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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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USSR REPORT
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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS MEETS IN TASHKENT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Dec 86 p 2

[UzTAG article: "To Respect the Rights of Man"]

[Text] On 17 December there was a conference in Tashkent devoted to Human Rights Day and the 20th anniversary of the UN's adoption of the international pacts on human rights. Participating in it were representatives of party, soviet, and trade union organizations, labor collectives, members of foreign trade union delegations, and foreign students attending vuzes in the capital of Uzbekistan. Kh. Alimov, chairman of the Uzbek Council of Trade Unions, gave a report.

The conference pointed out that the legal documents adopted by the UN are considered by the Soviet Union to be an important instrument of international cooperation in questions of regulating basic human rights and freedoms. Universal observation of the political, social and personal rights and freedoms of citizens have been actually guaranteed since the victory of the socialist regime in our country.

"Among the many rights guaranteed to Soviet people is the most important right--the right to work," V. Volosatov, concrete workers' brigade leader at Tashkent DSK [home construction combine] No 1, said at the conference. "We do not know the unemployment that is a real social plague in the U.S. and other capitalist states. The Soviet people actively participate in administering affairs in their country. The paternal concern with which the party and government surrounds us helps us to work harmoniously in one international family and to strengthen the might of our Motherland.

In their speeches A. Belousov, a turner at the "Tashkentskiy traktorny zavod imeni 50-letiya SSSR" Production Association, Z. Saidova, knitter at the Tashkent Art Objects Factory and mother-heroine, and others cited examples confirming that socialism in deed guarantees broad access of all citizens to labor, education, health care, science and culture, and the state administration.

It was emphasized that Leninist ideas of humanism lay at the basis of the work of the CPSU and Soviet state to guarantee human rights and freedoms in our country and have become the foundations for fighting for them in the international arena. Participants in the conference protested angrily against mass violations of human rights in capitalist countries, against social and national oppression of peoples, and the missiles and nuclear arms race unleashed by the U.S., which is creating a threat to the existence of all mankind.

The resolution adopted at the conference heartily approved the peaceloving course of the CPSU and Soviet state which is aimed at preserving peace, creating favorable conditions for the harmonious development of the Soviet people, and full enjoyment of the rights and freedoms granted them.

CSO:18 07/175-P

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PROFESSIONAL STATUS FOR MAJOR SOCCER CLUB DEBATED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jan 87 p 12

[Article: "A Dilemma Even in the Soviet Union"]

[Text] The question as to whether there will be professionalism in Soviet soccer is being debated throughout the Soviet Union but still remains undecided, according to an article in SOVETSKIY SPORT. The main issue in the debate is this: Will the introduction of professional soccer players mean yielding to fashion or heeding the call of the times?

Those who favor professionalism in this debate argue that a transformation is taking place in every sphere of society's life, and not even the leading sport can remain an exception. The nation's soccer economy needs to undergo a radical transformation; i.e., it needs to introduce professionalism. The soccer clubs would become independent economic units. In addition to being self-supporting, they would also have to strive for profit, so as to finance their own development. But the trouble is that today a club's annual budget is 1.5 million rubles. For example, even the Moscow Spartak, the club with the most fans and the Soviet Union's equivalent to Hungary's Ferencvaros, earned only 420,000 rubles from admission fees last year.

Supporters of allowing professional soccer players outnumber by a thin margin those who are opposed to the idea. The main objection of the chairman of the Moscow Torpedo is that the clubs do not have enough revenue. Even when his club was leading in the finals and eventually won the Soviet Cup, there was no significant increase in revenue from ticket sales.

Most fans watch the finals on television. Cheering or booing is prohibited in the stadiums. Briefcases, for example, must be checked in the cloakroom. Queuing for admission, again at the cloakroom, and then to retrieve one's checked belongings, discourages fans from attending.

The fans, too, have objections: "The players are playing for their own physical fitness and enjoyment. Professionalism is too much."

The chairman of another club, smaller than the Moscow Torpedo, supports the proposal, saying that professionalism is still more honest than the institution of fictitious employment and cover jobs, or game-fixing. He feels that soccer can be made profitable, through suitable organization. All that is

needed is opportunity to solicit contributions, issue season tickets, organize lotteries and try advertising.

The reporter of SOVETSKIY SPORT asked several Dnepr players for their views. Gennadiy Litovchenko pointed out that everyone regards soccer players as parasites, but actually they work very hard for their pay. When players are allowed to turn professionals, everything will be clear and nobody will be saying: "A mother had three sons. Two were smart, but the third one was a soccer player."

According to Oleg Protasov, the best Soviet soccer players do indeed rank as professionals in terms of their skills. But as soon as professionalism is mentioned, everyone starts to whisper as if speaking of something that is prohibited. Everything ought to be put in its rightful place, he believes, and a spade should be called a spade.

The debate is continuing.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PROBLEMS, DISTORTIONS OF 'LIBERATION THEOLOGY' REVIEWED

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 73-79

[Article by Jan Tikhonovich, candidate of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "On the Fronts of the Ideological Struggle": "The Contradictions of 'Liberation Theology'"]

[Excerpts] In our press quite a lot of material has been published on the subject of "liberation theology." Most often materials illuminated its positive aspects, which was sometimes justified by the way in which the question was formulated or by the topic of the article. But, it seems to us that in some cases the evaluation has been too one-sided. This phenomenon should be approached from clearly-defined class and party standpoints and differentiations made within this broad stream of "leftist Christianity," which is widespread both in Latin America and in many countries of Africa and Asia.

Firstly, communists are in complete solidarity with the broad liberation movement of the people's masses in "Third World" countries, even though it may develop (as a result of historical circumstances) under religious slogans while being of a clearly expressed anti-imperialist, progressive nature. On this level we emphasize that "liberation theology" represents practical revolutionary activity by the working masses.

Secondly, we, however, cannot fail to notice that "liberation theology" as a whole is of an idealistic nature, that the theoreticians of this doctrine (including Leonardo Boff), while accepting some methods of Marxist class analysis, generally distance themselves from Marxism. Furthermore, within this school of thought there are various undercurrents, including some embryonic formations which could over the long term grow into an anti-Marxist movement.

In all probability, the Pope's latest "feat" -- reconciliation of the "Holy See" with "liberation theology" -- has as its goal the idea of lending precisely that orientation to the further development of this theory. We should not lose sight of the fact that the term "liberation theology" includes not only the concept of "liberation," but also the category of "theology." "People," V. I. Lenin teaches, "have always been and always will be the dupes of deception and self-deception in politics if they do not learn to see the

true interests of various classes behind any sort of moral, religious, political or social phrases, statements and promises" (V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye socheniniy" [Complete Works], Vol 23, p 47).

And thirdly, there have already been clear indications of a tendency toward extension of the activities of "liberation theology" to socialist countries, adding "liberation theology" to the arsenal of tools for the realization of the Vatican's "Eastern policy." And in that context "liberation theology" has a typically anticommunist orientation.

"Leftist Christianity," which traces its origins to the 1930's, underwent particularly intensive development in the wake of World War II. Some of its branches came out fully in favor of socialism, took part in the proletariat's class struggle and -- as, for example, in the case of the Polish Catholic league "Pax" -- actively assisted Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of their countries in the building of a new society. In backward regions of the "Third World" the "leftist Christianity" movement assumed a mass character: in it, under the guise of Gospel slogans, there existed a revolutionary, class-oriented proletarian and peasant liberation tendency which was objectively directed both against local exploiters and against the dominance of American imperialism.

"Third World" countries, including those in Latin America, have been and remain in an extremely impoverished economic situation. Over 700 million people in those countries suffer from constant malnourishment, and 1.5 billion people have no access to any medical assistance whatsoever. A total of 200 million children do not attend school. And all this is exacerbated by these countries' tremendous indebtedness (totalling approximately 370 billion dollars!) to international capital, primarily American capital. Currently Argentina has foreign debts totalling 50 billion dollars, Brazil -- 102 billion, Peru -- 14 billion, and Mexico -- 98 billion. A similar situation prevails in other Latin American countries as well.

Simultaneously military expenditures are on the rise, weighing heavily on taxpayers' shoulders. Whereas in 1977 military expenditures by the countries in this region consumed six billion dollars, in 1986 this figure had risen to approximately 30 billion dollars. As a result, poverty and hunger are increasing with each passing year and are reaching truly monstrous proportions. Under such conditions the revolutionary movement is assuming a mass-oriented and radical nature.

With regard to the sociopolitical stance of the Catholic Church, it would be an oversimplification to assert that this position always coincides with the positions of the most reactionary imperialist circles. Today some national bishops are attempting to make the transition to more liberal positions. Thus, in July 1986 the Brazilian diocese excommunicated the governor and several high-ranking officials from Maranhao Province on account of their resistance to the introduction of progressive reforms in the country's agricultural system (land redistribution, elimination of latifundios, etc.).

Many Catholic theoreticians are also changing their traditional viewpoint. For example, Professor Ruben-Rufino (Dri), a theologian from Buenos Aires,

writes that the sources of "liberation theology" are to be found in the Bible, in the Gospel, in the words of Jesus Christ, and also in Latin American realities, in which social inequality, capitalist exploitation and dependence on American imperialism are typical. This Argentine theoretician underscores the fact that "liberation theology" utilizes Marxism as a tool for studying social realities, and participation by Christians in the revolutionary movement is regarded as a moral imperative which flows directly from the Gospel.

In counterpoint to the traditional Christian approach, which emphasizes above all else the spiritual aspect of man's life, R.-R. (Dri) writes: "Christ and the prophets were not opposed to wealth. They were opposed to wealth concentrated in the hands of individuals. They spoke in favor of a wealthy society, but one in which the riches would be accessible to all, in which no one segment of society could appropriate them for itself, in which everything could be shared with everyone. And when we attain this new level in the development of humanity, we will also be in a position to deepen such basic values as love and solidarity, which we are working on right now..."

In light of these statements it is clear that "liberation theology" is of course not inspired by Marxism, as has sometimes been written. We can also clearly see the limited nature of this doctrine. The fact that proponents of "liberation theology" do not neglect the phenomenon of class struggle, taking it into consideration in their theoretical works and practical actions, does not make them Marxists. There is a watershed between communism and all the forms of "Christian socialism"; this, however, does not preclude the possibility and even the necessity of their common struggle against imperialism and exploitation of man by man.

In recent years several hideous mutations of "liberation theology" have come into existence: reactionary organization and ideological tendencies which define themselves as "Lithuanian," "Polish," "Hungarian" etc.

The theoreticians of "Lithuanian liberation theology," coming from the ranks of reactionary emigres who have spent time in the West, have already expressed their political credo. Like other bourgeois nationalists, who do not hide behind any sort of theological veil, they too are preparing to "liberate" Lithuania "from spiritual and physical slavery," are demanding that "freedom be granted" and "believers not be persecuted," etc. In other words, they are in fact singing a "new arrangement" of the old repertoire of the bourgeois nationalists and clericalists, which was composed several decades ago by the American special services and is not popular even with the majority of Lithuanian emigres, much less with the populace of Soviet Lithuania.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the Eastern model of "liberation theology" during the undeclared psychological war against the Polish People's Republic [PPR] which was conducted for several years by bourgeois propaganda. Participating in this campaign were not only clerical institutions, but also diversionary radio stations and various opposition groups financed by the CIA and other, similar agencies of the bourgeois West.

In the wake of certain well-known events, Radio Free Europe broadcast a "Letter to the Poles," written by Polish priest Franciszek Blachnicki, one of the founders of "Polish liberation theology," currently living in the FRG. As the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ironically wrote, the Catholic priest made a "correction" in the dogma of the holy scriptures which states that "all power comes from God." Socialist power in Poland is supposedly an exception to this rule. In his letter, Blachnicki declares that authority to be immoral, illegal and anti-Polish, because it "was never chosen or approved by the people in free elections." This cassocked counterrevolutionary even "dared" to criticize the leadership of the Polish Catholic Church and John Paul II himself for the fact that they recognize the Government of the PPR. He states directly: "Let us finally stop saying that we do not wish to replace the power and social system in Poland." He could not say it any more plainly. He and other clerical extremists, the proponents of "Polish liberation theology," declare that socialist power runs contrary to the interests of the Polish people, and they urge citizens to ignore the state's laws and regulations.

The political irresponsibility of these extremists is manifested in their attempts to dictate to the socialist Polish State what it should be guided by in its policy: Marxist humanism is to be replaced by "Christian" humanism, the proper conditions are to be created so that the church can assume a dominant role in all areas of life, and the country is to be brought into a state of "independence" from the USSR.

It is clear that these efforts will never meet with acceptance by Polish communists and their political allies or by the Polish people.

Within the Polish Catholic Church we are presently observing a polarization between positions on an approach to the issue of national reconciliation. On the one hand, there are numerous people who favor a dialogue between believers and nonbelievers, between Catholics and communists. These priests and the millions-strong masses of rank-and-file believers who support them take a socialist stance on the political level, approve of the Polish United Workers Party's [PZPR] domestic and foreign policy platform and favor active participation by Catholics in the building of socialism in the PPR.

However, this course is opposed by a conservative tendency, which represents a continuation of clericalist-bourgeois ideology. Within this school of thought in Poland there have also come into being "national theology" and "Polish liberation theology." Its main thesis is assertion of parallelism in the history of the church and the Polish people and of the historical dependence of the nation's existence upon the nation's relationship to religion and the church. On the basis of this assertion is postulated the need for a permanent symbiosis of things Polish and Catholicism.

Clericalist tendencies within Catholic churches in socialist countries make understanding between those churches and their respective states more difficult. In some official documents issued by the church hierarchy, especially in Poland, we find demagogic criticism and attacks on the party and the state. It is paradoxical but true: even atheists are allowed behind the pulpits of some Polish Catholic churches, so long as they are anticommunist

and anti-Soviet. And the opposite is also true: the official church behaves very coolly toward individual Catholics and toward Catholic social organizations which cooperate with communists and actively take part in the building of socialism. Often Polish Catholic priests include elements of political anticommunist propaganda in their sermons, opposing the leading and guiding role of the PZPR in the country's affairs and opposing fraternal, allied relations between Poland and other socialist countries -- i.e. opposing the foundations of socialism in Poland. This stance makes it substantially more difficult to find solutions to the important economic, political and cultural problems which continue to face the Polish people, and slows down the Polish people's recovery from their deep crisis. In this particular case this stance is also reactionary in a political sense; there is no way that it can even be termed neutral.

Therefore the PZPR and the broad working masses, who cherish the ideals and achievements of socialism, are properly rebuffing the intrigues of clerical reaction in its traditional and "new" mutations. A powerful system of secular, atheistic education has been set up in the country: six periodicals devoted to this topic are published; a year-long course in scientific atheism under the title of "Religious Studies" has been introduced into the secondary-school curriculum; a broad network of the most diverse organizations is in operation, the functions of which are to inculcate materialist, Marxist-Leninist convictions among the public. We can state with confidence that Polish communists, who -- as stated at the 27th CPSU Congress by W. Jaruzelski -- did not retreat at the most difficult times, and are even less inclined to retreat now, will see their cause through to a victorious conclusion. The PZPR Program adopted at the 10th PZPR Congress is of historic significance. Questions pertaining to ideological work, all-round development of all forms of the social consciousness of the public in the PPR and the struggle against manifestations of clerical anticommunism occupy a prominent place in that document.

* * *

The future will show what "liberation theology" will become, which path it will choose to follow: will it be a democratic theory of revolutionary "leftist Christianity," or will it become one of the forms of official Vatican doctrine, which is directed against the theory of scientific communism and the practice of real socialism? It seems to us that the fate of Catholicism as a whole will to a large degree depend upon the path taken by "liberation theology."

In April 1986 the Vatican published an official document entitled "Instruction Concerning Christian Liberty and Liberation." Although the text was personally signed by John Paul II, it was worked on by hundreds of members of the Catholic hierarchy from 35 national dioceses over a period of 18 months; thus it represents the official viewpoint of present-day Catholicism. It does make reference to "liberation theology." This document recognizes the right of the oppressed to armed revolt in the event that they are dealing with "long-term and cruel dictatorship" and if all other (peaceful) means have proven ineffective. This, of course, represents a certain change in position. But it should not be overestimated. The aforementioned "instruction" contains

sharp attacks on Marxism and the theory and practice of class struggle; its authors see atheism as the greatest threat to mankind, and they underscore the "liberating function of religion"... Nihil novi -- nothing new.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

IMPORTANCE OF STANDARDIZATION TO CEMA SUCCESS

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 9, 1986
pp 96-101

[Article by Albert Medvedev: "Standardization Is An Important Area in Cooperation"]

[Text] The economic meeting at the highest level, which was convened in Moscow during June 1984, pointed out the growing role of standardization in the collaboration between the CEMA member countries. Standardization establishes an effective base for the international division of labor and for the mutually beneficial exchange of advanced scientific and technical achievements. The Complex Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the CEMA Member Countries out to the Year 2000, which was adopted during the 41st (special) meeting of the CEMA Session, points out that the CEMA member countries will perform joint work to support the program's priority avenues in a norm, technical and metrological respect, including the development of the required CEMA standards, rules, methods, and technical measuring systems that correspond to the highest international level. Such concepts as the direction of standardization within the CEMA framework, standardization, CEMA standard, international standard, national standard, and certification have important significance in this regard. Their content is examined in an article by Albert Medvedev (USSR).

Standardization is an activity which consists of finding solutions for repetitive tasks in the areas of science, technology and economics; which is aimed at achieving the optimum degree of regulation in a certain area; and which is manifested in the process of developing, publishing and applying standards. Products of labor; production processes that are repeated over and over again; and the development of organizational, methodological and general technological rules and requirements that are required to insure unity and coordination in certain areas are the objects of standardization.

An important result of standardization is an improvement in the suitability of a product or service for its functional purpose. Standardization links the technical norms and requirements for interchangeable products; guarantees their technological level, reliability, durability, and quality; creates the necessary preconditions for deepening and expanding specialization and cooperation in production; actively influences the savings of all types of natural, material and energy resources; and also leads to a gradual leveling of the levels of technical norms and requirements in the national standards of the CEMA member countries and to the bringing of them to the highest international scientific and technical models.

Avenues of standardization. During planning, the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Area of Standardization proceeds from the tasks that have been provided for by the long-term measures for specialization and cooperation in the production of the most important types of products and by stable trade, economic, scientific and technical bonds. Among these tasks are the establishment of optimum standard-sized lines of machinery, equipment, instruments, range and type of metal and other construction material, which would be common for the CEMA member countries, as well as common testing methods; and the insuring of the technical compatibility of the finished items and the interchangeability of component units, parts and their elements.

A great deal of attention is being devoted to improving and strengthening standardization's influence on increasing the effectiveness of the CEMA member countries' scientific, technical and economic cooperation and to using CEMA standards in following a common technical policy that provides for the production of products with a high technical level that are capable of competing in the world market.

Within the CEMA framework, standardization also embraces the quality of industrial products, metrology, equipment safety, and labor safeguards. Appropriate sections of the commission are working on these avenues.

At the present time, more than 5,500 CEMA standards have been approved. Practically every branch body of the council and a number of international economic organizations in the fraternal countries participated in their development. CEMA standards are being widely used in the cooperating countries. Thus, the use of from 71 percent to 88 percent of the CEMA standards in effect is providing a significant economic effect in the national economies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, GDR, Polish People's Republic, USSR, and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The CEMA standards for vessels and equipment in chemical machine building, which have been introduced into the USSR, have permitted an annual savings of approximately four million rubles and 20,000 tons of metal. More than 400,000 rubles -- this was the effect from introducing four CEMA standards for nuclear instrument manufacturing items.

CEMA standards have found an application in many branches; they cover equipment for automated control systems for aerial movement and airports, ship equipment and its units, radio parts and components, electrical insulating material and ceramics, and general machinebuilding completion assemblies, units, etc. The

requirements of more than 2,000 CEMA standards in effect are today being taken into consideration in multilateral agreements on production specialization and cooperation during 1986-1990.

CEMA standards in material production, especially for the most important priority avenues of cooperation, are being purposefully developed in accordance with the Plan for CEMA Member Country Cooperation in the Area of Standardization During 1986-1990, which was approved by the CEMA ispolkom. A decision has been made for the interested countries to establish a single period for implementing CEMA standards in contract and legal relations, for specializing countries and importers to participate in their preparation and use, and for national and international standards to be widely used in the products, which have already been mastered by production, and in the absence of CEMA standards.

Timely norm, technical and metrological support of measures in machine building is acquiring special importance in carrying out the tasks of the complex program for scientific and technical progress. A work program to standardize industrial robots has already been approved. An analysis of the state of standardization in electronic equipment has been conducted, and methodological material entitled "The System of Standards and Norm Documents for Electronic Equipment Items. General Propositions" is being prepared. A number of measures to standardize microprocessor equipment, which are aimed at the fuller use and consideration of CEMA standards during the signing of new agreements and protocols about extending, defining more precisely and supplementing existing ones, is being carried out.

The joint efforts are aimed at establishing CEMA standards with technical characteristics and qualitative indicators that correspond to the international level. The CEMA Commission and Institute for Standardization are performing a great deal of work to improve the methodological foundations and to raise the requirements for examining draft CEMA standards. They are compared with the best standards in the fraternal countries as well as with international ones in order to achieve their high scientific and technical level. Decisions are being made on reexamining CEMA standards that contain indicators and requirements which do not correspond to a modern international level.

The main result of the work on standardization within CEMA is the compiling of CEMA norm and norm technical documents in this area, at the basis of which is a CEMA standard at the present time.

A CEMA standard is the primary CEMA norm technical document that fixes the results of a specific activity by CEMA standardization bodies; that is implemented based on the modern achievements of science, technology and progressive practical experience; and that has been developed and approved in accordance with the procedure stipulated by the CEMA Statute on Standardization which was approved in June 1974 by the 28th meeting of the Council's Session. This document and the CEMA methodological instructions on standardization, which have been developed and approved by the commission, define the procedure for planning, developing, using, reviewing, and revoking CEMA standards.

The development of CEMA standards is carried out by CEMA bodies and international economic organizations of the CEMA member countries in accordance with plans approved by the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Area of Standardization. The CEMA Institute for Standardization examines, monitors the norms and edits the drafts; and the commission approves all standards.

This commission prepares draft CEMA standards for general technical and inter-branch projects; other CEMA branches prepare them for the specific types of products that are within their competence. The coordination of all of the work in this area has also been placed on the commission.

In accordance with the Convention on Using CEMA Standards, the CEMA member countries, which have signed it, have agreed to use them without fail and directly in their contract and legal relationships with respect to economic, scientific and technical cooperation in order to increase its effectiveness through standardization means and to expand technical progress further in each one of the fraternal countries.

