

Excerpts from Chernyaev's Theses Prepared for Gorbachev's Report to the Defense Council

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(...) It has been necessary to take a fresh look at the practice of military build-up as it established itself during the decades of the Cold War. As we only touched on this subject, we saw a "big overkill." The tempo and scale of growth of the military-industrial complex added little to security of the country from the purely military viewpoint. And they badly affected the state of the economy, weighed heavily on all our social structures.

(...) Without the utilization of [the resources of the military-industrial complex], without their application to the solution of public social tasks, we cannot carry out *perestroika*. Such a gap between non-military and military potentials was absolutely unacceptable, all the more so since in NATO countries, especially in the United States, these [military and civilian] industries are concentrated in the same corporations and spill-over from one into another ensuring powerful economic growth up to the modern level.

Still, the governments of NATO countries have not ceased to be our potential adversaries, have not renounced their intention "to roll back communism," to undermine the role of the Soviet Union as a world power. Emerging positive trends have not yet become irreversible. The restructuring of international relations is a long-term business and will require colossal endeavors.

Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation, Anatoly Chernyaev papers, Fond 2, Opis 1

*Translated by Vladislav Zubok
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