble when approached in a scholastic and dogmatic way, without any feeling for new developments on both sides. First, the liberal capitalist economy can hardly be said to exist anywhere any more - despite traditional rhetoric; second, the East is giving up more and more of the rigid centralism that had considerably impeded natural initiatives and produced a powerful bureaucratic class. While the former liberal-capitalistic societies are being inescapably pervaded by elements of planning and socialism, the centralist-planning systems are gradually regaining awareness of the importance of the market and of the money-commodity relations, indeed, of the economic laws as such. The first real break in this direction was made by socialist Yugoslavia, deliberately cutting the bonds of state Stalinism. The essential thing is that all working people should be directly interested in the results of their labour, and not allow either a bureaucratic or a capitalist caste to make decisions according to their own ideas or visions of the future. The more directly the economic interest is returned to the producer himself, the easier will be the co-operation among European peoples. Admittedly, government decisions may be of great

help in this respect, particularly in the cases in which economic mechanisms do not yet function properly.

The scientific revolution of our time, too, makes a vital contribution to a closer bringing together of different societies. Unlike the industrial revolution of the last century, when individual inventors and entrepreneurs pushed things forward, the present one is characterized by scientists themselves taking over the application of their results. Thus, the interval between the discovery and its social application is radically shortened, and the productivity of human labour grows, in consequence, to undreamt-of heights. Old economic courses are thereby completely changed, and active co-existence steps in instead of cyclical crises and imperialist expansion. Scientific research is identical in both east and west, and the social application of its results is also similar. This is a powerful ingredient of common foundations on which the whole world will rest, and the integration of Europe is a constructive component of vital importance.

Faced with these world-embracing concepts, what can we do, "ordinary people", who possess neither the instruments of power nor trust? One thing is certain, however: as long as the influence from "below" is insignificant, hardly any radical changes can be expected in this world. Autocratic systems necessarily rely on the military force and economic protectionism. The democratization and adjustment of the political authority to varied human activities is, therefore, an indispensable prerequisite of any progress in the future, including complete disarmament. The struggle for more just relations in society, for greater personal liberty, and for a greater part in public affairs is not just a matter concerning an individual country but the whole of threatened mankind. Only when citizens take over the management of all their economic organizations and other institutions, including the highest political bodies, will there be full scope for the expression of the general human aspiration towards co-operation and peace.

A certain amount of experience in this effort towards a greater social involvement of all people has already been gained through the practice of workers' management, started in an attempt to break away from the bureaucratic centralism and other forms of dictatorship. In spite of the inadequacies which are still felt, this method of management of the affairs of the society carries great promise because it is quite up-to-date in taking human labour as a starting point and building higher social structures (including political representation) upon basic working organizations. Such a system can be very effective in breaking both the bureaucratic state dominance and the caste of professional politicians. The same principle is acceptable to other societies in which state authority has so far been won through the competition between different party machines; the authority won in this way must be regarded as inadequate to the new social needs. The abandonment of outdated political

forms, and the spread of democracy accompanied by increasingly thoughtful and purposeful management of varied human activities, will be decisive for the integration of Europe in which so many different social systems intermingle.

The bringing of European societies to live together, coming as they do from different historical courses, raises new questions and sharpens many of the doubts that have so far been suppressed or smothered. During the period of confrontation between the two blocs and the preservation of autocratic positions, there developed an arrogant self-sufficiency which prevented any open dialogue or scientific analysis. While active co-existence continues to require greatest care and strict non-interference at the political level, mutual co-operation in the cultural field is impossible without mutual criticism. By comparing the differences and seeking new syntheses, the scientific thought will approach the building of new Europe in a creative way, and at the same time build a new world as well. The same kind of creativity is contained in the best works of art. The inventive spirit has for too long been languishing under police supervision. In order to make Europe really one, it is necessary to establish an atmosphere of tolerance in which all cultural components will grow harmoniously, in a sincere competition. In an era of scientific revolution, under the flood of information (and misinformation), it is vital that the authentic voice of the scientist and the artist should be heard. Scientific research and artistic creation, by revealing new structures and springing from deep inspiration, march ahead of social developments and political maxims; and while conformity stifles their creative flight, full freedom will make them "serve" the progress of the European and world community.

In this context, the Pugwash Conferences take their place as the meetings of most prominent scientists. Started as a form of American-Soviet dialogue with an influential mediation on the part of the British, the early Pugwash meetings played an extremely important role in the years of the cold war, when the diplomatic channels were practically blocked. Later, when political contacts multiplied, the analyses and conclusions of Pugwash Conferences contributed to a better understanding of the danger and encouraged disarmament talks. However, our efforts would be unnecessarily narrowed if this influence upon the governments were seen as the main contribution of Pugwash meetings. In the first place, it is superfluous today - with such a highly developed diplomatic network - to try to act as some sort of unofficial diplomacy, especially if the action is tied to a rigid set of directives, which leaves it much less room for manoeuvre than the legitimate statesmen have. The Pugwash Conference have been of greatest service to politics when they have discussed topical problems in an open and unprejudiced manner, in a way characteristic of scientific research, offering new solutions to old problems. This noble tradition must be continued and strengthened in the future.

Furthermore, as a gathering of the most prominent scientists, the Pugwash Conferences must, to a degree greater than in the past, influence public opinion. Those who fear that our influence upon governments (often exaggerated anyway) will diminish in this way, ought to be told that this influence will grow to the extent to which we enjoy the support of the people. Since so many political parties and dictators have been compromised, it is now the duty of scientists and artists to stake all their reputation for the solution of the global crisis. Entrusted with the entire human heritage, we must leave the world of academic silence and address this fatally threatened world, even if this means overcoming the barriers. The Pugwash meetings would certainly become more effective if they were accompanied by more publications, such as journals, magazines or other periodicals.

In this context, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Yugoslav Pugwash Group has started the publication of a journal for the synthesis of science, art, and social practice. It is our desire, for the English edition of that journal, to have an international advisory committee and contributors from all over the world.

In conclusion, it may be said that after ten years of successful activity the time has come for the Pugwash Movement to reconsider its objectives and methods of operation, now that it can proudly claim to be an important international organization.