Under the use of a CEMA standard in the national economies of the convention's participating countries is understood its direct use as a national standard without changes or reformulation -- or its incorporation into national standards with the complete correspondence of their indicators to the CEMA standard's indicators. When doing this, the countries can establish higher quality indicators in the national standards when compared with the CEMA standards while preserving the requirements for interchangeability and technical compatibility.

The incorporation of differentiated product quality indicators in them is closely linked with the use of CEMA standards in the national economy. This is caused by the differences in the development level of science, technology and production in the countries that are participating in the socialist economic integration and by the need to take the actually existing production capabilities in them into consideration. In this regard, the progressive indicators serve as a reference point for those states which cannot assure their use for themselves at the present time because of technical or economic reasons.

CEMA standards are subdivided into types based on the objects and aspects of standardization. CEMA standards for products, which define some or all of the requirements that the product or group of products must satisfy in order to insure that they correspond to their functional purpose, are the most numerous group.

Among the CEMA standards for products, the most important ones for the norm and technical support of cooperation are those which establish:

The technical requirements for the consumer (operating) characteristics of the product; and

A complete technical description (specifications) that defines the detailed technical requirements for a specific product or several types during their manufacturing, delivery and operation.

The major portion of CEMA standards in effect pertain to such branches as machine building, instrument making, metallurgy, electrical engineering, radio electronics and the chemical industry.

In a number of branches, for example, in metallurgy and chemistry, CEMA standards for control methods (testing, analyzing and measuring), which regulate the sequence of control operations with their description and the procedure for making notes, as well as other information when necessary, play the largest role.

A considerable portion of CEMA standards have been combined into systems among which are the CEMA Common System for Design and Construction Documentation (ESKD CEMA), the CEMA Common System for Tolerances and Clearances (ESDP CEMA), the CEMA Common System for the Technological Preparation of Production (ESTPP CEMA), etc.

The modern achievements of science and technology and progressive experience in production are reflected in CEMA standards. Thus, 16 CEMA standards for serial diamond products, which cover 30 percent of the entire range of diamond instruments, have been developed based on the experience of the USSR diamond industry and that of the largest foreign firms (Norton, [Vintre], [Diament Boart], etc.) considering the requirements of the national standards of the CEMA member countries and the international standards of the International Standardization Organization (ISO) and the European Federation of Abrasive Producers (FEPA).

An international standard is a standard that has been accepted by an international body engaged in standardization.

Among such bodies, the International Standardization Organization (ISO) and the International Electrical Engineering Commission (IEEC) are the most representative. They contain 89 and 43 countries respectively. Every CEMA member country, except the GDR, is a participant in ISO. The Mongolian People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Republic of Cuba are not included in IEEC.

ISO has published 5,231 international standards and registered 1,585 draft international standards and 2,056 draft proposals for their development (according to 1 January 1985 data). A standard is developed in ISO and IEEC for five-seven years and reviewed after five years. At the present time, approximately one-third of the ISO standards are scheduled for review and will be published in a new edition in several years.

For many years, the main stress in ISO was placed on standardizing testing methods. During recent years, the ISO technical program has projected a change from more fundamental standards, for example, those for control and testing methods, to standards that contain requirements for the technical characteristics of an item.

ISO activity is of interest to many other international organizations: Some participate directly in the development of ISO standards, and others -- especially intergovernmental ones -- promote their introduction, for example, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements.

It is necessary to point out ISO's cooperation with the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE): ISO actively develops and primarily implements the ECE List for Standardizing Objects Subject to International Standardization, which was approved by a meeting of government officials responsible for standardization policy. CEMA is among the organizations that are carrying out work in accordance with this list.

According to an official agreement, ISO and MEK supplement each other and form an international system for standardization. International standardization in electrical engineering / electronics has been strengthened because of MEK, and in all other branches -- because of ISO. When reviewing questions representing mutual interest, the specialists in ISO and MEK technical bodies are invited to their sessions and maintain close contacts between themselves.

At the beginning of 1986, MEK had issued 1,719 international standards and 290 changes and additions to them. During recent years, MEK has annually published approximately 150 standards (including those reviewed and supplemented). Approximately 2,000 draft MEK standards are now in various stages of preparation.

ISO and MEK standards are developed in two languages -- English and French. A portion of ISO standards are issued in the Russian language also.

All international standards are in the nature of a recommendation. At the same time, a number of documents, which actually have a binding nature while presenting themselves as recommendations of international organizations, are encountered in cooperation practices. For example, the recommendations in the Nutritional Code, which were developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization/World Health Organization Nutritional Code Commission, can serve as an example of such a document.

This commission was established to implement a program of the United Nation's specialized institutions -- the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization -- for developing food product standards. CEMA member countries (People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Republic of Cuba, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Romania, USSR, and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) are participating in its work, and the GDR enjoys the status of an observer.

It has been decided to convert international standards into regional or national ones in order to eliminate technical obstacles in trade, scientific technical communications, and other types of international cooperation through its practices. Individual manufacturing enterprises, customers, testing laboratories, and various interested parties are accepting international standards on their own.

ISO Manual 21-1985 regulates the conditions and methods for converting international standards into national ones. When doing this, it recommends that national standards correspond to the international ones without any deviations. If these exist, they should be clearly defined and stated in the information about the national standard.

International standards are used in CEMA as a base for developing draft CEMA standards, during the preparation of draft CEMA standards for compiling comparison tables, for conducting examinations of draft CEMA standards, and also directly in agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the CEMA member countries.

The structure of CEMA, ISO and MEK standards is different. The requirements, which have been placed on the construction, statement and formulation of CEMA standards, are much more strict and binding.

A national standard is a document that has been accepted by a national standardization body. According to the status of that body or the laws of the state, its main function consists of developing and/or publishing national standards and/or approving standards that are prepared by other bodies. In all CEMA member countries, national standards are approved at the state level and have a binding nature.

For example, the main tasks of standardization in the USSR are the establishment of a system of norm and technical documentation which defines the progressive requirements for products manufactured for the needs of the national economy, population, the country's defense, and export and for its development, production and use; and the monitoring of the correct use of this documentation.

In the USSR, for example, state standards, -- GOST -- number more than 24,000. In addition, three categories of norm technical documents, which stipulate the requirements for the objects of standardization in the USSR: branch standards (OST), republic standards (RST) and specifications (TU), exist.

The national standards of the fraternal countries play an important role in their economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Direct references to the national standards of CEMA member countries are used in agreements and treaties or their requirements are added to the requirements of CEMA standards.

The countries of the socialist commonwealth have devoted a great deal of attention to unifying national standards. The development of CEMA standardization recommendations in CEMA has pursued this goal and, at the present time, we are talking about the joint compiling of common documents -- CEMA standards which will be used -- in accordance with the Convention on the Use of CEMA Standards -- both in the treaty and legal relations of the countries and in the national economy of each one of them. Work is being carried out to unify national standards on a bilateral basis primarily for mutually supplied products between these countries.

The national standards of the CEMA member countries are usually the starting material for developing draft CEMA standards. If the scientific and technical level of the fraternal countries' standards is not sufficiently high, the national standards of other countries, which reflect the modern achievements of science, technology and progressive practical experience in the best possible manner, can serve as the source material for preparing draft CEMA standards. The progressive national standards of other countries can also be used as references in agreements on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the CEMA member countries.

Certification is the confirmation by means of a certificate or mark that the technical indicators and qualitative characteristics of the product correspond to the standards.

Conducted on the basis of competent testing laboratories that are independent of the producer, certification permits an effective evaluation of the quality of the item to be obtained and creates a guarantee for the consumer. The importance and effectiveness of introducing certification systems and of their international harmonization were pointed out in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Certification systems are functioning in the Common Market countries, the European Free Trade Association and in the Scandinavian countries.

Several CEMA member countries are already participating in international certification systems: the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Hungarian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic, and in the international certification system for household electrical equipment. A decision has been made in the USSR on joining the MEK certification system for electronic equipment items.

International experience shows that all certification systems for individual types of products have certain practical limitations. One of the most common of them is the fact that complete -- to the last item -- correspondence of all products to the standard is not attainable. Nevertheless, an accurately worked out certification system should be reliable and acceptable for all interested parties, provide the optimum guarantee for this type of product that it was manufactured and tested under the best conditions and, thereby, reduce the output of products that are below the appropriate standard in quality to a minimum.

Certification systems for individual types of products may be unacceptable for individual countries because of the national laws that are in effect or practices that have taken shape. The detailed functioning of this or that system can also be changed in several important aspects. In the countries that have joined certification systems, the status of the certification body can be different.

Overall, certification foreordains the need for:

Determining the most optimum system for certifying each type of product;

Keeping the testing laboratory, whose competence is mutually recognized by the interested parties, independent of the producer;

Inspecting the presence of conditions for the production of stable quality products;

Compiling common standards for products and agreed testing methods; and

Mutually recognizing the certificates of correspondence.

In accordance with the decision of the economic meeting of CEMA member countries at the highest level, a System for Evaluating the Quality and Certification of Mutually Supplied Products Based on CEMA Standards is being created within the CEMA framework. The system is based on international certification principles and practices; it is proposed to develop the basic documents, including a statute on the system's functioning, before the end of 1986.

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USSR ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPING STATES DESCRIBED

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[Article by Viktor Semakin: "Soviet Economic Cooperation with Developing Countries"]

[Text] *THE GUIDELINES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1986-1990 AND FOR THE PERIOD ENDING IN 2000 endorsed by the 27th CPSU Congress envisage: "To deepen cooperation with developing countries, to render them assistance in the construction of industrial projects, the development of transport, agricultural mechanisation and land irrigation, geological prospecting for mineral and fuel reserves, personnel training and in other fields while promoting the broader industrial use of natural wealth and an increase of natural resources in those countries, the formation and development of their national economies and their advancement along the road of independence and progress. To continue the consistent implementation of long-term, coordinated programme of trade, economic, scientific and technical ties with these countries."*

For developing countries, economic and technical cooperation with the USSR has become a key factor in building the foundations of a modern economy, in containing imperialist expansion by transnationals, and in waging the struggle for a new, just international economic order.

In recent years this cooperation has developed into a process which is truly diverse and enormous in scope. The complementary elements of the developing countries' economies have now become more distinct and the mutually beneficial nature of their ties has consolidated.

The Soviet Union has never made any colonial claims. It has invariably given comprehensive political support and as much economic aid as possible to the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Lenin's words about support for the working masses of underdeveloped countries on the part of

the proletariat of the Soviet republics have been put into practice through the development of economic cooperation between the USSR and those states which have chosen to take an independent course in building their economies.

The Soviet Union rejects all attempts to include the socialist community in a "poor and rich" country schematisation of the world. These attempts are made to put the socialist states on an equal footing with the imperialist powers in terms of their historical responsibility for developing countries' economic backwardness, for the consequences of the colonial yoke and for the neocolonial exploitation of these peoples. Economic ties between the USSR and developing countries are based on the principles of mutual gain, noninterference in each other's affairs, and respect for the right of each nation to choose its own path of development. The interest developing countries show in economic cooperation with the USSR has largely objective causes related to the growing contradictions in the world capitalist economy and the general worsening of the position newly-independent countries occupy within it.

In many instances, the growth of commercial, economic and technical cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states allows developing countries to erect a reliable barrier to the economic expansion by the West on the world market.

It is well known that the predatory policies national corporations pursue downgrade developing countries, assigning them the role of junior partner within the international capitalist division of labour. Such policies have an adverse effect on the national economies in developing countries and impede their progress towards economic independence.

One of the worst effects of the TNCs' activities is the sizable outflow of capital from developing countries in the form of transfers of profits and dividends and payments for technologies supplied. This has

resulted in a steady increase in the acceptance of foreign aid and, consequently, in a sharp growth of the foreign debt during the past decade.

Between 1974 and 1984, the developing countries' external debt GNP ratio more than doubled, reaching nearly 34 per cent. In Africa by the mid-1980s that same ratio stood at 55 per cent. It should also be borne in mind that prospects for the reduction of this huge debt are not very good. The World Bank predicts that the developing countries' foreign debt servicing rate, which stood at 19.7 per cent in 1984, will rise to 28 per cent by 1990. In Africa the figure will go up from 19.9 to 37.5 per cent.

The further growth of economic ties between developing nations and the industrialised capitalist countries was recently being hindered by a sharp increase in protectionism, a tendency that became particularly marked after the Reagan administration came to power. In the opinion of World Bank experts the increased use of import duties and restrictions, effecting above all, ready-made and semi-finished goods, impedes the development of the manufacturing industries in newly-free countries and ensures that they continue playing their traditional role as raw material exporters.

A dramatic rise has been noted in the number of diverse non-tariff restrictions imposed by the industrialised capitalist states, particularly the USA, on developing countries' exports. Between 1980 and 1983 alone, the share of US imports subject to non-tariff restrictions grew by 38 per cent. In 1983, about 20 per cent of the goods exported by the developing countries to the industrialised capitalist states were subject to non-tariff restrictions, this causing the economies of young nations to suffer tangible losses.

The newly-independent countries are growing increasingly aware of the need to change the orientation of their economic ties. The well-known Indian economist R. K. Sharma has written that unlike the Western transnationals, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have never created the conditions that could promote their expansion in the developing world. Naturally, it is out of the question that they would pump any resources out of the newly-independent countries. Quite the opposite is true. The overwhelming majority of Soviet assistance is used to finance important industrial projects thus strengthening the economic foundations of the recipient countries and counteracting expansion by transnationals, Sharma noted. It is not by chance then that a growing number of Asian, African and Latin American countries are inclined to conclude major long-term economic agreements with the Soviet Union, which provide for the construction of vital economic projects.

By the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union had signed economic and technical cooperation agreements with almost 70 developing countries. In accordance with these agreements and thanks to the aid from Soviet organisations about 2,000 economic projects have been commissioned and another 1,300 are under construction or designed in newly-free countries. The volume of equipment and materials exported from the USSR to developing countries between 1975 and 1984 and intended for projects undertaken with Soviet technical assistance grew by almost 140 per cent. It should be noted, however, that

plants and factories in newly-independent countries, including enterprises built with Soviet assistance, produce an increasing share of the equipment and materials needed for the aforesaid projects.

At the various stages of their economic development, the content and forms of Soviet aid to newly-free countries were improved and changed in accordance with the main goals and specific conditions prevailing in each country. At the time when the national economies of the newly-free countries had to be established the main objective of assistance was to create basic production branches, such as the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industry, heavy machine building, electric power engineering, mining and initial raw material processing. By the early 1980s, the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industry accounted for 36.5 per cent of the USSR's total assistance to the developing world, the energy industry accounted for 22.9 per cent, while other industries accounted for 16.9 per cent. In some developing countries (India, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Algeria) gigantic iron-and-steel works have been built that

account for nearly 40 per cent of the pig iron and 25 per cent of the steel produced in the developing world, and heavy machine-building plants erected. Powerful hydro-electric power stations have been put into operation in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, thereby bringing about radical changes in formerly backward regions.

In the 1980s, changes occurred in both the objects and forms of economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and developing countries. Changes mirror the growth of the latter's economic potential and shifts in their economic strategies. The emergence of modern industrial

enterprises in some Afro-Asian states prompted such new forms of cooperation as production cooperatives and the construction of plants on the product-pay-back basis. In this way, elements of a division of labour between the Soviet Union and developing countries appeared and began to gain ground, this making it possible to expand the market for commodities produced in those countries as well as to arrange for shipments of equipment, semi-finished products and raw materials to the USSR which are needed by the Soviet economy.

Examples of such cooperation are the development of production cooperation between Soviet organisations and Indian machine-building plants in Ranchi, Durgapur and Hardwar built with Soviet assistance, the signing of a long-term agreement on bauxite deliveries by Guinean enterprise (also a Soviet assisted project) on the payback basis, etc.

The economic and technical aid the USSR provides for the countries of socialist orientation is constantly increasing. Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Algeria—all in all about 20 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that have embarked on a course of radical social reforms and are now engaged in a serious confrontation with imperialism and reaction—find in the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries reliable friends and comrades-in-arms who are ever ready to lend a helping hand in their just struggle.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted at the 27th Party Congress points out: "The Party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with socialist-oriented countries... The Soviet Union has been doing and will conti-

nue to do all it can to render the peoples following that road assistance in economic and cultural development, in training national personnel, in strengthening their defences and in other fields."

Cooperation with the USSR is of great significance to Syria which is countervailing the aggressive aspirations of imperialists and Zionists in the Middle East. One can hardly overestimate the importance to the Syrian economy of the Euphrates Hydro-Electric Power Plant, built with Soviet assistance. By the start of 1985, the plant had already generated 1.8 billion kilowatt hours of electricity.

Economic cooperation with Algeria is also being developed successfully. Soviet-Algerian relations received a new impetus during the summit talks that were held in Moscow in March 1986 and resulted in the signing of highly important intergovernmental documents. These documents specify that the volume of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries is to increase by approximately 40 per cent in the current five-year period (1986-1990).

After the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia, Soviet-Ethiopian economic contacts entered a qualitatively new phase. More than 50 agreements and other documents state that assistance will be given in finding the solution to the most urgent problems facing this friendly country's emerging economy. Thus, for example, plans envision an increase of 50 per cent in Ethiopia's hydroelectric power capacity, also with Soviet aid.

Economic and technical cooperation with Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania and Madagascar is proceeding without inter-

ruption. When determining what form this cooperation is to take the level of these countries' economic and social development is taken into consideration and also what our country has to offer them. As these countries move ahead along the path of socialist orientation, cooperation based on the principle of mutual gain will grow in scope.

Against the backdrop of the overall economic and technical assistance the Soviet Union gives to developing countries, an important role is assigned to capitalist-oriented Asian and African states such as India,

Turkey, Nigeria, and Egypt and some others. "Relations between the Soviet Union and newly-free countries have demonstrated," the Programme of the CPSU states, "that there also exists a realistic basis for cooperation with those young states that are following the capitalist road of development. This basis consists in a common interest in safeguarding peace, strengthening international security and ending the arms race; in a sharpening contradiction between the interests of the peoples and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion; and in an understanding by young states of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union help to strengthen their independence."

An important example of fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation are the multifaceted ties of friendship that exist between the USSR and India, the

leading developing country today. With the signing in August 1971 of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries, a document that is now playing an important part in promoting peace and stability in South

Asia, longstanding Soviet-Indian relations acquired a reliable foundation which will make them even stronger. This treaty not only improved the political climate in Asia, but also contributed to the expansion of Soviet-Indian ties as a whole, ties that centre on assisting the development of various branches of the Indian economy.

Taken together Indian economic and technical projects commissioned, being built or designed with Soviet assistance, will provide the country annually with some 11 million tons of steel, 100,000 tons of aluminium, over 60 million tons of coal, 6.6 million tons of oil, and 6.5 million tons of iron ore. In addition, they will refine 12 million tons of oil, produce 125,000 tons of heavy equipment for the iron-and-steel and mining industries, 10,000 tractors, and 25 billion kilowatt hours of electricity. Soviet-built plants now put out 36 per cent of Indian's steel, 32 per cent of its aluminium, 77 per cent of equipment for its iron-and-steel industry, 47 per cent of its power and 43 per cent of its mining equipment. They extract

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SOVIET PEACE INITIATIVES FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION VIEWED

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[Article: "A Program of Peace in Asia"]

[Text]

In his speech in Vladivostok the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev set forth a programme of peace and normalisation in the huge Asian-Pacific region. It provides for a revision of obsolete approaches and a bold rejection of everything that impedes the joint advance of peoples to a secure future. The Soviet leader's "Vladivostok appeal" has evoked widespread response.

The invitation to search jointly for constructive roads, to the new peace-oriented thinking in the interests of all members of the world community, the well-considered and far-reaching initiatives are acknowledged in the world as typical features of the "Soviet Union's new realistic diplomacy".

"New optimism", "a bold approach to complex problems", "unprecedented proposals", "concrete and attainable", "the wind of detente blows from Vladivostok"—these and similar comments keyed the tremendous response of the world press, radio and television. Summing up all comments, one can draw the following conclusion: the planet's peace forces welcome the birth of this programme.

There is no doubt that the role of the Asian and Pacific region in the world process of development is visibly growing and that the destiny of the whole world will depend in many ways on how relations between the region's countries and peoples develop—between countries belonging to different social systems and between countries that have chosen one of the shared roads into the future.

In recent times alone the USSR has made a number of very important proposals directed at improving the international situation. They are the programme of eliminating nuclear weapons of mass destruction already during the present century, the proposals on the total prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, banning chemical weapons, on cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, on a substantial reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, and a whole number of other proposals. The sweeping Soviet initiatives concern all countries because the main problem confronting mankind today—the problem of survival—is equally urgent and pressing for Europe and for Asia, for Africa, for America and for Australia.

Not everybody perhaps has yet grown accustomed to a term that has appeared only recently—the Asian process. But this process, being an inseparable part of mankind's world-wide advance into the 21st century, a process of unquestionable importance and scope already now determines many aspects of the life of hundreds of millions of people on Earth. For it is here, in Asia and the Pacific, that virtually all the biggest powers of our time are located—China and India, the USSR and the United States, Japan and Indonesia, and also a whole number of big states that are big by any count—Mexico, Vietnam, the Philippines, Canada and Australia.

Asia alone accounts for more than two-thirds of humanity.

This huge human and socio-political entity merits close attention, study and respect. Every country there has its traditions and way of life, its accomplishments and difficulties.

The region's countries are encountering a multitude of urgent problems, both inherited from the colonial past and generated by contradictions of present-day development.

Asia continues to be plagued by seats of tension, by big and small wars. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that events there are developing outside the framework of any regional accords whatsoever. This explains the intensity of the response to the Soviet Union's call to search jointly for ways of strengthening peace, security and cooperation. The USSR, and it is important to emphasise this, is not forcing a ready formula of Asian security on other countries but simply calling on them to take part in a joint search of ways to achieve this security.

And here one should recall one of the initiatives launched in Vladivostok—the proposal to study the possibility of convening a Pacific conference modelled on the 1975 Helsinki Conference in Europe. Such a meeting could establish the necessary standards of relations between countries of this vast region so as to create, step by step, conditions for peace and the peaceful development of the region's countries.

* * *

What is the road of working out mutually advantageous and mutually acceptable decisions in the region suggested by the Soviet programme?

First of all, it proposes a renunciation of the military confrontation of countries because this leads only to a greater danger of clashes fraught with horrible consequences for the entire world. It proposes the road of goodneighbourly political talks based on mutual trust on all questions without exception.

The Soviet Union proposes:

- to solve questions of regional settlement;
- to block the proliferation and buildup of nuclear arms in Asia and the Pacific;
- to start talks on scaling down the activity of navies, first of all ships with nuclear arms on board, in the Pacific;
- to press for a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to levels of reasonable sufficiency;
- to switch to the practical plane the discussion of confidence-building measures and non-use of force in the region.

From Mikhail GORBACHEV' speech in Vladivostok

It is clearly understood in Moscow that this is by no means a simple process and that a lengthy period of time will be needed for the attainment of its aims. But the ever quickening course of multifaceted political, social, economic and ecological processes makes it no longer possible to put off the search for ways of attaining these aims.

In setting forth its concrete action programme the Soviet Union believes that the holding of an Asian conference, say, in Hiroshima, which already has become a symbol of struggle against the atomic evil, will generate radical changes in all spheres of the region's life.

The opponents of holding such a meeting contend that the formula of security worked out for Europe supposedly is inapplicable in Asia because of the "geographical isolation" of its peoples. It is obvious, one should not ignore the specificity of the Asian-Pacific region. And when referring to the experience of the 1975 European Conference, the USSR does not imply a mechanical application of the Helsinki pattern to Asian realities. But many elements of the European experience of detente can be applied in Asia as well. These are respect of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, the right of peoples to shape their own destiny, cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

When analysing the course of events in the region one must take note of very alarming moments. First of all, the desire of the ruling circles of the United States to turn the Asian and Pacific region, that is a region where the eastern borders of world socialism stretch, into an area of military-political confrontation. By building up its military presence in Asia and the Pacific, the United States aims at creating a Far Eastern double of NATO. Under this plan it is intended to turn Japan into a key link of an anti-socialist "Eastern front", to create a Washington-Tokyo-Seoul nuclear "triangle" and then pave the road to create a "Pacific community" into which it is intended to draw not only military allies of the United States but also Southeast Asian and South Pacific countries.

Ideas of such a selective approach to the composition of "communities" and regional integration have already been used more than once as a screen for creating military-political groupings and blocs. It is not surprising, therefore, that this plan has run up against the opposition of many countries which discerned in it a threat of neocolonialist enslavement and military ventures.

. . .

All the important processes now taking place in Asia and the Pacific cannot but have a bearing on the interests of the Soviet Union, one of the biggest Asian and Pacific powers.

At the same time, the USSR does not claim any whatsoever privileges or any special position. Egoistic attempts to strengthen its security at the expense of others, to seek advantages to the detriment of others are alien to it. The USSR openly calls on all sides concerned to pool their efforts so as jointly to develop new, just relations in conditions of full respect for the right of every people to live as it sees fit, to solve its problems itself in conditions of peace.

In coming out with its initiatives the USSR knows that it is not alone in its striving to overcome the negative moments in the region's life. The fraternal socialist countries are making their contribution to the struggle for peace in Asia and the Pacific. Mongolia, for example, proposed to conclude a treaty on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force between the region's countries. Also well known are the DPRK's initiatives directed at creating a nuclear-free zone in the Korean Peninsula and opening up possibilities for advance towards solving the national problem of the entire Korean people. There are no insurmountable obstacles to fulfilling the proposals of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace.

So the concept of Asian security has not appeared out of nowhere. Its development now is facilitated also by such factors as the growing authority and positive role of the non-aligned movement, the upsurge of anti-war and anti-nuclear sentiments, the numerous initiatives of the region's nonaligned countries directed at turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, observing the non-nuclear status of the South Pacific and other initiatives.

The Soviet Union's Vladivostok Appeal takes into account and supports all these ideas which, if implemented, could serve as a basis for developing long-term and multilateral cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. Besides the political prospects stemming from Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals, the ideas about developing large-scale economic and cultural cooperation are of immense importance.

Both geographically and historically the USSR is an Asian and Pacific power. Soviet Asia, the greater part of Soviet territory, is situated to the east of the Urals. It is there that major Soviet economic development projects are to be carried out in the coming years. For this reason the situation in the Far East, in Asia in general and in the adjoining expanses of the ocean is of a national, state interest for the USSR.

In its desire to accelerate the country's social and economic development the Soviet Union is giving special attention to Siberia and the Far East. The building of the Balkal-Amur Railway with ramifications to the Pacific coast and the north—to the treasure stores of raw materials, the development of oil, gas and coal deposits, the development of Siberia's timber resources—all this is conducive to the USSR's more active participation in the international division of labour. And Moscow is prepared to develop equal, mutually advantageous and stable cooperation with all the interested countries of the region.

Of much interest precisely in this context is the Soviet Union's proposal to set up joint enterprises and to launch joint ventures to develop the natural resources of the Far East. This could provide a basis for the further strengthening of the USSR's ties with such a major Asian power as Japan, and for developing economically advantageous contacts with Southeast Asian countries.

Multilateral regional cooperation could develop, for example, in such fields as the training of personnel, the mastering of new sources of energy, exchange of scientific-technical information, nature protection and rational use of its resources

and efforts to cope with the aftermaths of natural disasters.

Among the bilateral problems raised in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok one is very important for establishing a general climate of good relations in the Asian-Pacific region. This is the problem of Soviet-Chinese relations in which a visible improvement has taken place lately. Soviet people sincerely strive for a further development of cooperation and friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, a great Asian country. It is imperative to remove the issues which for a lengthy period of time have impeded the expansion of cooperation between the two neighbouring countries.

We want the Amur and Ussuri rivers not to divide but to bind the USSR and the PRC, we want friendship between the two socialist countries to serve as an example and urge other Asian countries to join the family of good neighbours, we want this friendship to send joint crews into outer space, to build roads across the expanses of Soviet Kazakhstan and Chinese Xinjiang, to unite scientists and builders, writers and peasants.

The desire to develop the traditionally friendly and close relations with great India was emphasised once again in Vladivostok. One of the founders of the nonaligned movement, ancient and eternally youthful India remains in the front ranks of the champions of peace and peaceful coexistence, sets an example worthy of emulation in the field of developing normal relations in the region, in raising its people's living standards and in struggling to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

It is necessary to emphasise here yet another moment. The Soviet Union, and the call for this sounded once again in Vladivostok, comes out for cooperation in the region with the United States, its neighbour across the ocean. Moscow wants military confrontation to vanish from the expanses of the Pacific Ocean, and better economic and trade relations between the two countries. Yes, indeed, Soviet people want cooperation between the USSR and the United States, between them and the other great and small powers of the region would serve as a reliable guarantor of peace and tranquillity in the world.

Summing up the results of the discussion of the Soviet leader's speech in Vladivostok over the past weeks it appears very appropriate to quote the words of Antonio Paris, National Secretary of the Philippine Council of Peace and Solidarity, which are quite characteristic of the general opinion of the peace forces in Asia:

"What peaceful Asian-Pacific state can object to the broad concept of security in the region, set forth by the Soviet Union! For it includes the five *pancha shila* principles of peaceful coexistence that were formulated by Asian countries way back in the 1950s. It includes also the ten principles of Bandung, the adoption by non-nuclear countries of the obligation not to have, not to manufacture and not to import nuclear arms in conditions of a guarantee by nuclear powers not to use nuclear arms against them; the liquidation of foreign military bases on the territory of Asian countries, in the basins of the Pacific and Indian oceans. And this is only a part of the package of peace proposals made by the Soviet Union and other Asian socialist countries."

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV on Asia and Oceania:

"This, if you want, is yet another period of revival in world history invested with a tremendous potential of progress. And not only for Asia and Oceania.

"How will further socio-economic and political development proceed here, what processes in relations between countries will take the upper hand—this will in many ways determine the destiny of the whole world."

From the speech in Vladivostok

Of course, it is a challenging task to fulfill a multipurpose programme in conditions of the antagonism that characterises present-day international relations. But the USSR's policy accords with the sentiments and aspirations of the forces coming out in defence of peace and security.

. . .

In the complex clash of opinions and views concerning the problem of the future development of the Asia and Pacific region there sound ever louder and forcefully the voices of those who say there should be no fear of new approaches, who call for the search of roads leading to a concrete and flexible implementation of ideas generated by the new political thinking.

The Vladivostok Appeal has proposed a whole number of urgent and concrete actions. As far as the USSR is concerned, they are already being taken. The principle of concrete steps is already "working" in Afghanistan. After an allround assessment of the situation taking shape there and on conducting consultations with the DRA government, the Soviet leadership has started the withdrawal of a part of the Soviet troops that are temporarily stationed there. And the Soviet Union is prepared to welcome and support everywhere this principle of businesslike approach to the settlement of conflicts and removal of seats of tension—be it the necessary normalisation of Sino-Vietnamese relations or the solution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the ending of the war between Iraq and Iran or the establishment of mutually acceptable relations between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN, the restoration of peace and tranquility in the Middle East or the elimination of tension in the Korean Peninsula.

The Soviet Union's decision to extend its moratorium on all types of nuclear tests, that was announced almost simultaneously with Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the Soviet Far East, is yet another humane step of global importance taken by the society of socialism along mankind's difficult but only possible road to preserving life on earth. The course of events shows that the Soviet foreign policy course is being well understood by ever more members of the international community.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ROUNDTABLE ON ASIAN-PACIFIC SECURITY ISSUES

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 19-25

["Peace and Security in the Asian Pacific Region"]

[Text] **T**his was the subject of a Round Table discussion in which prominent Soviet public figures, scholars and journalists took part. The discussion was organised by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Novosti Press Agency, the Institute of Oriental Studies, and the Institute of Far Eastern Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences.

The discussion was chaired by Alexander Dzasokhov, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee. Taking part in it were Academician Sergei Tikhvinsky; Georgy Kim, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Editor-in-Chief of *Asia and Africa Today*; Mikhail Titarenko (Dr. Sc. Philos.), Director of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; Vladimir Khlynov (Dr. Sc. Econ.); Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of Economic Research at the Far Eastern Scientific Centre, USSR Academy of Sciences, Valeri Chichkanov; Dmitri Petrov, Dr. Sc. (Hist.) and Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, political analyst for *Pravda*.

ALEXANDER DZASSOKHOV:

The Soviet Union is not only a European but a major Asian state. It is only natural, therefore that as they pursue their foreign policy the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government take the complicated situation that has been arising in the Asian Pacific region into account. Hotbeds of military confrontation and tension

continue to exist in different points of this vast region—from the Korean Peninsula to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. A detailed analysis proves that the purposeful actions of the imperialist powers, particularly the US, generate conflicts, create an atmosphere of mistrust and animosity, and are the main obstacle to the peaceful development of the countries in the Asian Pacific region. Under the pretext of "guaranteeing the security" of the Asian countries, Washington has been grossly interfering in their internal affairs, and creating seats of war tension. The "Central Command" (CENTCOM), knocked together by the Pentagon, spreads its influence to 19 countries of the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. A Rapid Deployment Force, whose sole aim is to suppress the liberation movement, has been created.

The military build-up in Japan and South Korea along with their military-political cooperation with the United States cause great concern.

While continuing to pursue its policy of whipping up tension and oppressing freedom, the United States came up with the concept of "neoglobalism". It advocates open interference, including armed interference, in those regions and countries where Washington seeks to buttress US domination. The emergence of the militaristic concept of "neoglobalism" on the world scene made itself felt, for example, in the "free association" with the United States, into which a number of Micronesian territories were recently forced to enter. In this way the Washington "guardians of democracy and human rights" have trampled underfoot the inalienable right of yet another people — the Micronesians — to self-determination and independence. The provocative and subversive actions the US has taken against Libya along with the acts of open aggression against that country are also manifestations of "neoglobalism".

Under these complicated conditions, the CPSU and the Soviet government have insistently pursued a line towards a just settlement of conflicts and the liquidation of seats of tension in different areas of the world, including Asia and the Pacific. The USSR has advanced a set of proposals aimed at creating an atmosphere of trust, neighbourliness and cooperation among the peoples of that vast region. These proposals were set forth in a statement made by the Soviet government on April 23, 1986. The USSR invited the states and governments of Asia to join effort in the interests of a political settlement of the problems in that region.

I would like to express my conviction that this discussion will make it possible to examine in detail various aspects of the political situation in the Asian Pacific region and exchange opinions on how peace and security can be guaranteed there.

Now I turn the floor over to Sergei Tikhvinsky.

SERGEI TIKHVINSKY:

The 27th CPSU Congress set forth a fundamentally new programme for creating an all-embracing system of international security, a programme which considers a complex of military, political, economic and humanitarian measures. This complex of measures is relevant to the Asian Pacific region as well. To a certain degree, the region could draw on the experience in the development of international relations accumulated in Europe and formalised in the Helsinki Final Act. However, Asia has its own specific problems. For example, many countries have immense natural and manpower resources and are developing dynamically. Such socialist states as the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and such capitalist states, as Japan, the USA and Indonesia are located in the Asian Pacific region. Not without reason do some people say that the 21st century will be the century of the Pacific Ocean.

At the same time, a formidable military threat looms over this region. Numerous conflicts that gravely jeopardize the cause of peace flare up there. Hence, the urgent task of organising opposition to the emergence of conflicts, and making the region a scene of peace, neighbourliness and cooperation. The Soviet Union proposes a number of specific measures designed to reduce the threat of war and overcome the dangerous trends which have developed of late in this region. I have in mind the unprecedented military build-up of the US; the provocative military exercises conducted in South Korea; the creation of the aggressive Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military alliance; and US imperialism's incessant attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of sovereign states.

There is another point on which I would like to focus: US imperialism is doing everything in its power to undermine the sympathy the peoples in the region have increasingly shown for the ideas of socialism; to frustrate the development of relations between the countries of that region and the socialist states; to organise, under its aegis, a closed bloc of countries with market economies, and to place them in opposition to the socialist states.

I believe that the other participants in this discussion will deal in greater detail with the concrete proposals made by the Soviet Union, Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the socialist countries of Indochina, designed to eliminate tension in the region, strengthen trust, and develop commercial, economic and cultural cooperation. Like the proposals set forth in the documents of the

27th CPSU Congress, they envisage bilateral and multilateral measures.

DZASSOKHOV: A new monograph by Georgy Kim on the national liberation movement has recently come off the press. It points to the difficulties encountered in bringing about social emancipation. I would like to ask the author to single out those problems, which are vital for newly-free countries to develop successfully.

GEORGY KIM:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has stated that the principal task of our day and age is to liberate humankind from the heavy burden of the arms race and to save civilisation on the Earth from being destroyed.

Thus, there is every reason to say that a halt to the arms race is a *sine qua non* for mankind's progress. And this is especially true of the vast region of the developing countries which embraces practically three continents: Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We are on the threshold of the 21st century when humankind is accomplishing the impressive tasks of space exploration, when truly fantastic discoveries are being made in the natural sciences. At the same time, millions upon millions of people suffer from hunger and more than a billion people are below the poverty line.

The question naturally arises: how can this be? Humankind has all necessary material and intellectual resources to employ them to the good of man, rather than to his annihilation. We believe that the "disarmament for development" principle must triumph over the "armaments instead of development" principle, imposed by imperialism.

The following figures illustrate this point vis-à-vis the developing countries: almost a trillion dollars are annually spent for military purposes in the capitalist world, and the developing countries account for approximately \$150-160 billion, or about 16 per cent of the whole sum. Quite recently, in 1980, this figure was under 7 per cent. What a jump! And what does \$160 billion mean for the developing countries, particularly for the Asian states, in which more than 50 per cent of the world's people live? Sometimes our ideological opponents in the West ask us: is it reasonable to lament about military expenditures in the developing countries? After all, they comprise an insignificant share of the total sum spent on defence throughout the world. These gentlemen, however, forget a simple truth: the spending

of one dollar for armaments in the newly-free countries constitutes a greater burden for their economies than the spending of the same sum for military purposes in the developed countries.

Today the armies of the developing countries number 8 million officers and men. This is the most active portion of the male population which could be employed in the sphere of peaceful creative activities. That is not all, however. Calculations show: another 240 million people are engaged in maintaining the army or working in the defence industries of the developing countries. What tremendous human potential has been taken from the sphere of peaceful activities! Whereas some 6 per cent of their GNPs go to defence, the developing countries spend 2.8 per cent on education and only 1 per cent on medical services. That is why if a serious attempt is to be made to eliminate the obstacles to these countries' advance and to put an end to the grave situation they are in, which constitutes a global human problem, then these countries must naturally be excluded from the process of militarisation, first and foremost.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been coming to a fuller and fuller realisation of the pernicious nature of the arms race. Whereas 5-6 years ago many people in the developing countries believed that the problems of the arms race and confrontation chiefly concerned the great powers, today the majority of people in the "Third World" are joining the antiwar movement, and the inspiring ideas advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress—the ideas that humanity should enter the 21st century without armaments, particularly without weapons of mass destruction—are becoming their banner.

DZASSOKHOV: We know that other socialist countries as well have advanced proposals aimed at normalising the situation in the Asian Pacific region. I would like Mikhail Titarenko to tell us something about them.

MIKHAIL TITARENKO:

Important proposals have been put forward by Mongolia. One of them calls for a broad and constructive pan-Asian dialogue to be held. Another suggests that a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the countries of Asia and the Pacific be worked out and signed.

The Democratic People's

Republic of Korea has become considerably more active in the sphere of foreign policy, primarily where relations with socialist countries are concerned. It spares nothing in its attempts to create an atmosphere of confidence between the North and the South, to expand the intra-Korean dialogue which is already under way, to relax confrontation—political and military—in the Korean Peninsula. This, in turn, should pave the way for important political solutions vis-à-vis Korea and the achievement of the most important goal facing the Korean nation—its reunification.

At the initiative of the DPRK the negotiations between the Red Cross Societies of the North and the South were resumed in 1985 following a 12-year break. Among the new features of relations between the North and the South is an agreement to enter into negotiations on economic issues and preparations for inter-parliamentary talks. The DPRK holds that at the meeting of MPs a top priority topic for discussion should be the publication of a joint declaration of non-aggression in the interests of detente in Korea and improvement of relations between the North and the South.

For the time being, however, contacts between the two parts of Korea are occurring in difficult conditions. Apart from internal problems, there exists a serious external factor, i. e., the interference of US imperialism in the affairs of Korea and the presence of US troops in South Korea.

The constructive policies of the three countries of Indochina are playing an increasingly important role in promoting peace and stability in Asia. Of paramount importance to stabilising the situation in Southeast Asia is the problem of relations between ASEAN and Indochina.

It is common knowledge that immediately after they triumphed in the liberation struggle the Indochinese countries came out for establishing neighbourly relations with all countries in the region, for making it a zone of a lasting peace, stability and mutually beneficial cooperation. They also expressed readiness to normalise relations with the US.

Major initiatives have recently been made by the Indochinese countries. At the 11th Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea it was announced that the withdrawal of all Vietnamese volunteer contingents from Kampuchea would be completed in 1990, irrespective of whether a political solution to the "Kampuchean issue" has been achieved or not. The government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has stated repeatedly that it is ready to "enter into negotiation with individual representatives of the Khmer opposition or its organisations", in particular with Norodom Sihanouk and Sonn San, so as to "achieve national reconciliation by removing the Pol Pot clique and holding universal free elections following the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea". In addition the countries of In-

dochina offer to reach an agreement on setting up a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia when a peaceful settlement to the "Kampuchean issue" is achieved.

The countries of Indochina are working to normalise relations with the PRC. In their Communiqué at the close of the 12th Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the Indochinese countries stated that they favour the early resumption of Chinese-Vietnamese talks without any preliminary conditions.

The role China plays within the framework of foreign political activities of the Asian socialist countries should not be ignored. On a number of fundamental aspects as regards peace and disarmament the PRC's stand echoes with that taken by the USSR and other socialist countries. For example, the USSR and the PRC have both pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In addition, the two countries hold identical views vis-à-vis the non-militarisation of space, as well as on a number of other issues. All this makes a joint quest for peace in the Far East possible.

DZASSOKHOV: The implementation of the peaceable proposals by socialist countries could be promoted considerably by commercial and economic cooperation between the states in the Asian Pacific region. I would like to ask Vladimir Khlynov to discuss this aspect of our theme today.

VLADIMIR KHLYNOV:

The Pacific region, embracing more than 40 states where over half of the world's population lives, is an important area of the global economy and trade. The countries of the region account for over 50 per cent of world industrial output. Moreover, the region is claiming a bigger and bigger share of world trade.

The Soviet Union, with more than half of its territory in Asia, makes a notable contribution to the development of economic cooperation.

From 1970 to 1980, the Soviet Union's trade with the countries of the Pacific rose by 50 per cent. During the current decade the commercial and economic links between the USSR and these countries will develop further, this testifying to their mutually beneficial nature. Major Soviet imports are machines, equipment, and consumer goods. To the countries of the region the USSR exports machinery and equipment that correspond to the level of their economic development, and also certain types of fuel and raw materials.

Soviet-Japanese commercial and economic ties

are the broadest, accounting for about half of the Soviet Union's entire foreign trade turnover with the countries of Western Pacific. This is evidence that differences in social systems are no obstacle to mutually advantageous commercial and economic relations.

Transportation services is one of the promising fields of mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the USSR and the countries of the Pacific. The present-day facilities of the Vostochny port make it possible to carry out major international shipping operations. For example, the port's container terminal is the threshold, as it were, of the "landbridge" connecting the Pacific with the Baltics. The existence and use of the large-tonnage containers had brought about a 10-to-12-fold increase in freight operations. The shipment of cargoes via Siberia reduces the distance they must cover by more than half (from 20,000-27,000 km to 13,000 km) and lessens shipping charges considerably (by 20-30 per cent). As a result, a considerable percentage of the goods the Pacific countries send to Western Europe and receive from there are shipped along the Trans-Siberian Railway. In the near future the Baikal Amur Mainline will also be used for this purpose, thus making the "landbridge" even more beneficial and effective.

The accelerated development of the industrial base and infrastructure of Siberia and the Far East, as pointed out by the 27th CPSU Congress, will create favourable conditions for these areas to participate in economic ties with the Pacific countries. Truly impressive vistas are opening up. For example, there is a potential for broad cooperation in the areas of chemistry and petrochemistry. It would probably be of mutual benefit if the Soviet Union and the Pacific countries were to build, on a compensatory basis, chemical factories oriented towards exports. As a result, instead of shipping crude oil at great cost, the USSR could supply the countries of the region with various chemical products.

Broad prospects are also opening up in connection with the production of liquid fuel from solid fuel, a process now under way in Siberia and the Far East. The point at issue is the liquification of coal, the extent of whose deposits in Siberia is expressed in truly astronomical figures, trillions of tons. For example, in the Kansk-Achinsk Basin the first installations which produce liquid fuel from coal have already gone into operation.

For mutually beneficial economic relations to develop in the region, a normal political climate must exist there, and the Pacific must be turned into a zone of peace and neighbourliness.

DZASSOKHOV: It seems to me that Valery Chichkanov could add to what we just heard as the range of his scientific interests also covers regional cooperation as an important way of improving mutual understanding in the Far East.

VALERI CHICHKANOV:

We scientists working in the Pacific region realise perhaps better than anyone else its unique nature and significance for the destiny of mankind.

I would like to draw the attention of the participants in this Round Table discussion to the Soviet Far East's foreign economic ties. The region is well situated. It is a neighbour to countries which differ greatly from it in terms of their natural resources, the extent to which these resources are developed, the general level of economic development, and the production structure. The existence of mutually-complementary requirements creates the foundations for the stable and beneficial economic interaction of our region with almost every Pacific country.

Indeed, the Pacific coast and the adjacent regions of the Soviet Union may undoubtedly become major consumers of the high-tech goods produced by Japan and other industrialised countries in the area. The raw materials and semi-finished products of the Soviet Far East may make a vital contribution to the fuel and raw material balance of those countries. Agricultural produce and other goods put out by the socialist and developing countries of the Pacific may make a substantial contribution to the food base of this region, while Soviet machinery and equipment modified for those countries' climatic conditions will undoubtedly help diversify the latter's imports of technology. All commodities can be transported by ship, the cheapest means of transportation.

The bowels of the Far East are rich in iron ore and copper, coal, gas and oil. We believe that natural wealth is nothing but a precondition for the economic development of the territory and for the transformation of the Soviet Far East (particularly the southern part) into a major centre of manufacturing industry and export production. Of great importance here are transport communications. The significance of the Soviet Far East as the major transit zone for air shipments to and from Europe is growing. Within the system of air communications the Khabarovsk airport, which can accept any type of aircraft, is of special significance. The bulk of Soviet foreign trade with the Pacific countries is conducted through the ports of Vladivostok, Vanino, Vostochny, Nakhodka, to name just four.

I would like to deal in greater detail with the development of coastal economic ties between the USSR and Japan. Compensatory agreements and coastal trade—new promising forms of cooperation—are widely employed in the Soviet Far East's trade with Japan. As a rule, agreements of a com-

pensatory nature oblige Japan to provide various technology on credit in exchange for a guaranteed part of the output to be exported to Japan at a fixed time.

From 1968 to 1981 Japanese companies and banks granted the Soviet Union credits in conjunction with seven programmes, and more than half of them were earmarked for projects related to the development of the Far East.

Under coastal ("small scale") trade between the prefectures of Japan's western coast and the Soviet Far East the Soviet Union supplies Japan with locally produced goods and imports goods the Far East needs. The "small-scale" trade is also characterised by the principle of balanced cost. As far as Japan is concerned this form of trade is particularly advantageous for its small and medium-sized companies because it creates a steady customer for the types of production, whose market has been monopolised by big corporations.

It is clear to us the scientists of the Far East that on the whole the region does not yet play the role which its natural resources and advantageous geographic location seem to promise it. We think it is necessary to broaden the assortment of goods exported, improve the processing of raw materials, and develop those branches of mechanical engineering which are most in keeping with the international division of labour that has taken shape in the Pacific.

DZASSOKHOV: We have heard several highly interesting reports on what should be done to bring about a considerable improvement in the situation in the Asian Pacific region, and develop international cooperation there on the basis of equality and mutual gain. In this connection a question arises: what factors hamper the achievement of the abovementioned goals? I would like to ask Dmitri Petrov, whose interests as a scholar are linked with the study of Far Eastern affairs, to say a few words about the military-political alliance between the US, South Korea and Japan as a threat to the cause of peace in Asia.

DMITRI PETROV:

The growth of the significance of the Asian Pacific region in the world economy and politics is accompanied by persistent attempts by the United States to establish its military-political domination there.

The US armed forces deployed in the Pacific region are second only to US forces in Western Europe

in size. They number 474,000 officers and men, 149 warships, and more than 11,000 combat aircraft. More than 2,000 nuclear warheads are deployed on the ships and submarines of the 3rd and the 7th US Fleets which operate in the Pacific.

The US has given its allies an important role in its military and strategic schemes. Of the eight multilateral and bilateral military alliances of which Washington is a member, five are in the Asian Pacific region. The greatest importance within the system of aggressive military blocs is attached to South Korea and Japan — the two major US allies in Asia.

South Korea has been converted into the principal US bridgehead in Asia. An open-ended agreement on mutual defence, which was signed with Seoul on October 1, 1953, gave Washington the right to station an unlimited number of troops and bring in weapons of any types there. At the beginning of 1986 there were 40,500 US officers and men and somewhere between 800 to 1,000 nuclear warheads in South Korea. In addition, two squadrons of F-16 fighter-bombers which have a range of up to 3,000 kilometres, and can carry nuclear weapons, are deployed there. Preparations are under way to build silos for Pershings-2 medium-range missiles and land-based Tomahawk cruise missiles.

South Korea's militarisation is carried out with US assistance. The Seoul regime has an army of about 700,000, the biggest army of any capitalist country in the region. Every year military exercises of various types are conducted in which offensive operations and actions in conditions of a nuclear war are rehearsed.

The United States attaches exceptional importance to its military-political alliance with Japan, which is based on the "security treaty" signed on January 19, 1960, together with a number of other agreements. There are 127 US military bases and installations in Japan, as well as 46,000 officers and men. That country's military potential is being buttressed. In violation of the Constitution, armed forces with a numerical strength of about 270,000 have been set up in Japan. They are equipped with every type of modern weapon, except nuclear. This military build-up is accompanied by a considerable expansion of Japan's functions in the US military-strategic system in Asia. Tokyo has agreed to take part together with the US Navy and Air force, in anti-aircraft and anti-submarine operations in the Northwestern Pacific, i. e., in areas adjacent to the Soviet Union. Japan has agreed to mine the La Perouse, Sangar and Korean international straits "in case of emergency". It makes no attempt to conceal that its goal is to trap the Soviet Navy in the Sea of Japan and to keep it from entering the Pacific. It also adopted a decision concerning Japanese Navy patrolling at a distance of one thousand miles from its shores. At Misawa base in the north of the Honshu Island the creation of two squadrons (48 aircraft) of F-16 fighter-bombers, ca-

pable of carrying nuclear weapons, is being completed. Atomic submarines and atomic aircraft carriers with nuclear weapons regularly call at Japanese sea-ports.

Tracking, observation and guidance stations which are part of a single system serving the US nuclear missile forces in the Asian Pacific region are located in Japan. Thus, South Korea and Japan are the most important links in the US military-strategic system in Asia. At the same time, what this triangle lacks is a military treaty between South Korea and Japan. It would be highly difficult to conclude such a formal alliance today. Anti-Japanese sentiments, a product of the Japanese colonisation of Korea from 1910 to 1945, run extremely high in South Korea.

Moreover, in order to enter into an alliance with Seoul, Japan would have to revise its Constitution, and this is practically impossible as the Conservatives do not have the necessary two-thirds majority in the Diet. In addition, the ruling quarters cannot ignore the fact that the formation of a military bloc with South Korea would lead to a sharp deterioration in Tokyo's international standing, inevitably aggravate its relations with the neighbouring socialist countries and the developing countries of Southeast Asia. Broad masses of the Japanese people resolutely oppose the compact with Seoul and the attempts to knock together a tripartite alliance.

However, the absence of a formal treaty is largely compensated for by intensified unformalised military-political ties between Seoul and Tokyo. Very close ties are maintained through the US. A complete standardisation of armaments has been conducted. Army officers from South Korea and Japan are being trained at American military schools according to a single curriculum. Strategic and operational plans are coordinated. Intelligence is exchanged via the Pentagon. In the course of numerous military exercises forms and methods of coordinated action with the US armed forces are being perfected. Direct military ties between Japan and South Korea are being gradually expanded. Since April 1979, a Japanese-South Korean parliamentary council on security matters has been in existence. Finally, of great importance is the assistance Japan renders South Korea to develop its military-industrial potential. From 1965 to 1985 Tokyo gave the Seoul regime over \$12 billion on a governmental and private basis, as well as in the form of direct investment.

DZASSOKHOV: As we can clearly see from the speeches here, imperialism has created quite a few serious obstacles to peace in the Asian Pacific region. Their elimination could be largely promoted by the implementation of the Soviet proposal on a comprehensive approach to the problems of security in Asia. Here I would like to ask Vsevolod Ovchinnikov to take the floor.

**VSEVOLOD
OVCHINNIKOV:**

Of late US imperialist quarters' attempts to turn the Asian Pacific region into yet another area of military-political confrontation with the USSR, other socialist countries and the forces of national liberation have intensified considerably. The objective of the American strategists is to turn East Asia, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean washing it into an area for deploying forward-based nuclear weapons, the sort Western Europe and the adjacent Atlantic are.

The United States has declared its goal in the Asian Pacific region to be confrontation with the Soviet Union "from the Persian Gulf to the Aleutian Islands", and is trying to make the countries of Asia and Oceania accomplices in its adventures.

Since the Soviet Union has its longest borders in Asia, it wants the Asian Pacific region to be neither a source of tension nor an arena of military confrontation. The Soviet proposal on a comprehensive approach to the problems of security in Asia is evoking a broader and broader response. The point is for all Asian states, regardless of social system or political orientation, to join forces in the name of peace and stability.

A complete ban on nuclear testing—in Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and every other part of the world—and the declaration by the states of the Asian Pacific region that they will not participate in the militarisation of space would primarily meet vital interests of the peoples in the region.

An agreement to freeze military activity in the Asian Pacific region would be of paramount importance. As is well known, it was the United States' urge to create a nuclear threat to the Soviet Union from the south that led the US unilaterally to break off the Soviet-US negotiations on the limitation and the reduction of the naval activity in the Indian Ocean, and accelerate its militarisation.

For the Asian security system to be reliable it is imperative that its fundamental principles include renunciation of outside support for anti-government and terroristic armed groups. This would pave the way for a political settlement of a number of outstanding problems. In order the Asian peoples can live in peace as good neighbours they must first and foremost be protected from foreign intervention. That is why, in seeking a comprehensive approach to Asian security, the Soviet Union suggested that each great power—the permanent members of the UN Security Council—pledge not to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Asian, Af-

rican and Latin American countries, not to use the threat of force, and not to involve them in military blocs. In turn the USSR expressed its readiness to undertake similar commitments.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the concept of Asian security could include the five principles of peaceful coexistence ("pancha shila") set forth by Asian states, the ten Bandung principles along with a number of proposals made by the nonaligned and socialist countries of Asia. Perhaps the oldest of them is the initiative proposed by India and other coastal countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. If the UN Declaration relating to that initiative were to be implemented, considerable progress would be made towards strengthening Asian security. The Soviet Union is active in this sphere, and is working to see an international conference on this question convened.

The Soviet programme of nuclear disarmament, whose implementation would enable humanity to enter the 21st century without fearing for its future, opens up qualitatively new vistas for setting up a reliable system of Asian security.

DZASSOKHOV: I would like to express my gratitude to the participants in this discussion for their interesting thoughts and valuable proposals which remind us once again of the timeliness of the programme worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress, which has been called an all-embracing system of international security. By translating it into reality we can prove the accuracy of Karl Marx's prediction that the Pacific Ocean will serve as a means of contacts, rather than of disunifying peoples, and that it will become an ocean of peace and neighbourliness. ■

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PROGRESS IN VIETNAM'S ECONOMY, SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT NOTED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 53-56

[Article by Anatoliy Volodin: "Vietnam: The Turning Point"]

[Text]

I look at a photo on my desk, recording a memorable event. Deputies to the National Assembly of Vietnam meet in Bading Hall in Hanoi to vote on reuniting their country and forming the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This event, which took place on July 2, 1976, was truly of historic importance for Vietnam. It consummated the long and hard-fought struggle of this fraternal people to secure its lawful right to national unity, independence and territorial integrity.

A little more than ten years have passed since that memorable day. These years constitute an important stage in the Vietnamese people's advance to socialism. Under the leadership of their tried and tested vanguard, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the working people of the SRV have healed the wounds inflicted by the protracted war against foreign aggressors, rebuilt and boosted their economy, and made considerable headway in the development of culture, education, science and technology. They have consolidated their revolutionary gains, and ensured that their country can defend itself against the encroachments of

domestic counterrevolutionaries and foreign reactionary forces.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, whose membership now exceeds 1.8 million, confidently leads the working class and the entire working people along the socialist path. Productive forces have markedly expanded over the past decade and the material and technical base of socialism has been strengthened. About 300 major plants have been built in Vietnam's key industries. Between 1976 and 1985, assets in the sphere of material production grew by almost 200 per cent. A stable upward trend characterises rates of development in all major branches of the national economy. The following are typical examples. Between 1976 and 1980, the annual average increment in agriculture was 2 per cent, whereas in the 1981-1985 period it rose to 5.1 per cent. The figures for industry were 0.2 and 14 per cent respectively.

The positive trends in agriculture are especially pronounced. This is the main sector of the economy, accounting for more than 40 per cent of the national income. Indeed, whereas in 1976, 13.49 million tons of rice and other food crops were produced, and in 1980 the cor-

responding figure was 14.4 million tons, in 1985 (the last year of Vietnam's third five-year-plan period) the harvest jumped to 18.2 million tons. This means that during the most recent five-year period food production grew at a rate of almost one million tons annually. This breakthrough has enabled considerable headway to be

made in solving other problems, specifically the development of livestock breeding and the production of industrial crops.

Industry is developing at a somewhat slower rate. There are shortages, sometimes acute, of many kinds of materials, including such important ones as metal, coke, oil and cotton. Inadequate power generation and transport facilities also retard industrial growth. And yet noticeable progress is evident in industry, too. Production of electricity, many types of machinery (chiefly agricultural) and construction materials has been rapidly expanding. The population's needs in terms of basic consumer goods are being satisfied ever more fully. Emphasis on the accelerated development of traditional handicrafts has produced good results. These branches account for a considerable portion of the accumulation fund, and constitute up to 20 per cent of the goods Vietnam exports.

Capital construction is extensive. In recent years, nearly 40 major works were commissioned annually. Transport also did a better job of handling an increased amount of freight. Haiphong's dockers were especially successful. In short, a change for the better is evident. The economy, seriously damaged by the protracted war, is now entering a phase of dynamic and stable growth.

The years that have passed since the reunification of Vietnam have witnessed large-scale

social changes which have resulted in virtually the total elimination of the exploitation of man by man. The worker-peasant alliance, the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the country, has grown stronger. The socialist sector of economy, represented by state and cooperative enterprises, has consolidated its position. Agriculture boasts of more than 30,000 cooperatives and production groups and nearly 400 state farms. The completion, in the main, of the programme to organise cooperatives in the southern Vietnamese countryside is a major triumph for socialism. The material base of the socialist sector in rural areas has been consolidated. Thousands of pump stations, and numerous selection and veterinary facilities, research centres and laboratories have been built there. Tens of thousands of tractors are used by cooperatives and state farms. The government has launched a massive electrification programme.

When speaking of the socialist sector in industry, we mean 2,600 enterprises built or reconstructed since popular power was established. This sector also encompasses 4,000 industrial cooperatives and 10,000 production groups. The material base of the public sector is becoming stronger. The number of machine tools now used in this sector amounts to 40,000 units and its power capacities equal 1.4 million kilowatts. The state-owned construction industry encompasses over 400 enterprises equipped with 35,000 various machines. The socialist sector has extensive transport facilities, banks, trading organisations, and means of communication. In short, over the past decade socialism has attained a strong position in the national economy, and it will grow even stronger in the years to come.

Of course, there are pro-

blems. Many industries suffer from low machine-to-worker ratios, there is disproportion in economic development, and labour productivity is low.

There are also problems of a subjective nature, related to insufficient practical experience and theoretical knowledge, particularly in the sphere of economic management. The incompetence or even unwillingness of some managers to change their style of work and to search for more effective economic management methods also have negative consequences. The Communist Party of Vietnam has warned such people that the initial stage in the building of a new society in the SRV is accompanied by a fierce class struggle and that any error or miscalculation made by a Communist could be used by the class adversary to discredit the ideals of socialism and undermine the Party's prestige.

The current situation in Vietnam is characterised not only by a thorough and business-like analysis of the path that has been traversed, but also by a profound consideration of the strategy and tactics needed for the country's further advance towards socialism and of working out the plans for its social and economic development on the basis of this analysis.

The most important task today is to ensure the further growth of agricultural production and a dependable supply of electricity and fuel for the nation. This is why the construction of the Hoabinh hydroelectric power station (the largest in Southeast Asia) and the development of the Vungtau oilfields are given top priority.

Improvements at all levels of the economic management and planning apparatus may considerably boost continuous economic development. A single system of economic manage-

ment based on the principles of democratic centralism was set up in the period following the country's reunification. The country is currently in the midst of its Third Five-Year Plan. Far-reaching changes have occurred in the territorial and sectoral distribution of productive forces. Cooperative links between enterprises in various regions are growing stronger, and the system of production specialisation is being adjusted. A couple of examples of this: the miners of Quangninh supply coal for enterprises in the South, while the Nambo rubber-tree plantations provide raw materials for rubber factories in Hanoi and Haiphong.

Now, at a time when a search is underway to find the most effective ways of ensuring the further growth of the national economy, the following should be emphasised: the experience of the last decade has confirmed the need for maximum creativity to be demonstrated within each work collective, by each worker, the need for them to feel a greater sense of responsibility and display a higher material and moral interest in the results of their work. In the countryside, for example, these principles are embodied in the extensive use of "family contracts" which are a form of the "collective contract". The results are quite impressive, although this form of labour organisation has only been in use since 1981. Here are some facts. Between 1976 and 1980, allocations for agriculture exceeded those of the previous 15-year period by 60 per cent, but the level of production remained practically the same. In the subsequent five-year period (1981-1985) there was no marked increase in allocations for agriculture as compared with the preceding five-year-plan period, yet agricultural production grew at a relatively high rate.

Of course, "family contracts" were not the only reason for this change. Other factors, too, were instrumental, such as the construction of irrigation systems, more extensive use of chemicals, and the application of the biological research achievements. But, as both the experts and the peasants themselves admit, the chief factor was the "contract".

The spread of "family contracts" and the desire to make greater use of the most effective forms of economic management have compelled decision makers to look for the optimal balance between planning and the market situation. The CPV and the government are aware that individual entrepreneurs (especially in the South) still account for a considerable part of output in agriculture and the light and food industries, that they play a prominent role in trade and services. In this context, the task of the Party and state is to fully utilise and guide the activities of every economic pattern on the basis of the socialist sector, which must be continually consolidated and developed.

The Vietnamese Communists have to deal with a wide range of economic problems which in most cases call for an innovative approach. And this is only natural because, as Le Duan noted, going directly to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development, is a process of little international experience, which should still be studied and generalised.

Since their country's reunification, the Vietnamese people have also had to cope with a multitude of problems related to culture and education. During its occupation of South Vietnam, the United States spread anti-communist ideas and tried to uproot the Vietnamese sense of national iden-

tity, especially among intellectuals and youth. The Americans succeeded in creating a fairly solid social bulwark in the South, made up of people who were spiritually and materially closely tied with arrant international reaction. Having suffered a military defeat in Vietnam, the United States did not stop conducting "psychological warfare" against the SRV. Given these facts, the struggle against the imperialist "heritage" in the sphere of ideology and culture has become, alongside the campaign to wipe out illiteracy, religious prejudice and ignorance, a component of the cultural revolution whose primary aim is to create a new culture. The successes to this effect are evident. By the late 1970s, illiteracy had been completely eradicated in the South (in the North it was wiped out in the 1950s). As many as 15 million children go to school today. The institutions of higher learning and their branches, altogether numbering 93, are attended by nearly 120,000 students. Some 350,000 people have college degrees. Several hundred thousand skilled workers have been trained by vocational schools. They are the cream of Vietnam's three-million-strong working class.

The years that have passed since reunification have seen many outstanding social problems inherited from colonialism and imperialism tackled and solved. Social vices, such

as organised crime, drug addiction, and prostitution, have been eradicated. The government has given shelter, nourishment and education to hundreds of thousands of homeless children. Health care is now accessible to everyone. Much has been done to improve the position of working mothers. As a result of all these measures the average life expectan-

cy has increased to 61 years (in the 1940s it was one of the world's lowest).

Millions of working people see the superiority of the socialist system for themselves. At this early stage of its development it has already given them what they could not even dream of under colonialism and feudalism.

The Vietnamese people regard friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as key to

building socialism in their country. It is safe to say that never before have Soviet-Vietnamese relations been so strong and fruitful as in the past decade.

The increased volume and effectiveness of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union have a favourable effect on the Vietnamese economy and, in a broader sense, on the entire process of building socialism in Vietnam. The facts that bear this out multiply each year. Between 1986 and 1990, the Soviet Union will assist Vietnam in building, reconstructing and designing 100 projects in the key branches of its economy. At the present time, enterprises built with Soviet assistance (more than 250) account for 89 per cent of the coal mined in Vietnam, 76 per cent of the metal-cutting lathes pro-

duced, 100 per cent of the superphosphate and apatite extracted and 35 per cent of the electricity generated.

Supported by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries reunited Vietnam is moving successfully towards socialism. This proves the far-sighted conclusion made by the great Lenin that "it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development"¹. Socialist Vietnam's constructive experience essentially enriches the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the non-capitalist path of development and inspires other peoples struggling for national liberation and social progress.

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WRITER PRAISES COOPERATION WITH DPRK

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[Article by Aleksandr Ryabov: "Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been marching along the road of socialist transformation for more than 40 years now. The working people of that country have made impressive achievements over those years under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party. Today the republic boasts developed engineering, metallurgy, chemistry, electric power and coal industries, to name a few. In a single day North Korea produces as many industrial goods as were produced in the country in the whole first year after its liberation from Japanese colonial domination. A record 10 million tons of cereals have been brought in by agricultural workers. The republic has 183 institutions of higher education which perform the important job of training national cadres. The largest of them, Kim Il Sung University, is known far beyond the DPRK. The republic has introduced compulsory 11-year education. Thanks to the consistent efforts of the government, steps are being taken to raise the standard of living, and improve labour conditions and services for the population.

The year 1986 marked the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK. Stressing the great importance of the Treaty, the General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, President Kim Il Sung said that the document constitutes "a firm foundation on which the Korean people can successfully build socialism in the northern part of the republic, a foundation on which their achievements may steadfastly be defended from imperialist aggression, on which peace in Korea may be preserved and strengthened".

Signed on July 6, 1961, the Treaty sealed the neighbourly relations that had been established between the two countries right after the Soviet Army routed Japanese militarism in August 1945 and brought long-awaited liberation to the much-suffering Korean people.

In tribute to the heroism of the Soviet soldiers the people of the DPRK erected a majestic monument entitled Liberation on Mt. Moranbong, one of the most beautiful spots in the capital. The inscription on the grey-red granite reads: "The great Soviet people defeated

the Japanese militarists and liberated the Korean people. The blood spilled by Soviet soldiers while liberating Korea strengthened still further the ties of friendship that link the Korean and Soviet peoples. This monument has been erected as a sign of the people's gratitude."

Moved by a feeling of internationalist solidarity the Soviet people selflessly gave the young republic economic assistance in the first years after the war. Sent to the DPRK were industrial machinery and equipment, building materials, medicine and food, engineers, doctors, teachers and workers. The results of this aid were quick in coming. By 1949, fifty per cent more electricity had been generated than was in 1946, and steel production had trebled.

However the peaceful respite was shortlived. In 1950 American imperialists unleashed a bloody war on the DPRK, inflicting immense damage on the country. During that terrible time the USSR sided with the just cause of the republic and gave it not only diplomatic but substantial material support. After the inglorious defeat of imperialist aggression the republic began to rebuild its national economy. From 1953 to 1960 the USSR granted the DPRK selflessly 290 million rubles. With Soviet assistance the republic built and repaired major enterprises: the Suphung Hydro-Electric Power Station, which came to have a capacity of 700,000 kW, the Hungnam mineral fertilizer combine, the Pyongyang textile mills, and the Kim Chak Iron-

and-Steel Works in Chongjin, a leading heavy industry enterprise.

At present cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK, which is firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, embraces practically all aspects of their relations. With the help of the USSR the republic has either renovated or constructed 69 industrial enterprises. In 1984 these enterprises accounted for 64 per cent of the electricity, 33 per cent of the steel and iron-and-steel rolled stock, 25 per cent of the coke, 50 per cent of the petroleum products and 30 per cent of the chemical fertilizers produced in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

One feature of the fruitful economic cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK is the compensatory principle on which it is based. In accordance with this principle a portion of the output of enterprises built with Soviet assistance is sent to the Soviet Union. This arrangement suits both sides: the USSR gets goods it needs and the DPRK expands its exports and takes an active part in the international socialist division of labour.

Thus, the Soviet Union receives as compensation a portion of the car batteries produced at the Taedonggang factory. The steel the Kim Chak Iron-and-Steel Works delivers to the USSR is in repayment for a loan granted by the USSR for the expansion of the plant. The USSR also receives furnace magnesite for its iron-and-steel industry, small tonnage ships used in the Soviet Far East, consumer goods, and fresh vegetables for the population of regions of the Soviet Union, adjoining the DPRK. At the same time, several Korean

enterprises are engaged in felling and dressing timber on Soviet territory—in Khabarovsk Territory and the Amur Region.

The USSR supplies the DPRK with machinery and equipment, oil and oil products, coke and coal, cotton and light industrial goods. The Soviet Union is firmly established as the DPRK's leading trade partner. In 1984 alone trade turnover between the two countries rose by more than 17 per cent and topped 712 million rubles.

Currently the republic devotes a great deal of attention to accelerating socio-economic development, introducing new technologies on a broader scale, and using raw materials more economically. The main tasks to be tackled during the present stage of economic development were set forth by the Plenum of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, held in February 1986. The Plenum pointed out that the

main industrial goal is to streamline the extraction and processing of raw materials and to increase the output of fuel and electricity. The economy is to be modernised through the development of high technology industries, including such branches as electronics and automation.

The tasks that have been set for the economy's further growth are reflected in the re-

public's 1986 budget. Appropriations for economic development went up by almost 6 per cent, as compared with 1985. Most of the money is to go to capital construction. Expenditures for the development of metallurgy and the coal industry rose by 12-13 per cent.

The fulfilment of these plans will entail greater economic cooperation with the socialist countries. It is expected that during the next five-year period trade turnover between the USSR and the DPRK will double.

The two and a half decades that have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance testify to the vitality of this document, its great significance both for the comprehensive development of relations between the USSR and the DPRK, and for their joint struggle to preserve and strengthen peace on our planet. ■

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COOPERATIVES' ROLE IN SOCIOECONOMIC PROGRESS OF NORTH YEMEN

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[Article by Aleksandr Novikov: "Cooperatives and Government Policy"]

[Text]

The idea of using cooperatives to bring about radical change, speed up the social and economic development of young states and consolidate their governments' position has gained wide currency. The cooperative movement has played an important role in the political and economic development of virtually all the countries that freed themselves from colonial subordination since the very first days of national sovereignty. As a rule, traditional types of cooperatives, such as consumer, production, seller, and purchaser, predominate. In some young states, where the tribal relations that took shape over the course of their histories have been preserved, cooperatives are a major instrument in securing national statehood, both in theory and in practice. One such state is the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) in south-western Arabia.

Tribes still play a very important political role in North Yemen. The central government, whose relationship with them has always been complex, seeks to win over tribal sheiks, on the one hand, and limit their authority and influence, on the other.

There are some 200 big and over 1,500 small tribes in the YAR today, and together they contain some 85 per cent of the country's population. These tribes differ in terms of size, religious affiliation and level of well-being. Rivalries between tribes, and especially between their chiefs, predominantly over influence with the central government, have existed since time immemorial.

Tribes are divided into clans which consist of interrelated families. The clan is headed by an elder (chief). The elders elect the tribe's sheik, but this is in fact a purely formal act because in reality power is hereditary, proceeding from father to son. The sheik is the most influential political figure in the tribe and exercises total control over all aspects of the tribe's social and economic life. The sheik le-

vies a tax upon his tribesmen, 10 per cent of the crop to be paid in kind. The power of feudal sheiks is strengthened by their ownership of large tracts of land in the area under their rule. Moreover, up until the 1980s sheiks received considerable sums from the government to build various facilities in the countryside. The sheik's word often supercedes government instructions and even the dicta of Islam.

Each tribe is in fact a small state with its own territory, wells and pastures. Combined, their armed units exceed the strength of the central government's regular army several times over.

The YAR government, seeking to consolidate its power, naturally respects the tribal relations that have taken shape in the country. At the same time the sheiks, in a bid to slow down the inevitable disintegration of the outdated feudal system and the concomitant weakening of the sheik's personal power, try to limit the influence the central government has in the area they rule. In this they are frequently assisted by reactionary Arab regimes.

The YAR government reasonably believes that cooperative societies, which constitute a form of self-rule, are an instrument mighty enough to shake the sheik's autocratic power, especially at the initial stage of their existence. Alongside those elements of democracy the management of cooperatives involves, cooperatives have an important part to play in bringing about social and economic progress in society.

The idea of using cooperatives to bring about social and economic change in North Yemen was given prominence immediately following the 1962 revolution. Initially, however, attempts were only made by a few marketing cooperatives in the towns of Sanda, Taizz, and Khodeida.

The civil war of 1962-1970 retarded the development of the cooperative movement. It was only following the normalisation of the situation in the country that cooperatives could be widely used in the context of progressive reforms. In 1975 the YAR government passed Act No. 35, On Cooperative Development Unions, which provided for the construction of such facilities as wells, schools, hospitals, and electric power plants in tribal territory. In rural areas, which comprise 90 per cent of the YAR's territory, all power virtually remained in the hands of sheiks.

The republican government, faced with a situation whereby the implementation of government decisions depended entirely on the sheiks, was, of course, dissatisfied.

Fully aware of the pernicious effects of the continuous dependence of the country's social and economic development on the sheiks' will, the YAR

government began to pin greater hopes on cooperatives, viewing them as an effective means of restructuring the governmental system of this tribal society.

A new constitution was adopted in February 1978. It proclaimed the Constituent People's Assembly to be the basic attribute of central power. A government decree adopted on February 22, 1978 empowered it to determine the forms and institutions of national government, their functions and terms.

In 1981, a law was passed in North Yemen, establishing the General Federation of Cooperative

Development Unions, which was given the status of legal person and its own budget. At that time the President of the YAR, Ali Abdullah Saleh, was named President of the Federation. The Federation's field of activity is very wide. It handles various development projects, and takes practical measures affecting industry, health care and agriculture. The Federation exercises the right to coordinate the activities of cooperative unions and various government bodies. This has proven to be the most acceptable way of combining government and public interests given YAR's specific situation.

Each villager or town-dweller is considered a member of the local cooperative. Local inhabitants are not required to have any proof of membership. Thus, the central government is now able to influence social and economic development in the countryside, effect changes in the structure of society and strengthen its position throughout the country.

In order to consolidate its achievements, in April 1985 the YAR government adopted Act No 12, On Local Cooperative Development Councils. This act states that "the local cooperative development councils operate in the context of general state policy, which is aimed at establishing and developing economic projects in all spheres, and coordinate their activities with the relevant government bodies". The councils are responsible for: choosing a project to be built in the boundaries of the given administrative region; preparing plans for social and economic development, that are in keeping with the objectives set by the national development plan; managing various communal services; promoting greater productivity in agriculture and industry; participating in the campaign to wipe out illiteracy, provide jobs, ensure maternity and child protection and care for the aged; furthering the establishment of various specialised cooperative societies and so on.

Big changes have occurred in the countryside in recent years: even in remote mountain regions roads have been laid and schools and hospitals have been built, which points to serious social and economic shifts. More than one thousand schools are opened each year in the YAR, mostly in rural areas. Primary cooperative organisations are the sponsors and owners of facilities needed by the population. While remaining in the background, the state subsidises and actually guides construction in the countryside and supplies the necessary personnel, although this is done on behalf of the cooperative and with its participation. Cooperatives also participate in national campaigns to wipe out illiteracy (over 85 per cent of the population is illiterate), to plant greenery, control disease, etc.

Events here bear out once again the Leninist thesis concerning the feasibility of using cooperatives to promote social development and involve people in effecting reforms through their cooperative.

At the same time the cooperative movement in North Yemen exhibits many features that seem to be characteristic of countries with multisectoral economies and strong tribal traditions. The main feature, as was noted above, is the following: the government seeks to win the population over through progressive change and thereby limit the traditional power of the sheiks, gradually erode and eventually liquidate negative, outdated phenomena in tribal relations. Relying on cooperatives, the YAR leadership seeks to consolidate centralised power throughout the country and make the government independent of the feudal and tribal aristocracy. This is why at this stage of development cooperation has been elevated by the Saleh government to the rank of state social and economic policy. The forms and methods cooperatives employ may change. That is a natural process. But the essence of their activities, which are aimed at effecting structural changes in North Yemen society, remains.

The governing bodies of cooperative unions on all levels, up to and including the Federation, are elective. Elections in primary organisations, i. e. in villages and other settlements, involve direct nomination of candidates and open balloting. There is a cooperative union in each town and district centre. In bigger towns, its board consists of nine people, in district centres—seven. These are the men who are most trusted by the local population. Although in the past such occasions were rare, today it often happens that tribal sheiks and their close relatives are not elected to the board. As a rule, this occurs after state bodies have taken the appropriate steps to explain matters to the local population. An im-

portant point to note, the board of a cooperative now controls the funds allocated for the development of the district, once ruled exclusively by the sheik.

The Federation's highest body is its Congress, which meets once every three years. The last occasion was in 1985. The Congress elects the Supreme Cooperative Council which then forms the Administrative Board of the General Federation of Cooperative Unions and appoints the Federation Chairman, General Secretary and eleven board members. In accordance with presidential decree, the General Secretary has the rank of deputy prime minister and the board members have the rank of minister. The Federation is currently chaired by the President of the YAR, Ali Abdullah Saleh, while Sadyk Amin Abou Rass has been elected its General Secretary. The development of cooperatives and expansion of their influence throughout the country have had tangible results in terms of consolidating central power in the remote districts of the republic and undermining the influence of tribal chiefs there.

There are more than 200 cooperatives in the YAR. The General Federation of Cooperative Unions is working to expand its contacts with cooperatives in other countries, including the Soviet Union. In 1981 the Federation was admitted to the International Cooperative Alliance, where it promotes mutual understanding and cooperation with relevant organisations in countries with different social systems.

To ensure that the activities of primary and district cooperatives are under state control, Act No 41, On the Establishment of the General Federation of the Cooperative Development Unions of the YAR, stipulates that "the governors of the provinces shall head provincial cooperative unions and local coordination committees". Governors are appointed from amongst the President's associates who, as a rule, have long records of military service.

The network of cooperative bodies has expanded and grown stronger in recent years, so much so that it has essentially become an inalienable part of local government. The truth of this statement is demonstrated by the following fact. In conjunction with preparations for parliamentary elections, in February-March 1981 North Yemen's cooperatives were instructed to carry out a general census of the population, a highly responsible task.

The government entrusts cooperatives with the job of ensuring compliance with legislative acts. For instance, formerly the sheik or a rich member of a tribe could pay a fee and send a poor tribesman into the army in his place (military service is compulsory). Now, however, it is practically impossible

to do this because the board of the primary cooperative strictly enforces the relevant presidential decree and ensures that all citizens abide by it.

When a government instruction is ignored, the culprit is given heavy fine. The sum is turned over to the cooperative and used for social development in the manner the board deems fit. When a man and woman marry, the bridegroom must pay a **makhr**, a fee for his bride. Today the government has strictly limited its amount. If the **makhr** is set at a higher price, fines are imposed and the money again goes to the cooperative. The responsibility for enforcing laws, given to the cooperative unions, enhances their prestige and consolidates the state's position.

Characteristically, young people, who make up the majority of the population in North Yemen, hail government decisions and are active in implementing them.

Naturally, the cooperatives still have internal problems to solve. Subjectivism and parochialism are frequently encountered. But cooperatives have scored considerable successes in recent years: most villages have electricity, primary education has been introduced throughout the country, roads and water-pipes have been laid in mountain settlements. The government spends considerable sums in providing the cooperatives assistance in furthering the social and economic development of the countryside.

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CONTRADICTIONS IN PAKISTAN'S ECONOMY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Candidates of Economic Sciences Vyacheslav Belokrinitsky and Irina Zhmuda: "Discrepant Economic Situations"]

[Text]

During the period of direct military rule in Pakistan (1977-1985) the upper echelons of the big bourgeoisie consolidated their economic positions. In response to losses Pakistani capitalists in Bangladesh (East Pakistan) suffered when their property was confiscated and the programme of nationalisation carried out by the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government in the early 1970s, some magnates, especially those who were members of the bourgeoisie belonging to another ethnic group, the Gujarati, transferred their capital to other countries and regions. Some businessmen (such as the Gokals) helped set up Oriental (or mixed) transnational corporations:

While some members of the Gujarati bourgeoisie were trying their luck abroad, capitalists from the country's inner regions (the Punjab) substantially consolidated their position. As a result, a considerable number of businessmen were given an opportunity to rise to the top. At first, when the Bhutto government was battling with the big bourgeoisie, they did not actively op-

pose the state's increased interference in the economy. However, once the bourgeoisie had risen in society they started to see state monopoly and state control as a serious obstacle. Naturally, the old "monopolistic families" which retained their influence in Pakistan, took the same stand. The big

bourgeoisie gave their support to the opposition called Pakistan National Alliance and thus had a hand in the fall of the government they found unsatisfactory.

They expected the new military government to bring about a return to the "golden" times of the 1960s when Mohammad Ayub Khan's government granted numerous privileges to the big bourgeoisie. However, the government of General Zia-ul-Haq was in no hurry to return the nationalised enterprises, banks, insurance companies and other businesses to their former owners.

By the time the military took over, influential positions in society had been obtained, not only by the private enterprise bourgeoisie, but also by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie formed from the upper crust of the civil and military bureaucratic apparatus.

The transformation of the bourgeois bureaucracy into the bureaucratic bourgeoisie took place as the public sector gained a stronger position in the "mixed economy" where the principles of private enterprise and the goals of production remained intact: the pursuit of profit and the use of control over state funds and state-owned means of production to further narrow group interests.

Among the reasons for this social phenomenon, corruption among bureaucrats, which sharply spread in Pakistan in the 1950s should be noted. In a purge of the apparatus carried out by Ayub Khan after he came to power many a bureaucrat found guilty was thrown out. However, they invested the money they had pocketed while civil servants in private business, exploiting their old contacts not without success.

In the 1970s, when the state-capitalist sector squeezed the private business, within the bureaucracy there emerged a stratum that was more interested in making the state-owned corporations profitable and ensuring high salaries and privileges for their employees rather than in cooperation with entrepreneurs.

When the military took power in 1977, this stratum underwent a change—key posts in government ministries and departments were taken by Zia-ul-Haq's supporters, who largely came from the top echelons of the military. Unlike the military elite of the Ayub Khan regime, they did not have close ties with business tycoons. Objective and subjective circumstances accounted for the degree of continuity the policies of the two governments exhibited although they were justly considered antipodes in many other respects. Despite military regime's declaration of its allegiance to the ideas of the free market, and of its inten-

tion to give every kind of encouragement to the comprehensive development of private enterprise, the outlines of the "mixed economy" remained much the same. Even the export cotton trade, a profitable and traditionally privately-owned business, remained the monopoly of a state-run cotton-exporting corporation.

The campaign the military government launched to introduce Islamic principles to the economy offered ideological grounds for preserving the public sector's strong position. In 1979, Zia-ul-Haq said of those principles: "Islam grants both the citizen and the state the right to own property."

Relations between those in power and big business were uneven throughout the period of direct military rule, changing from one stage to the next. During the first two years, the bourgeoisie watched the new leadership hopefully, rejoicing at its success in eradicating the "Bhutto spirit". For a time, several businessmen were included in the cabinet. Soon, however, the business community apparently sensed that the military government had its own special interests. Cancellation of scheduled elections in the autumn of 1979 and a ban on interference by big business in the government's political activities brought about a new flight of capital from Pakistan, mainly to the Middle East. In a bid to regain the business community's confidence, the military established close ties with conservative Moslem regimes, encouraged cooperation between Pakistani and Arab oil barons, and stepped up pressure on the working class. By banning political and trade-union activities and using covert and overt means to pressurise trade-union and working-class leaders, they secured a steady decrease in the number of strikes and labour disputes.

Measures taken by the government to "liberalise" the economy, specifically the implementation of several recommendations by the World Bank and the appointment of Mahbub-ul-Haq, a well-known economist and champion of the private sector, as Minister of Planning, raised businessmen's spirits. A period of new hope dawned for them. The 1982-1983 fiscal year saw an active private sector and lively stock exchanges. But the economic boom was short-lived. To a certain extent, this was due to the fact that the denationalisation measures were emasculated and the liberalisation did not actually alleviate the burden of bureaucracy and red tape.

The clash of interests between the private enterprise bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the 1980s was manifest in a confrontation among Zia-ul-Haq's economic advisers, who were divided into two camps. One was headed by Minister of Finance Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the other by the aforementioned Mahbub-ul-Haq. The first group, which was made up of civil and military bureaucrats, held that the public and private sectors should retain the roles they then had. The other group, which had ties with the upper crust of the local bourgeoisie, the recipients of active outside support from supranational business, favoured more privileges for entrepreneurs, corporation tax cuts, an end to state control over the private sector, etc. The first group of advisers, who apparently had more influence with Zia-ul-

Haq, had the upper hand until 1985.

One of the main reasons why the bureaucratic bourgeoisie managed to hold back the private enterprise bourgeoisie (who were supported by influential circles in Western countries) so long was that the former skilfully "appeased" the landed bourgeoisie, the most numerous section of Pakistan's capitalist class. The majority of big landowners come from the traditional landed aristocracy, from among those who

are called feudal lords in Pakistan to this day. The power they have to mobilise the masses in the countryside is still great, as land, the foundation of the aristocracy's economic might, remains in their hands. It was protected by the Zia-ul-Haq regime, which "safely buried" plans for a radical land reform. At the same time, the military government granted large subsidies to the landed bourgeoisie. That policy suited rural Pakistanis in many respects, especially during the first six years of military rule when weather conditions were good. However, bad harvests in 1983 and 1984, as well as cuts in subsidies, worsened the "political climate" in the countryside. Civil disobedience campaigns swept the country for months at a time, while some areas, particularly Sind Province, were the scenes of serious anti-government actions. In a concession to public opinion (which mainly reflected bourgeois sentiment), the ruling military leadership took several steps to liberalise the country politically. But those steps were actually just intended to give the military-bureaucratic regime a face lift.

The budget for the 1985-1986 fiscal year envisages a 15 per cent cut in the taxes paid by corporations. Thus, the

largest corporate earnings are now taxed at a rate of 45 rather than 60 per cent. The tax-free income ceiling has been raised (from 18 to 24 thousand rupees a year, the equivalent of 1.5 to 2 thousand rupees a month on average). The capital market has also been given a big break due to the abolishment of direct taxes on dividends.

Pakistan's business community regards the cuts in direct taxes as a bold step, since the national budget is usually seriously in the red. In fiscal 1984-1985 the budget deficit actually stood at 17 billion rupees (instead of the 5.8 billion rupees planned originally). The 1985-1986 budget envisaged no deficit, thanks to the emission of new bank notes in the form of treasury notes, although substantial increase (20 per cent) in spending was planned. The government intended to cover the soaring expenditures and compensate for losses connected with the cut in direct taxes by increasing indirect taxation (in the new fiscal year taxes on electricity, gas and oil, as well as railway tariffs, were raised, and a 5 per cent rise in import duties was introduced), and by selling special state bonds. The first method of raising funds has long been in use of the Pakistani Ministry of Finance, while the second is something new. According to Mahbub-ul-Haq, about 15 per cent of the GNP, or approximately 70 billion rupees, are produced by the black market ("the parallel economy"). The government hoped to gain five billion rupees through the sale of the bonds. The three-year bonds were sold for two months (July-August). They provided their buyers with an opportunity to "launder" the savings they had concealed

from the state. In other words, the bonds gave their buyers the right to put their savings into circulation through the banks and other lending institutions, to invest them in legal business, without fear of the taxman. The tax on the "laundered" incomes was only 10 per cent. Still, the reaction of the black market was cautious for a long time and changed only during the final days the bonds were on sale. As a result, the state netted 12.5 billion rupees. These along with two other kinds of bonds—domestic two-year bonds and foreign currency bonds (according to official data, Pakistanis abroad possess approximately 10 billion dollars)—will probably yield the treasury about 16 billion rupees.

Apart from solving the country's fiscal problems, the amnesty on black-market money is aimed at making the private sector energetic and at enlivening the legal capital market. The same purpose is served by the foreign trade policy which was "liberalised" in 1985-1986. Specifically, the ceiling for unlicensed imports of cars, equipment and spare parts will be raised, opportunities for commercial and industrial importers broadened, and exporters given substantial privileges. The country's import and export policy have for the first time been combined in one document. In Pakistani economists' view, the primary role of imports is to broaden national exports, and the private sector is to play the leading role in export-oriented production.

During the period of indirect military rule a number of steps have been taken to broaden the private sector. A decision was made to change the status of several profitable state-run corporations, turn them into public legal compa-

nies and sell 49 per cent of the shares to businessmen. The government is planning to denationalise electricity distribution, and transform the Ministry of Communications into an autonomous corporation, which would rely on private capital to a considerable extent. Privately-owned banks may now make commercial loans. The government intends to introduce a number of measures to loosen price controls, and renounce the practice of sanctioning investment in industry.

Although private sector advocates have gained the upper hand at present the outcome of the struggle between the two camps is far from clear. The military-bureaucratic leadership is interested in preserving the vast public sector. As long as it is in power, a dramatic curtailment of the public sector or changes in the nature of state involvement in the economy cannot realistically be expected. It does not bode well that the new government, headed by Mohammad Khan Junejo, which was brought to power by the 1985 elections, has not taken any specific major steps to denationalise any one sphere of the economy. Moreover, substantial reforms consolidating the state's position have been carried out. On January 1, 1985, Zia-ul-Haq's government announced a further stage-by-stage Islamization of banking. Under the new decree, banks, depositors and borrowers do not draw on pay interest, as according to the Koran, that is a sin. Since last summer, the decree has been binding, not only on national banks, but on all foreign banks in Pakistan. From business point of view, the "Islamic system" has justified itself to a certain degree, as the abolition of interest has been compensated for by the

opportunity to participate in loss and profit sharing. Since the main national commercial banks and lending institutions in Pakistan are state-owned, the public sector is spreading into the private on a wider scale.

The clash of interests around the "mixed economy's" mechanism continues. Much depends on the outcome of the political struggle. If the policy of political liberalisation is followed in the new measures can be taken to "deregulate the economy". Mahbub-ul-Haq and other "liberals" are sharply critical of the state banks for their inefficiency. The issue of a large-scale denationalisation is still under discussion. But more likely than not, the public sector will retain its position of primacy, and merge more and more with the private sector, adopting the forms

and methods characteristic of the private economy. This will signal a growing coalescence of the state and private monopoly bourgeoisie.

Such developments apparently suit Western imperialist circles, which seek unity within the ruling class in Pakistan. And in this, it should be noted, imperialism has succeeded. After the military took over in 1977, the country's dependence on external factors and the role of neocomprador elements in the upper echelons of the economy substantially increased. The import of foreign private capital (which according to some estimates, reached \$800 million) and state capital steadily rose, adding to the growth of the foreign debt. Over the last eight years, it nearly doubled, reaching more than \$12 billion in early 1985. In the next two or three years it is expected to run into \$16-17 billion.

The West is getting Pakistan to spend more and more on military purposes. Plans call for Washington and Islamabad to sign a new agreement on more than \$4 billion military and economic package, to be implemented beginning in 1987. The sum involved in the deal is twice that of a previous bargain struck in the early 1980s. All this shows that Pakistan's foreign policy orientation has not become more positive in the period of indirect military rule.

Only the top bourgeois-bureaucratic groups are interested in continuing the policy of expanding the military complex and making the economy even more open to transnational corporations. The neocomprador elements and monopolies are opposed by the country's progressive forces. Herein lie the hidden contradiction of the current stage in Pakistan's development. ■

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KOREAN JOURNALISTS' ESSAY COLLECTION ON USSR HISTORY REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 94-95

[Review by V. Pak of book "The Soviet Union--a Fraternal Nation",
Pyongyang, Nodon Sinmun, 1985, 239pp]

[Text] *The Soviet Union—a Fraternal Nation* is a collection of essays written by Korean journalists. It is a vivid account of the basic stages in the glorious history of the Land of the Soviets.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism and the 40th anniversary of Korea's liberation by the Soviet Army as well as the forthcoming festivities marking the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution highlight the strong bonds of friendship linking the Soviet and Korean peoples and give a powerful incentive to its further development and expansion. Milestones in the history of friendly relations between the two countries, the book emphasises, were the Soviet-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Cooperation and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed on March 17, 1949 and July 6, 1961 respectively.

Another important event, the authors believe, was the May 1984 visit to the USSR of the DPRK party and

state delegation headed by the General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, President Kim Il Sung.

The authors give an emotional account of their meetings with Soviet people who helped liberate Korea, including Ya. T. Novichenko who was given the title Hero of Labour of the DPRK for his heroic exploit which symbolised the international friendship between the Soviet and the Korean peoples.

The Korean journalists are well informed about the USSR and write about it as genuine friends. The majority of Koreans "discovered" the Soviet Union after Korea's liberation by the Soviet Army in 1945. The Koreans continue to take an interest in the USSR's successes and the experience it has gained in building socialism.

The book discusses the achievements and daily work of Soviet people. It embraces various parts of the country, including Moscow, Leningrad, central regions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, draws upon Byelorussia, the Baltic republics, Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Far East. The authors diversified subjects: they write about the industrialisation and the collectivisation of farming, how the nationalities question was solved, explain the essence of democracy, acquaint readers with the Soviet way of life and with the status of youth. The authors also make note of the remarkable achievements of Soviet culture which

truly came to belong to the entire people. The Korean journalists express their admiration for the impressive progress made by the once backward outlying regions of tsarist Russia, now Soviet republics, equal in every way with all others. The internationalism inherent in the Soviet people, they emphasise, is an integral part of their way of life. A typical case in point, they note, is Kazakhstan which, prior to the Revolution, had neither schools nor institutions of higher learning. Today, however, the republic has an Academy of Sciences, some 60 institutions of higher learning and 40,000 men and women employed in professional positions at scientific and learned institutions. Our Korean friends have seen the internationalist way of life for themselves: Koreans are one of the 100 nationalities residing in the republic; they enjoy all the rights of Soviet citizens and, together with other peoples, make their contribution to the strengthening and flourishing of the Soviet state.

The Korean guests were received by I. P. Khan, editor of the republican newspaper *Lenin Kichi* (*Lenin's Banner*). They were pleasantly surprised to learn that Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh republic, is the home of the State National Korean Theatre, the only one of its kind outside the Korean peninsula.

The authors' desire to learn about our country was both serious and benevolent. They sought to fathom the diversity of the processes and pheno-

mena in the various spheres of the life of Soviet society. The reviewed book is an earnest attempt to analyse the current socio-economic and cultural realities of the Soviet Union and the spiritual life of the Soviet society.

In their introduction the authors write that they are attempting to make their contribution to the development of Korean-Soviet friendship. Their book, *The Soviet Union—a Fraternal Nation*, is convincing proof that they have reached their noble aim.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PROFESSOR STEPHEN COHEN INTERVIEWED ON U.S.-SOVIET PERCEPTIONS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 86 p 5

[Interview with Professor Stephen F. Cohen by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA commentator Sergey Volovets, under rubric "Political Controversy": "Sovietologists' Stereotypes and a New Way of Thinking"; first five paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] In publishing this material, the editorial office opens a new series under the rubric "Political Controversy." In this series we intend to discuss with well-known foreign politicians, scientists, and authors the problems that are disturbing our readers.

We hope that we shall see on the pages of this newspaper the statements by people who represent the broadest possible spectrum of political views and various countries and regions on our planet.

The editorial office hopes that the participants in this discussion will also include our readers, providing their advice, recommendations, and responses.

Professor Stephen F. Cohen is recognized today in America as one of the most important specialists on Soviet studies. He is 48 years old and studied Soviet history and politics at Columbia University, where he received a doctoral degree. The author of several books and a monthly column on Soviet problems in NATION magazine, Stephen F. Cohen participates actively in organizing international meetings and discussions between mass-media workers in the East and West.

He has made frequent visits to the Soviet Union, most recently in mid-December as a consultant for Democratic Senator Gary Hart who was visiting the USSR. It was during that period that the following discussion occurred between SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA commentator Sergey Volovets and Stephen F. Cohen.

[Question] Professor Cohen, you teach a course on Soviet history and policy at Princeton University and have written several books concerning the Soviet Union. You are the author of articles concerning our country that have been published regularly in the American press. But since we have decided to speak frankly, I must note that Soviet citizens consider Sovietology to be a mixture of a small dose of reliable facts and outright fabrications, guesses, and

anti-Soviet comments on various events or phenomena pertaining to Soviet life. You yourself write, in the book "Reinterpreting Soviet Experience," that the Cold War left its imprint on Sovietology in the sense that, instead of scientific analysis, it basically undertook the job of serving the current political tasks of the U.S. government or directly reinforcing the administration's actions in the international arena. Do you think that in the United States today there have been any shifts in the approach to the study of the USSR and Soviet policy in the direction of providing Americans with more realistic information?

[Answer] You are right that the first chapter of my book that you mentioned does represent serious criticism of my own profession, very serious criticism. Many of my associates in the United States were extremely dissatisfied with it. But it had to be done, to make sure that yesterday's mistakes will not be repeated tomorrow. In my opinion, the crux of the matter lies in the fact that the birth of Sovietology as a vast area of research coincided with the beginning of the Cold War, and many people have come into that science who do not have a place in it. This is no simple problem. In any case it is not exhausted by whether they were good people or poor ones. As you Marxists say, existence determines consciousness. The 1950's were a difficult time in the relations between our countries. Everything was imbued with fear, suspicion, and misgivings. Therefore many people who arrived in Sovietology at that time did so not because they wanted to study the Soviet Union as a civilization. They wanted to study and know the enemy. And those are absolutely different things.

Therefore many of them did not show any interest in Russian history or Soviet culture. They wrote about a certain abstraction that they themselves called communism. This created in my profession ideas and concepts that were not scientific but situational.

This tragedy in Sovietology still exists, but I think that shifts are occurring.

Most of the old concepts pertaining to the USSR, for example, the concept that nothing ever changes in the Soviet Union, that it always remains the rigidly frozen society that Americans allegedly knew decades ago, was swept away by the changes in Soviet life which are obvious to everyone. The anti-Soviet stereotypes and cliches began to crumble. Suddenly, for me and my generation, the old responses to the growing interest in the USSR proved to be meaningless.

A considerably larger amount of information about the Soviet Union has become accessible. And we have seen that the simplified image of the USSR is false, that everything in your country is much more complicated, more contradictory, than seemed to us. Many Americans are still in the captivity of what I call the "gray" stereotype of the USSR. But Soviet life has many colors, and it is very important for that large number of colors to be examined attentively not only by specialists, but also by ordinary Americans and our political leaders. And so I think that Sovietology is changing.

[Question] It is a good thing if that is so, because the question that we are discussing is by no means of academic interest only. The university where you

teach has produced a rather large number of well-known American political figures and diplomats. It is obvious that the image of the Soviet Union that they received while students there exerts a direct influence upon the development of the relations between our countries. This is also true with respect to the so-called average American. At one time it seemed to us that many of the stereotypes that you have mentioned were overcome in American consciousness.

But take, for example, the experiment that was recently carried out by David Cruz, an associate at the University of Arizona. Cruz asked his students to read a story that he had invented. In that story a New Zealand air liner crashes with passengers of 21 nationalities on board. When rescuers arrived, half the passengers were found dead and partly eaten by the survivors. The students were asked: which of the nationalities represented in the list is most inclined toward cannibalism? And it turned out that the Russians were listed in first place, and Americans and Englishmen in the last place. Apparently the "gray" and even the "black" stereotypes are very much alive among Americans. As one of the characters of author Garcia Marquessa says, "Give me prejudices and I will overturn the world." Some people need those prejudices.

[Answer] I understand what you're saying. I'd like to give an example which, in my opinion, is worse than that idiotic story about cannibalism. Approximately four years ago, the Roper organization, which conducts public opinion surveys in the United States, carried out a questionnaire survey concerning American's attitude toward ten different nations on the basis of the categories: do they love children, do they know how to work, do they have a sense of humor, etc. In a word, on the basis of a set of questions making it possible to judge a nation's character as a whole. And it turned out that, with regard to every question, the Americans' idea of the Soviet nation is the direct opposite of my own. In my opinion, for example, Soviet citizens, or in any case the Muscovites whom I know best of all, have a splendid sense of humor. So you are correct in saying that Americans have a large number of untrue ideas concerning your nation.

But you will agree that among Soviet citizens there also are a rather large number of false ideas concerning the United States. Here is an example that I usually give, and I shall give it to you today. In your country one almost never hears or reads that when an American reaches a definite age, for example, 60-65 years, he gets a pension from his company or corporation, that is, from business, and also from the national social security system. When your press writes about America, it writes about crime, unemployment, violence, and racism. All those things do exist in America. All these things are true, but that is only part of the overall picture. There are many good things in my country. You ought to write about them.

The situation is the same with the American press. When we write about you, we write about the dissidents, about Jews emigrating, about alcoholism. I think that what is more dangerous is not the outright lie, but the fact that your press and ours say the half-truth about one another. Do you agree?

[Question] Only that the task of depicting the American way of life in all its complexity and variety is of vital importance for the Soviet press, as the Soviet press itself has repeatedly written. But I cannot agree with the thesis concerning the equality of responsibility, which thesis evolves from your words. For many reasons, but I shall mention only the two most important ones. When casting its view on the negative aspects of life in the United States, any Soviet newspaper proceeds not only from its own position, the impressions of its own correspondents and commentators, but also, necessarily, in conformity with the materials, opinions, official statistics, and the press in your country. I do not have readily available the proper figure for the United States, but here is probably an acceptable analogue: out of 900 reports on the Soviet Union which were published several years ago in the Canadian press, research found only 0.3 percent that came from a Soviet source. In the United States the situation is similar.

You mentioned Americans' pension support. Well, on the basis not of our interpretation, but rather a survey conducted this year by the Associated Press and NBC television, three out of every four Americans are not convinced that they will ever receive a pension. According to strictly American information, more than 6 million Americans older than 65 years of age are living below the poverty level. Yes, we write about that. But the second thing -- and it is the most important thing -- is that, no matter what we write about America, we never, under any circumstances, create from Americans the image of an enemy. We always write about the American people with the respect that it completely deserves. Do you agree?

[Answer] That is an interesting turn of phrase, and there is something here to think about. But don't forget that the credo of the American press -- and this pertains not only to the USSR -- is: "Bad news is always big news." To an even greater degree this sentence can be considered a symbol of faith for American television. Approximately 80 percent of Americans receive information specifically from television, rather than from the press. And there is one more comment: we must always remember that America has different newspapers and different television programs, and very different people work there. In a word, it is necessary to differentiate.

In exactly that way it is also important to differentiate among ordinary Americans who are simultaneously both the carriers and the receptors of a definite image of the Soviet Union. I have gotten the impression that your press is very much concerned about the frankly anti-Soviet films such as "Rambo" and "Red Dawn," and in February 1987 ABC television is going to show "Amerika," which is supposed to be, as far as I understand it, even more stupid and dangerous than the two movies I mentioned. "Amerika" deals with a military occupation of the United States by the Soviet Union. This is complete cretinism. But when it is shown, you will see from the reviews and the responses by ordinary people and the press how the public opinion in the real America is divided with respect to this film. There will probably be exclamations, "Yes, it's the truth. There it is, the face of the enemy." Others will say, "That is stupid to the extreme. It is nauseating hysteria." I think that it would be interesting for your newspaper to follow the reaction of Americans to that film.

[Question] This brings us back again to the introduction of "black" stereotypes. Walter Lippman, the classic author in the American press, wrote as long ago as 1920 that, from the point of view of professional journalism, the illumination of the October Revolution "looks terribly biased and below all criticism." Six decades later, the scientific and state figure George Kennan restated that the image of the USSR is "so subjective and far from reality that it represents a real danger when selecting a political course."

The danger of deliberate disinformation has only today become truly frightening. Now it is not a matter of whether we like or do not like the Americans -- we can live through that. But we are talking about whether we will live on the same planet. And it is unknown whether history will give us 60 years more to get the answer to that question.

[Answer] There exist in the United States entire groups and organizations which have the interests of preserving for as long as possible this dangerous, negative image of the Soviet Union. It sometimes happens that the more stupid the things that they say are, the more attentively people listen to them. This is a fact. America is like this. The question is, how can we change the situation, and this is a matter for us Americans. History has developed in such a way that our governments, evidently, will not be friends in the foreseeable future, but history does not leave us any other choice than to be only peaceful rivals. The groups that I have just mentioned have a self-interest in maintaining the image of the enemy and will not change their attitude toward the USSR. What, then, can we do?

First, those of us who really understand Soviet life must really fight to spread our knowledge and our understanding.

Secondly, we in America need politicians who will be more independent and braver, who will not be afraid of those groups that accuse them of being soft and weak with respect to the USSR. It may be that this new generation of American politicians will be able to manifest itself next year, when the preparation for the presidential election campaign begins.

And thirdly, if you will allow me to be frank, much depends upon your country. At the 27th Congress M. S. Gorbachev said that national security in our age cannot be guaranteed by military means, and that this can be served only by political means. He spoke of the need for restraint, and the ability to live in a civilized way. I think that his extremely important appeal for a new way of political thinking also designates the consideration of Soviet-American relations in a broader context than previously.

I think that we will not be able to stop the arms race if we do not succeed in weakening or eliminating the regional conflicts and tension. We will not be able to stop the arms race if we unilaterally inflict harm on the security of the other side. I shall not cite here a list of such actions by the United States. The list is long and well known. But Afghanistan or the deployment in Europe of Soviet SS-20 missiles were also mistakes, the former of which undermined the SALT-II Agreement and the latter led to the appearance in

Europe of American missiles, and now no one knows how to withdraw either the Soviet or the American ones.

I am a proponent of the policy of detente and disarmament, but I think that it is necessary to strive for them simultaneously with the political resolution of the conflict situations in Soviet-American relations. What can be resolved must be resolved. Concerning everything else, it is necessary to carry out negotiations -- even if it takes forever!

[Question] I cannot agree with you, professor, that no one knows how to withdraw the missiles from Europe. Everyone has just seen from Reykjavik the realistic outlines of a non-nuclear world, including a non-nuclear Europe.

In exactly the same way one cannot accept the "tie-in" between the fate of SALT-II and the events in Afghanistan. The Soviet limited military contingent is in that country to provide help in defending its sovereignty under conditions of an undeclared war against the republic, at the request of its government, and in complete conformity with the norms of international law. As is well known, negotiations pertaining to Afghanistan are being conducted under the aegis of the United Nations, and it not the fault of the Afghanistan government or the Soviet government that they have not yet yielded the desired result.

As for SALT-II, it is precisely those people in America who have spoken out against that agreement, even before the events in Afghanistan, who pushed the present administration into undermining it at the end of this year.

Let's see how much attention the American press has devoted to Reykjavik. I cannot quote the statistical information, but the overall impression is that, on the eve of the meeting and during it, the U.S. press wrote about nuclear armament just as much as it did about the story involving the arrest of American journalist Daniloff, and then soon dropped the subject completely. If I am incorrect, please correct me.

[Answer] That's true. The press and especially television in the United States do not provide the proper reflection either of the importance or the content of the Soviet-American summit meetings, just as they do not provide that reflection of the entire series of problems involving nuclear disarmament as a whole. But do not consider this to be only ill intentions on the part of our mass media. Each of two or three of the most important American newspapers has two or three persons who are well able to analyze the most complicated problems of control and arms reduction. Specialists now speak a language which neither you nor I understand, much less the American man in the street... In addition, I feel that, in view of the entire importance of the role played by the mass media, in questions of international security the chief word must be stated by our political leaders.

[Question] Yes, the language of the disarmament negotiations is complicated. But it is the task of the press to make that language understandable, and yet, in the popular Western press, one observes the occurrence of the opposite situation, and this leads one to reflect on the goals... It seems to me that it precisely the deliberate distortion of reality that gives rise in

Sovietology and in journalistic to a special language. In that language a nuclear bomb is called a "device," a nuclear test explosion is called "checking the systems for controlling security," and the bombing of Lebanese cities is called "surgically precise strikes".

[Answer] Actually, political language has been strongly sullied and spoiled and often conceals reality, instead of explaining it. It is necessary to return to simple and strong Russian and English, in order to tell people how dangerous nuclear weapons are and how insistent the need is to get rid of them. It seems to me that, with regard to simple and clear language, your newspaper provides a good example.

[Question] Thank you. Professor Cohen, we are having a chat on the eve of the New Year. May I ask you whether you look into the future from the positions of an optimist or a pessimist?

[Answer] You have a nice saying that an optimist is a poorly informed pessimist. I am not a pessimist and I am not an optimist. I am a realist. People make history, and therefore the future is open. For us, everything is possible. The simplest thing is to say: I hope that... Let's work together to make our hopes for a peaceful future come true and we shall remember that we do not have too much time for that work.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MEETING OF 'DELHI SIX' IN IXTAPA, MEXICO REPORTED

MOSCOW LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 5-9

[Article by K.A. Khachaturov: "Ixtapa: A Passionate Appeal for Peace"]

[Text] August 6-7, 1986, the conference hall of the Crystal Hotel in the Mexican resort city of Ixtapa. A loud inscription: "Second Summit Meeting of Participants in the Initiative for Peace and Disarmament." The first, as is well known, took place in the Indian capital, where the efforts of Indira Gandhi and Olof Palme were primarily responsible for the birth of a unique anti-war movement of the present day--the "Delhi Six."

At the podium behind the table was Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania; Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of India; Raul Alfonsin and Miguel de la Madrid, the presidents of Argentina and Mexico respectively; Andreas Papandreu and Ingvar Carlsson, the prime ministers of Greece and Sweden respectively.

After two days of intense work, the Mexican Nobel laureate Alfonsin Garcia Roblez reads out the final declaration: "We are filled with resolve to achieve the active participation by countries such as ours, which do not have nuclear arsenals at their disposal, in all aspects of the struggle for disarmament. All peoples who live on our planet have a responsibility to protect it. We express the certainty that at the present time there is no more urgent and important task than putting an end to all nuclear tests, which whip up the arms race... We continue to call for the unilateral moratorium by one of the two great powers to turn into, at the very least, a bilateral moratorium... Once again we call for a halt to the arms race in outer space."

The floodlights go on, an historical document is signed. Thus ended the meeting--perhaps the most remarkable in Latin American history--of statesmen, whose goal is to save mankind from the threat of self-destruction. It is no accident that during these days the mass media called Mexico the capital of the world. Despite the exaggeration of this image, it reflects an indisputable fact: never has Latin America demonstrated such an inclination toward peace as today.

Another important sign of the times is the departure from the political scene in a number of Latin American states of military-political dictators, who

poisoned the people's consciousness and psychology with the toxin of militarism. "The internal war" against their own peoples was supplemented by a vision of the world as seen exclusively through Pentagon eyes--through the aperture of a gunsight. Millions of Latin Americans are also convinced of the growing aggressiveness of the U.S. leaders, who reject one after another the peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union. Thus there has been a maturing of the factors which have made two of the largest Spanish-speaking countries of the Western hemisphere into active participants in the "Delhi Six."

It is also important that the leaders of the Latin American countries understand the fact that saving the world from a nuclear catastrophe is a matter not only for statesmen but also for social forces of the most varied spectrum. That is why the meeting in Ixtapa was preceded by a forum of representatives from the international community, political leaders, scholars, writers and publicists organized in Mexico by the government of that country.

The American delegation was the largest one at the forum. It consisted of Bernard Lawn, co-chairman of the "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement; as well as Thomas Cochran, a physicist who took part in the installation of American seismic equipment in the area of the city of Semipalatinsk; John Galbraith, the eminent economist and professor at Harvard University; Carl Sagan, the well-known scientist, etc. The Soviet community was represented by N.A. Plate, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Petrochemical Synthesis imeni A.V. Topichev, and the author of these lines.

The vast hall in the massive Museum of Archeology and History, where this international forum took place, was open to the public. The slogan of the forum was "Peace, Disarmament and Development," and its emblem was upturned palms in Indian gloves reaching out to shake hands. It was in this kind of constructive spirit that the participants in the meeting discussed over the course of three days the topics "Modern Society and the Arms Race," "Peace and Security on the Earth," "The Pacifist Movement in the Struggle for Disarmament," "Disarmament and Development" and "The Responsibility of Scientists in the Nuclear Era." In their presentations the USSR representatives talked about the major foreign policy initiatives recently put forward by the Soviet government. M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok and the Soviet concept of Asian-Pacific security aroused enormous interest.

A recurring theme of the presentations by the forum participants was the idea that mankind's most important task is to eliminate nuclear weapons and prevent the militarization of space. The most effective way to the fulfillment of this task, the speakers noted, was to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. In Mexico, as everywhere else, they put a high value on the silence at Soviet nuclear test sites, and they also remember that during the Soviet nuclear moratorium explosions continued to shake the depths of Nevada: the first test, the second... the 18th. "The Soviet Union cannot endlessly extend the unilateral moratorium; matching steps from the U.S. side are essential," said Tokyo University professor Esikatsu Sakamoto correctly. "Will the Soviet Union resume nuclear testing?" That is the burning question on the lips of all those I talked with. M.S. Gorbachev answered this question on 18 August; guided by

responsibility for the fate of the world, the Soviet Union made a decision to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions to 1 January 1987.

The "Star Wars" program was unanimously rejected at the forum. General Edgardo Jarrin, former foreign affairs minister and war minister of Peru, more or less summed up the general opinion when he emphasized that "SDI is a first strike weapon, and in the event of the militarization of space, the Soviet Union will be forced to take retaliatory measures. I would like to remind you that on 15 January the USSR put forward a comprehensive plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world before the end of the present century."

The struggle for disarmament, peace and social progress was interpreted by many forum participants in the context of the struggle against neocolonialist exploitation and imperialist aggression. Rodrigo Caraso Odio, the former president of Costa Rica and the founder of Peace University in San Jose, noted that the International Monetary Fund and the multinational corporations were responsible for the "time bomb of hunger which is killing the poor." Jorge Illueca, the former president of Panama, and Carlos Andres Perez, the former president of Venezuela and deputy chairman of the Socialist International, emphasized that a halt to the arms race would have a positive effect on the resolution of the most acute problems facing the peoples of the developing countries because militarism hinders the establishment of the new world economic order. The lives of people in the developing countries would be greatly changed if even a portion of those hundreds of billions which are being devoured by the arms race were directed at the resolution of the essential problems of their economic development and at the elimination of hunger and disease. That was the main theme of the fiery speech by Gabriel Garcia Marquez.

The orators followed one after another. The eminent Mexican political scientist Pablo Gonzalez Casanova stated that the "low intensity conflicts" provoked by the Pentagon undermine international law and the civilized norms of intercourse among states. In turn, General Edgardo Mercado Jarrin sharply condemned the interventionist actions of the CIA against Libya and Nicaragua, and Washington's claim to be an international arbiter. Silvia Hernandez, chairman of the Mexican Senate's Disarmament Committee, spoke out against the fanning of local wars in world politics. The Mexican people provide a great deal of evidence of their desire for a firm peace. Their leaders, like all of the "Delhi Six," believe in the only reasonable philosophy: in the nuclear era one must not think in the old categories which justify sabre rattling.

Let us return to sultry Ixtapa. Despite the harsh regimen of the summit meeting, the hospitable Mexican hosts did everything possible to ensure that the meeting was well organized and to facilitate contacts between the leaders of the six countries, on the one hand, and the representatives of world public opinion, on the other. A discussion was held in which Julius Nyerere and Ingvar Carlsson took part. At that time there was less than a month before the start of the 8th Conference of Heads of States and Government of the Nonaligned Countries in Harare (17 Latin American countries participated in it), and Nyerere talked about the movement's growing role in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and war. It is well known that some people are trying to impose on the nonaligned movement the concept of "equidistance"

from the two military-political blocs, and in fact to separate it from its natural ally--the world socialist system. The enemies of the "Third World" are trying to impose responsibility for the economic and cultural backwardness of the developing world and for the arms race not only on the capitalist but also on the socialist countries. Julius Nyerere exposed these fabrications.

The author of these lines had a conversation with Raul Alfonsin, the president of Argentina. He praised the peace-loving nature of Soviet foreign policy, and talked with interest about his forthcoming trip to Moscow--the first trip to Moscow ever by a president of Argentina. He recalled with warmth his visit to the Soviet Union 10 years ago, which included a stop at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America.

"The Delhi Six" were open for contacts with journalists. The theme of all the interviews could be found in the words of Andreas Papandreou, who managed to sum up the top-priority goal of the meeting in Ixtapa: "At the present moment the most important step is a ban on nuclear tests, backed up by an appropriate monitoring system." In this regard the participants at the meeting in Ixtapa sent messages to the leaders of the USSR and the USA in which they offered their services to create the appropriate monitoring mechanism.

How did the Kremlin and the White House react to the Ixtapa appeal?

The summit meeting participants had not even left the hospitable land of the Aztecs when the harsh answer from Washington followed: "No!" A representative of the U.S. State Department stated categorically: "In our opinion the proposal of the "Delhi Six" on the introduction of a moratorium will not strengthen stability and will not reduce the risk of war breaking out." Several days passed, and Reagan, obviously having intentionally chosen intentionally as his mouthpiece EXCELSIOR, an authoritative newspaper which is published in the country where the "Delhi Six" adopted the "Mexican Declaration," stated: "A moratorium does not meet the security interests of the USA, its allies and friends." Let us remember that phrase! The U.S. president publicly removed from the category of American friends the authors of the "Mexican Declaration," who are recognized emissaries from practically all the continents of the Earth. Such is the distorted "logic" of those who try at any price to prevent nuclear disarmament.

At the same time Washington is trying to put pressure on Mexico and Argentina to change their peace-loving and independent foreign policy course. The entire ammunition clip of imperialist dictate is being utilized for this unseemly goal, from the noose of foreign indebtedness to blackmail in the style of "psychological warfare." For example, on the eve of the meeting of "the six" the chairman of the Inter-American Defense Council, John Ballantine, visited Buenos Aires. The American general was not embarrassed to appeal to the National Congress deputies for Argentina's participation in aggression against Nicaragua; otherwise, he claimed, "communism will swallow up" Mexico and all of Latin America.

Another attempt was made to exert pressure on the Mexican president during a visit which took place immediately after the Ixtapa meeting. In its comments on the results of the Mexican-American talks, the WALL STREET JOURNAL noted

with irritation that "it would be a serious exaggeration to claim that the conversations which had taken place in the White House had led to the elimination of tension in Mexican-American relations." This tension is provoked daily by the neoglobalist imperialist policy of the USA, which is aimed at undermining the security of neighboring countries and the entire system of international security.

The Ixtapa appeal received a different reception in the USSR. In his speech on Soviet television (18 August), M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that Moscow was working on its own peace proposals, while paying attention to the viewpoints and positions of other governments, and of various social and political movements. The decision of the Soviet Union to once again extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing takes into account the latest peace-loving initiatives, including that of the "Delhi Six."

In M.S. Gorbachev's reply, published on 24 August 1986, to the messages from the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania contains support for the positions of the "Mexican Declaration," that new and concrete initiative by its authors, which is aimed at shifting from a dead point the resolution of the key question in the matter of reducing the risk of nuclear war: the cessation of nuclear weapons testing. It was also noted that the meeting proposed by the authors of the "Mexican Declaration" between experts of the six countries, on the one hand, and Soviet and American specialists, on the other hand, could make a valuable contribution to the achievement of the goal of an all-encompassing ban on nuclear weapons testing and could mark the beginning of a serious and active multilateral dialog on these questions. The Soviet side is prepared to send its representatives to such a meeting.

The main problem which mankind faces today--the problem of survival--is equally acute for absolutely all the peoples on the planet. The meeting in Ixtapa vividly confirmed this truth.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ROLE OF SANDINIST 'ALLIANCES' IN REVOLUTIONIZING MASSES ANALYZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 18-27

[Article by N. Yu. Smirnova: "The Policy of Alliances in the Sandinist Revolution (on the 25th anniversary of the SNLF)"]

[Text] The policy of alliances is truly a key problem in the strategy and tactics of the national-liberation forces. This is because of the heterogeneity and multi-layered nature of the social structure; the incompleteness of a whole series of social processes characteristic of the developing countries; as well as the broad range of variations in the behavior of various patriotic forces with regard to imperialism and the internal reaction. It is related to one of the features of the socio-political development of a whole series of states in the "third world." The experience of the alliances policy of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (SNLF) has great and genuinely international significance for understanding of the current processes taking place in those states.

"The Underground Mass Front"--the Basis for the Unification of the Anti-Dictatorial Forces

The SNLF strategy of alliances was worked out on the basis of an objective analysis of the distribution of class forces in the country and emerged from an evaluation of the nature of the future revolution, which made possible the unification of a broad spectrum of social forces hostile to Somozaism and its imperialist protectors: the working class and the peasantry, the middle strata, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, as well as the anti-Somoza portion of the upper bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the social composition of this organization exerted a great influence on the development of the Front's policy of alliances. Carlos Fonseca, Silvio Mayorga, Tomas Borje and many others who were present at the beginning of the Front went underground as soon as they left school. The majority of them belonged to poor families. It is no accident that in the works of the SNLF founder and leader, C. Fonseca, one constantly comes across the idea of an alliance of students and workers. "Revolutionary students who have a proletarian consciousness must be involved to the workers and peasants," he wrote. "This presumes the detailed study of problems of the

given classes. It is essential for students to frequent the factories and working class districts, as well as the villages and latifundia where the peasants work. This kind of study is important in order to be able to mobilize the popular masses to the struggle against their enemies." [1]

Having arisen as a deeply conspiratorial organization, which had adopted a course of armed struggle against the pro-imperialist dictatorship, the SNLF has looked from the very beginning for the most effective means and methods of legal work among the masses, means and methods which are different from the traditional ones usually employed by bourgeois and even leftist parties. "Our strategy," wrote C. Fonseca, "presumes that the unarmed popular masses will be defeated, just as an armed movement which is not supported by the masses is doomed to failure. The path to victory lies in the combination of the struggle of the masses and the struggle with weapons in hand." [2]

The practical search in this direction gradually led the SNLF to the necessity to develop the concept of the "mass underground front" as a bulwark of the Sandinists' military activity and a center of gravity for the representatives of various anti-dictatorial forces. "We would like to emphasize the need," noted Fonseca in one of the articles, "to strengthen the underground front at the level of the popular masses. This will make it possible to draw into the struggle people of revolutionary sentiments who do not possess the required qualities to become members of the Sandinist Front. This will help to prevent an underestimation of some of the progressive circles in the Democratic Alliance of Liberation (an association of the anti-Somoza inclined bourgeoisie and part of the middle strata.--N.S.) or in the traditional political parties..."[3]

From the very beginning the formation of the broad mass underground front presumed a need for fundamental criticism and exposure of the opportunistic appeasement policy of the bourgeois-liberal parties, as well as the profoundly economic trend in the struggle of the Nicaraguan Socialists. While rejecting contacts with the leadership of those parties, the Sandinists worked actively among the party masses, who were looking for forms for the real destruction of Somozaism. The Sandinists made extensive use of persuasion and the force of example to attract the patriotically-inclined members of the opposition parties. Fonseca disclosed the essence of the Front's attitude toward "part of the socialist group and other mini-groups with a pseudo-leftist bent" in this way: "Persuasion is the basis of the approach to those who at the present time are in these parties, having become confused in their ideas." [4]

The process of unifying all patriotically-inclined Nicaraguans created the most important preconditions for the successful unleashing of a guerrilla war under conditions of a repressive regime. On the other hand, unity on a revolutionary basis contributed to the dissemination of SNLF ideas and a drop in the prestige of the officially-existing opposition to the dictatorship as seen through the eyes of the population. The latter became all the more important as the bourgeois reformist forces made increasing attempts to seize hegemony in the general democratic movement, to become a unifying factor in the uncoordinated anti-Somoza activities. In pointing out the particular danger to the revolutionary cause of such attempts C. Fonseca wrote: "The

task of the revolutionary movement is two-fold: on the one hand, it is to defeat the criminal clique, which over the course of many years has usurped power. On the other hand, it is to prevent the bourgeois opposition, which is well known for bowing to American imperialism, from taking advantage of the situation, which will arise as a result of the unleashing of the guerrilla struggle, and from seizing power..." [5]

These words were written soon after the tragic events of 1967, when Anastasio Somoza, the former head of the National Guard, declared his intention to become president. The bourgeois opposition was counting on using elections to seize the initiative. On 22 January a peaceful demonstration against the Somoza presidency was organized with the knowledge of bourgeois, petty bourgeois and those socialist leaders who had joined them. The Sandinists predicted its bloody outcome. And, in fact the demonstration was fired upon. This served as a signal for an offensive by the reaction. Having become president as a result of an electoral farce, Somoza concentrated even more state power in his own hands and made the regime of the military-political dictatorship even harsher.

In this situation the Sandinists substantially increased their military activity. The armed action near the mining settlement in the northern part of the country in Pancasan had enormous moral-political significance. In evaluating its significance one of the Front leaders, Henri Ruiz, said: "Pancasan remained in the memory of our people, and the words 'Sandinist Front' began to spread throughout the country." [6] In an increasingly planned manner the Sandinists carried out "propaganda by gun," with their own combat operations they persuaded the broad strata of the population of the possibility of struggling successfully against Somoza and of the correctness of their chosen political course.

All this contributed to an upswing in the democratic movement as well as to an increase in the unitary tendencies among the masses. In the early 70's there were demonstrations to demand freedom for political prisoners, including the Sandinists. There were major strikes by the working class, which began to put forward political slogans more and more frequently along with its economic demands. Activity by the peasants also increased.

An important landmark in the Front's military-political activity was the conduct of an important operation under the code name "J.J. Cesada," during which a group of highly-placed officials of the regime were taken hostage. As one of the conditions of their freedom the Sandinists demanded specifically that the press publish the basic tenets of the SNLF program, as well as information on the dictatorship's crimes against the people. Somoza was forced to carry out these demands. This action produced a great public response: the Sandinists' program statements reached the broadest strata of society, gained the sympathy of many thousands of Nicaraguans, and stimulated anti-dictatorship sentiments. The successful completion of the operation contributed to the closing of ranks around the Front by some of the political forces which had not previously recognized the armed struggle. After December 1974 there was a sharp acceleration in the unification process by which various strata came together in the struggle against the dictatorship; this

was a very important stage along the path to the achievement of unity on a revolutionary basis.

Under these conditions the concept of the "underground mass front" needed to be made more concrete. One of the questions which the Sandinists concentrated their political and theoretical thought on resolving was that of their attitude toward terror. It was no accident that this question was raised. The dictator's press tried very hard to slander the SNLF as a terrorist organization. For this reason Fonseca once again reminded people that the entire history of the Sandinist Front provides evidence of "its cautious attitude toward terror." Yes, he noted, the representatives of the tyrannical Somoza dynasty and its repressive apparatus deserve punishment. But the struggle against them must be based not on individual terror, but on "collective opposition." It is important to recall, Fonseca continued, that it is precisely this kind of policy which has won the population's respect and led to the establishment of close contacts with the masses and their organizations. [8]

The development of the SNLF policy of alliances first of all took the line of correcting mistakes which had been made, as well as unsubstantiated judgements and forms of struggle which had outlived their usefulness. "When we talk about overcoming inadequacies," wrote Fonseca, "we do not have in mind our inadequate influence among the masses. That we have. It is essential, however, to see those gaps in our work which would mean complete failure for us if we ignored them." [9] He considered these "gaps" to include poor agitation work among various strata of the population: "We well know that many ordinary peasants believe in the justice of the rebels' cause; they themselves fight in our ranks, but they know nothing of the goals of our organization... Others also cooperate with us but they think we resemble leftist conservatives. This represents a risk for our movement because the bourgeois opposition can take advantage of this position for their own purposes..." [10] For this reason the Front sees as the main task of its strategy to be the ideological isolation of the bourgeoisie, which attempts to limit the revolutionary struggle within a bourgeois-democratic framework and to achieve the preservation of Somozaism without Somoza.

The new conditions which developed in the country required new decisions and new approaches. Since the mid-70's three currents have arisen within the SNLF framework: a "protracted people's war" current, a "proletarian" current and "guerrilla or terserist current." While retaining a common loyalty to the tasks of overthrowing the dictatorial regime and liberating Nicaragua from imperialist dependence, these currents gave different answers to the questions which arose in the course of guerrilla actions, as well during the implementation of the course aimed at achieving national unity in the anti-dictatorial struggle. At the same time, the division of the Sandinists into factions should be viewed dialectically. Undoubtedly, it slowed up the development of the general democratic movement as a whole. However, it also had certain objectively positive aspects, one of which was its effect on the fate of the strategy of broad alliances. The fact was that the currents which became separate factions within the Front complemented each other under the difficult conditions of underground work, and they prevented the enemy from

feeling the direction of the main blow. The "division of labor," which arose as a result of the tactical uniqueness of the approaches of every group, in practice meant that the Front was oriented in its activities to the most diverse strata of society. For example, the "proletarian" group concentrated its activities in the cities, among the working class; the group of the "protracted people's war" unleashed more actions in rural areas among the peasants. The "terserist" group favored the conduct of unceasing military and political actions against the dictator both in the rural areas as well as in cities, recruiting for these actions all the social strata inclined against the regime, including various bourgeois parties, business associations and church circles with an anti-Somoza bent. [11] In a broad social context this meant, in essence, the formation of an alliance of those social classes and strata on which each of these groups was based.

The Broad Popular Alliance--the Main Condition of Victory

In mid-1977, having received an assignment from the leadership of the "guerrilla" group, Sergio Ramirez, a prominent representative of the Nicaraguan intelligentsia, now vice-president of the country, began to organize a legal association of the most consistent opponents of the tyranny who possessed the greatest public influence. That is how the "Group of 12," emerged; it brought together representatives from business and church circles, as well as from the creative intelligentsia. Their goal was to give support to the Sandinist Front and to rally the patriotic forces of the country around it. The group began a large project to recognize the SNLF as a force without which it would be impossible to bring the country out of political crisis.

The creation of the "Group of 12" was the outstanding achievement of the Sandinists' policy of alliances. As S. Ramirez noted, "the creation of the 'Group of 12' had enormous political impact... For the first time in the history of Nicaragua a group of priests, businessmen, representatives of the intelligentsia and other white-collar workers openly came to the defense of the SNLF's guerrilla struggle." [12] The group became an important instrument in the conduct of the SNLF policy aimed at achieving "national unity," the new formula for the unification of all the anti-dictatorship forces.

Other anti-Somoza organizations with a bourgeois and petty bourgeois direction also increased their activities. For example, in October the Democratic Liberation Union (UDEL) published a document in which it exposed the violence legalized by the dictatorship and came out in favor of conducting a "national dialog" on the growing socio-political problems. The Sandinists supported this idea; however, they stipulated one condition--that it must be a dialog without Somoza. They repeated that the main task of the moment was the destruction of Somozaism as a political system. In November the "Group of 12" went along with this decision, stating that it was essential to conduct a dialog, not with Somoza, but with all Nicaraguans and that, moreover, SNLF participation was essential. Thus, by the end of 1977 there was a trend toward the emergence of a broad coalition of opponents to the dictatorship.

Despite the fact that the coalition had not taken shape organizationally, the coming together of the anti-Somoza forces in the country was a very important political factor.

This circumstance seriously disturbed the dictator. From now on it was not only the Sandinists who felt the main thrust of his blows. All those who consistently and decisively expressed themselves against the existing situation in the country, who actively came out in defense of the rights of the broad laboring masses, found themselves targets of the National Guardsmen or behind prison bars. Somoza tried to prevent the anti-dictatorship forces from coming together and from rallying around the SNLF. Toward this end an assassination was carried out on 10 January 1978: the victim was Pedro Joachin Chamorro, leader of the bourgeois-democratic opposition and UDEL, editor-in-chief of the newspaper LA PRENSA, who had become aware of the need to carry out joint actions with the Sandinists in the struggle against Somoza. Sergio Ramirez testified: "They murdered him at a time when we had already arranged a meeting with him in Mexico. This was to be a conference of mutual understanding with the 'Group of 12.' I still have the book given to me by him which has his words in it: 'from the possible 13th member of the group'..." [13]

Chamorro's murder provided a powerful impetus to unprecedented growth in actions against the dictatorship. Mass protest demonstrations were held in all the country's big cities. Representatives of the upper and middle bourgeoisie who found themselves in opposition to the regime organized a strike by owners. It began on 22 January and encompassed nearly the entire economic sector. UDEL requested that the Sandinists support the anti-dictatorship demonstrations with armed actions. The Front organized the taking of two major cities, Granada and Rivas, and it stepped up military actions in a number of other places in the country.

On 27 January the private entrepreneurs appealed to Somoza to renounce power; however the dictator stated: "I myself will not leave, and they will not force me to leave." Two days later another important event took place: the Catholic Church stated its support for a nation-wide strike. Frightened both by the military successes of the SNLF, as well as by the unification of the opposition forces, the dictator stated that he was prepared for a "national dialog" with participation by the Sandinists under the condition that the latter put down their arms. This maneuver clearly revealed serious vacillation at the top.

Events showed that a revolutionary situation had matured in Nicaragua. However, the bourgeoisie stubbornly contended for the leading role in the struggle: there was evidence of this in the entire course of political events after the Chamorro assassination. Among them was the creation--as a counterweight--of a coalition of forces supporting the SNLF, the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) based on UDEL. Nonetheless, the Sandinists' most valuable gain was the fact that they managed not only to avoid handing over the leading role to the bourgeoisie but also to keep the bourgeoisie as a future ally in the forthcoming battle against the dictatorship.

An important landmark in the SNLF policy of alliances was the 17 July 1978 formation of a bloc of popular forces (it included 23 organizations) under the name of the United People's Movement (MPU). The unification within its ranks of numerous leftist parties; trade unions; organizations of women, students and creative workers; as well as other mass organizations, became a very important achievement of the Sandinists and other revolutionary forces in the struggle against the regime. While looking for support among the organizations which made up the MPU, the SNLF was now able to implement more actively a policy aimed at uniting various groups of the population around its own platform and at neutralizing the efforts of the bourgeoisie to take advantage of the fruits of the struggle by the Sandinists and to put themselves at the center of power.

In late August, the FAO and the MPU called on the entire country to declare an indefinite nation-wide strike. The strike rapidly gained strength. However, to a significant extent it was controlled by the owners, who were united in the FAO. The MPU was not able to seize the leadership of the strike. At the same time it was the first large-scale joint action by all the anti-dictatorship forces, which showed that the FAO claim to the leading role in the democratic movement lacked foundation. Moreover, it revealed how pernicious such a course was for the fate of the anti-dictatorship struggle.

To strengthen the strategic initiative gained in the course of major military operations and the political struggle in late 1978, the SNLF appealed to the Nicaraguan people on 18 December of that year to create a National Patriotic Front (FNP). It was organized on 1 February 1979 with the participation of the "Group of 12," on the basis of the MPU. With its creation the FAO lost a number of major associations and parties which made up the FNP such as the Independent Liberal Party, the People's Social-Christian Party, the Trade Union Center of Nicaraguan Workers, etc. Thus the bourgeois policy on the subject of coming to power ran up against insurmountable obstacles. The SNLF policy of alliances played a decisive role in this; it led to the conversion of the mass underground front into an army of a people who rose up. In noting this circumstance R. Arismendi emphasized: "...the results in both political and military terms, as well as with regard to tactical and unitary program actions, were not slow to be reflected." [14]

On 17 June the SNLF National leadership came out with a statement about the establishment of a government of National Renewal. Its Guiding Council included representatives from five anti-Somoza organizations and parties. A month later all power shifted into the hands of the new government.

National Unity--A Pledge For the Defense of Revolutionary Gains

A new stage in the SNLF policy of alliances began after the victory of the Sandinist revolution; it was related to the tasks of the transition period--to the national renewal of Nicaragua. In continuing the policy of strengthening unity in the new situation, the Front, as the leading force of society, follows a line not only of preserving the alliance of those strata which participated in the defeat of Somozaism but also of expanding the alliance and including in it ever newer groups of the population who were previously

excluded from the country's political life. This kind of policy is constructed on the basis of political pluralism and a mixed economy.

The SNLF sees three main directions in its national consolidation policy. The first involves strengthening the alliance with the working class, the main segment of which is concentrated at the state sector enterprises nationalized from the Somoza clan. In addition, working within the framework of the trade union movement and through the leftist parties, each of which had influence in one or another segment of the Nicaraguan working class, the Sandinists consistently carry out a policy aimed at overcoming the lack of coordination in the workers association and at uniting its ranks on the basis of the national renewal program.

The peasantry constitutes an important social bulwark of the Sandinist revolution. This class is extremely heterogeneous. It includes various groups--from peasants who are engaged in subsistence farming, to small and medium-sized commodity producers. The consolidation of the alliance between the SNLF and the peasant masses is based first of all on agrarian reform, which is being carried out stage by stage in Nicaragua and is aimed at improving the economic position of the rural population, which constitutes the majority of the Nicaraguan nation, and at raising its cultural level. During the years of revolution the cooperative movement, as well as the campaign to eliminate illiteracy, have played a role of decisive significance in this regard.

A third basic direction in the policy of alliances is the consolidation--centered on the government's platform--of other patriotic forces, including certain circles of the bourgeoisie who displayed interest in economic and political participation in the process of national renewal. The democratic institutionalization of the revolution is an important step on this path.

An external factor, primarily the undeclared war which the USA is conducting with the aim of strangling the Sandinist revolution, exerts a substantial influence on the SNLF policy of alliances. In this regard a significant role is allotted to the campaigns aimed at isolating the Front and at subverting the unity of the nation. It is no accident that recently there has been increased opposition to the government on the part of some bourgeois parties and the private mass media, nor that scenarios of "national reconciliation" with the "contras" have been put forward on the basis of Western formulas, etc. Some of the church hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Miguel Obando i Bravo, have taken positions which are openly hostile to the government. In one of his speeches Tomas Borge described the role which had fallen to the reactionary clergy in Nicaragua in the following way: "Confrontation (within the milieu of believers--N.S.) is being created artificially; it is part of a broader strategy."

Under these conditions the first priority in the alliances policy must go to organizing the masses to defend the revolutionary gains with which the SNLF links the fate of democracy and the future of the Nicaraguan nation. [15] The slogan of every patriot is: "Today unity is needed as never before." This slogan is mobilizing hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans to strengthen the

country's defense potential and to increase its economic might. This process has come to include virtually the entire population of the republic. The resolution of the problem of the English-speaking minorities living on the Atlantic coast, as well as the successful implementation of Fonseca's tenet about the need for "unity with genuine Christians in the revolutionary struggle" [16], are contributing to this process. For example, the participants in the Peace March organized by Miguel D'Escoto included believers, who came out in opposition to the U.S. policy toward Nicaragua, as well as to the pro-imperialist inclinations of the Nicaraguan church elite; they were marching in defense of the revolution's gains. [17]

Thus the main condition for the successful development of the Sandinist revolution remains the preservation and consolidation of unity--centered on the SNLF--among the broad laboring masses. Undoubtedly the problem of alliances in Nicaragua differs from that in other countries. But at the same time one can see in the Front's activities the manifestation of certain general principles of Marxist-Leninist strategy of political and broad class alliances; these alliances are enriching the anti-imperialist and democratic potential of the Sandinist people's revolution with new vitality.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Fonseca. "Obras," Vol 1, Managua, 1982, p 61.
2. Ibid., p 70.
3. Ibid., p 117.
4. Ibid., p 61.
5. Ibid., p 93.
6. "Un pueblo alumbra su historia." Managua, 1981, p 19.
7. Named in honor of the Sandinist J.J. Cesada, who perished at the hands of the National Guardsmen in 1973.
8. See C. Fonseca. Op. cit., p 104.
9. Ibid., p 132.
10. Ibid.
11. By this time the scale of believers' participation in the anti-democratic struggle had expanded substantially. The Sandinists carried out work in the Christian base communities, rallying believers around the Front.
12. S. Ramirez. "Seguimos de Frente." Caracas, 1985, p 161.

13. Ibidem.

14. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 2, 1980, p 25.

15. "Habla Direccion de la Vanguardia. Managua, 1981, p 280.

16. C. Fonseca. Op. cit., p 255.

17. BARRICADA. Managua, 16 February 1986.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN EL SALVADOR'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 28-34

[Article by Sybille Bachmann (GDR): "El Salvador: Believers in the Liberation Struggle"]

[Text] In the last two decades believers have taken an increasingly active part in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples. This tendency has been clearly manifested in the revolutionary processes characteristic of Central America. In particular, its reflection is found in the words of the Jesuit priest, Juan Fernandez Pico, which were uttered in connection with the victory of the Sandinist revolution: "Now ..there is no other way to find Jesus than on the path to revolution." [1]

In the 60's the most varied movements and organizations of Christians with leftist convictions arose throughout the region. This phenomenon was manifested most vividly in the emergence and development of the Christian base communities (CEB's), which spread to El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras, as well as to certain regions of Brazil and Peru. At the same time it had its own particular characteristics in each of these countries. In El Salvador, for example, in the late 50's and early 60's these communities resulted from the exacerbation of social contradictions as a result of the imposition of a new model of capitalist development upon the country. In the course of industrialization there was a rapid a pauperization and proletarianization of a large section of the peasantry, as well as rapid growth in the marginal urban strata of the population. Unemployment in the city and countryside, low incomes for the working people, constant growth in the cost of living, and the housing crisis, on the one hand, and on the other, the repressive, anti-people rule of the land-owning oligarchy, which was associated with commercial capital and the military elite--that is the social-economic and political context in which the awakening of the popular masses began.

The CEB's arose mainly among the believing population of the countryside and the semi-proletarian masses of the city. For the peasants and agricultural workers uprooted from their usual environment and the urban marginals they became new forms for joint existence and adaptation under the crisis conditions of Salvadoran society.

The majority of the CEB's grew out of the so-called "meditation circles," in which Bible reading was accompanied by a discussion of concrete social questions. In these both believers and priests somehow acquired a new language and a new understanding of the sense of life, which was embodied in the ideals of "liberation theology." In many cases this led to the growth of political activity. For example, the conclusions drawn from the command to love thy neighbor gave rise to new forms of solidarity among the oppressed segment of believers and turned them toward a more radical struggle for their own interests.

On this basis politically-active Christian organizations began to arise in the early 70's. They included the National Union of Catholic Workers and a section of it called the Salvadoran Christian Peasants Federation (FECCAS), which was formed in 1968; the Farm Workers Union (UTC), created in 1973 in the parish of Toluca; and the workers trade union FESTRAS. At the same time new initiatives and movements aimed at changing the social order arose in the communities themselves.

When the local reaction rejected any reforms--even the most moderate ones--FECCAS and UTC joined together and, along with one of the factions of the United Popular Action Front (FAPU, created in 1972), became part of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), which was founded on 30 July 1975. FECCAS and UTC declared their independence from the official church, announced that they were unaffiliated with any particular religion and came out in favor of an alliance of workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat. [2]

The need to strengthen the solidarity of the popular masses led--for the first time in Latin American history--to the unification (in August 1980) of Salvadoran CEB's under the leadership of the National Coordinating Committee of the People's Church (CONIP). CONIP understands the concept of the "people's church" as adherence to the principle of "choice in favor of the poor," which at the 2d General Congress of the Latin American Council of Bishops in Medellin (1968) was declared to come closest to the genuine ideals of Christianity.

In addition to CONIP, the Salvadoran Ecumenical Committee (CES) was formed in July 1980 by Christian organizations and those under their influence. At the end of January 1981 the CES merged with the Ecumenical Committee of Humanitarian Aid (CEAH). This led to the emergence of the Salvadoran Ecumenical Association of Humanitarian Aid and Service (ASESAH). ASESAH, which brings together Catholics and Protestants, sets itself the goal of "...serving and helping the suffering population... on the basis of loyalty to the teaching of Jesus." [3]

The CEG's [not further identified] played a significant role in uniting the Salvadoran popular masses, especially the non-proletarian strata. Further, as a result of broad contact with other democratic, as well as revolutionary organizations, including the RDF-FNOFM [not further identified], they helped to overcome the social passivity of the believers, by instilling in them a desire to struggle and a feeling of solidarity and courage; at the same time they themselves shifted to more radical positions in the course of the civil

war. The following opinion expressed by one Salvadoran priest is typical: "The defense of our life, our land and our people cannot be a sinful matter because no other way exists. In this case it is an obligation. It would be a sin to watch them kill our brothers and not defend them." [4] Many priests of the sect stated that they were able to realize themselves as individuals only when participating in the struggle of the armed people's organizations.

The growing movement of the masses also exerted an influence on the higher church hierarchy of El Salvador, and in particular Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. The son of a telegraph operator, he graduated from the Papal Grigorian University in Rome, where candidates for high church positions receive training. Before he was ordained an archbishop (on 3 February 1977) he was considered a close "Opus Dei" priest, immersed exclusively in the study of theological problems, in other words, someone closer to the ruling classes than to the people. [5] However, his appointment coincided with the failure of agrarian reform and the growth of the repression which touched even priests, and reached its culmination after the 12 March 1977 murder of Father Rutilio Grande. This crime profoundly shook the Salvadoran church and marked the beginning of changes in the thought of Archbishop Romero, who had been a close friend of R. Grande. The basis of his position was the "choice in favor of the poor," declared in Medellin. Moreover he went further than the decisions of Puebla (where the 3d Conference of the Council of Latin American Bishops took place in 1979), defining the poor strata of the population as the majority of the nation, and considering them not as the sum of individuals, but as a single community of people. He recognized the antagonism of the conflicts between the poor and the oligarchy, the existence of the class struggle both within society, as well as within the church itself. [6] And while originally the archbishop opposed the activities of the people's organizations and the CEB's, the dialectics of the struggle led him to a recognition of their important role, and later to rapprochement and cooperation with them. He also came to recognize the need for a scientific analysis of the development of society. While accepting the communists as valuable participants in the social dialog, he thought at the same time that "liberation theology" could become the answer to the social problems posed by Marxism-Leninism.

The evolution of his worldview made it possible for Archbishop Romero to understand the priests involved with the CEB's. He imposed upon himself the obligation to arouse the consciousness of Christians and their feeling of responsibility on the and to appeal to the conscience of all Salvadorans. Three types of his pastoral appeals (later used by the CONIP) served this purpose: they were later used by the appeals to the masses, appeals to the CEB's and the so-called additional pastoral messages. [7] Thanks to the radiostation belonging to the church, the archbishop's sermons reached up to 73 percent of the rural and 43 percent of the urban population of the country. Approximately 4,000 believers went to hear him at the capital's cathedral every Sunday.

Although he believed in the the need to create democracy in the interests of the people, Archbishop Romero did not exclude the possibility of building a socialist society. [8] It is true that he never clarified his attitude toward this question, although in the fourth pastoral message he pointed out that

some of the popular masses consider Marxism-Leninism to be a possible political strategy in the struggle for power and that this fact demands recognition. [9]

The evolution of O. Romero's views on the question of violence is interesting. In May 1977 the Archbishop decisively rejected it as means of resolving the existing problems and expressed the opinion that revolution would also mean the subversion of order. However, as early as spring 1978 he was forced to recognize the people's right to violence in response to violence: "Church doctrine in the most extreme case recognizes rebellion if war is the last means for the defense of good." [10] In this regard, he made an appeal to the government's soldiers (on 23 March 1980) to put an end to the fratricidal carnage. It said: "...You yourselves came from our people, but you are killing your brother peasants. However, the commandment of the Lord's 'Thou shalt not kill' must triumph over the order to kill a man. Not one soldier is obligated to violate an order which contradicts the commandment of the Lord... In the name of the Lord and also in the name of the suffering people, whose cries to Heaven become louder and louder with each passing day, I appeal to you, I order you in the name of God: cease the repression." [11]

The next day, March 24, 1980, Archbishop Romero died from the reactionaries' bullets.

Although a majority of the Salvadoran bishops moved to the side of counterrevolution after this murder, the people's struggle became increasingly powerful. Under these conditions the new archbishop, N. Rivera-i-Damas, appointed only three years later in early 1983, expressed himself in favor of "humanism and modernized capitalism" and he took up an intermediate position. He defined the church's place in the following manner: "The role of the church in the given conflict is to serve the people and preserve their essence. It must not be on the side of the government nor on the side of the revolutionaries." [12]

Over the course of many years Rivera-i-Damas, although he supported O. Romero, had worked in Catholic Social Action--an organization with a democratic Christian orientation and close ties to the Christian Democratic Party which rules today. The Salvadoran Bishops Conference [13] also exerted a strong influence on Rivera-i-Damas in order to force him to make a final break with the ideas of "choice in favor of the poor" and to reject the exposure of the repression being committed by the ultra-rightists and the Duarte government. Nonetheless, he continued to fight for human rights and to oppose the terror and foreign intervention. It is for precisely this reason that "Death squads" and the so-called Christian Traditional Movement threatened the archbishop with death. The threats increased after he took it upon himself to act as mediator in two meetings between guerrilla and government representatives, which took place in La Palma and Ayagualo in October and November 1984 respectively.

Having lost support in church circles, Romero's supporters faced a choice: go into exile or move closer to the people and their struggle. For those who preferred the latter course, this meant joining military organizations of

revolutionaries, in which they continued to fulfill the duties of a priest or they fought with a rifle in their hands.

It should be noted that the mass revolutionary organizations, especially those created in the 70's, did not immediately recognize the significance and potential of the CEB's for the development of the revolutionary process. However, they soon understood that it was possible to lead the revolutionary movement to victory only if they derived their support from an alliance with the masses of believers and their communities. One of the manifestos of the United Revolutionary Leadership says: "The Salvadoran people are proud of the new church which allies itself with their cause and which has been created by priests who joined with the archbishop, who became a victim of the reaction. We are confident that the new church and all Christians who are faithful to the basic principles of their religion will fight staunchly and will remain with the people until the end." [14]

The Salvadoran Christians themselves explain their participation in the revolutionary struggle and their attitude toward the prospects for social change in the following manner: "For us today the building of the bases of socialism is an historical choice and a concrete alternative, which more than anything else brings us closer to the kingdom of God...We CEB Christians think that building socialism means the creation of an economy which is based on public ownership of the means of production and the results of labor, which will ensure first of all the satisfaction of the basic needs of all Salvadorans: the need for work, bread, health care, education, housing, etc. We think that building socialism also means the restoration of the people's culture and their spiritual values...to support this process, while participating in it, means to love the Lord God, to bring his kingdom closer and to purify our faith, transforming it into a people's religion, while returning to it its true nature and content." [15]

At the same time the process of coming together was for the "people's church" and the revolutionary organizations, including Marxist-Leninist ones, a lengthy one, fraught with difficulties arising not so much from ideological disagreements as from concrete problems which resulted from Salvadoran political reality and the search for means to resolve them. In order to better understand this it should be noted that CONIP, in the opinion of its founders, "...is not a political organization. For this reason it cannot identify itself with any party. It strives to be a church of the poor in El Salvador." At the same time CONIP does not ban CEB members from joining political associations. In fact, it requires community members to participate in the people's struggle through various political associations. For example, CONIP has worked out special principles according to which CEB members can work together or join people's organizations. [16] This exerts a definite influence both on the placement and the fate of the political parties. An example of this, and moreover a positive one, is the split in the Christian Democratic Party and the creation of the leftist Social-Christian People's Movement, which joined the RDF--FNOFM.

The CONIP activities, especially in its contacts with FNOFM, led to the conclusion of an agreement between the committee and the command organs of the

Front on questions of coordinating their activities in the work with the population of the liberated regions. Later the CONIP became part of the RDF and recognized the RDF-FNOFM as the vanguard of the revolution. The priests, who joined the armed people's organizations, continue to be conscious of themselves as part of the church, but they subordinate themselves to revolutionary discipline. Some of them joined the guerrilla struggle as fighters, having temporarily ceased to fulfill their duties as leaders of a religious sect. Similar changes in the convictions of priests--especially after the murder of Archbishop Romero--took place on a broader scale in El Salvador than was the case in Nicaragua in the period of the anti-Somoza struggle.

The active participation of Christians in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and their important role in the alliance of liberation forces is a characteristic feature of the Salvadoran revolutionary process. The specific contribution of believers to the mobilization, organization and unification of the national liberation forces has enormous significance in those countries and regions of the world where religious consciousness is a very important component of the community, where the formation of modern social structures has not been completed and the traditional ones are undergoing a crisis, where the industrial proletariat is only beginning to take shape and its political consciousness is in the formational stage.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Fe cristiana y Revolucion Sandinista en Nicaragua." Managua. 1979, p 62.
2. ESTUDIO CENTROAMERICANOS. San Salvador, No 359, 1979, p 777.
3. INFORMACION CATOLICA IBEROAMERICANA. Vol 1, No 237, 1981.
4. "Documento CONIP. Serie: Testimonios." Vol 1, s.a., No 2, p 9.
5. "Monsenor Romero: Martir de la Iglesia Popular." San Jose, 1980, p 25.
6. O.A. Romero. "Su Pensamiento." San Salvador, 1980, p 17.
7. "La voz de los sin voz." San Salvador, 1980, p 159.
8. Ibid., p 436.
9. Ibid., pp 159-160.
10. O.A. Romero. Op. cit., p 179.
11. Homilia del 23 March 1980.
12. UNO MAS UNO. Mexico, 1 April 1982, pp 1, 17.

13. It should be noted that in its struggle against the CEB's and priests who had allied themselves with the people, the CEDES found protection in the Vatican.
14. "Manifiesto de la Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada de las organizaciones politico-militares al Pueblo Salvadoreno, a los pueblos centroamericanos y del Mundo." San Salvador, May, 1980.
15. "CONIP; Historia, fundamentacion teologica y problematica de la Iglesia Popular de El Salvador." Vol 1, Noviembre de 1980, p 6.
16. "CONIP Internacional." Vol 1, s.a., pp 12-13.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MEXICAN SOCIALIST PARTY FIGURE INTERVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 35-39

[Interview with Eduardo Gonzalez, member of the CC Political Committee of the United Socialist Party of Mexico (USPM), interviewer, date and place not specified: "The Threat to Sovereignty and Our Tasks"]

[Text] [Question] I would like to start with this question: how acute is the foreign debt problem for the country?

[Answer] The situation in which Mexico finds itself today is unprecedented. And the fact that you ask me that question at the beginning of our conversation is fully understandable. The economy is experiencing stagnation. In the last two years the gross national product has not increased, and there are signs suggesting that this economic situation will continue in the coming five-year period. There is a growing rate of inflation, which is out of control. It is predicted, for example, that this year the prices for consumer goods will double. At the same time the total amount of the positive balance from foreign trade is not enough to pay the interest on the foreign debt. The country is close to bankruptcy. The number of unemployed has reached nearly 3.5 million, i.e., 15 percent of the able-bodied population. Their numbers increase by 800,000 annually. For the most part these are young people. And the worst of it is that the foreign debt prevents Mexico from implementing any kind of serious program to overcome the economic difficulties.

Nothing similar has ever taken place. It is true that we experienced times of crisis both in 1976 and in 1982. But now we do not have even the minimal conditions to propose anything like a solution and at the same time to repay the debt. The government is suggesting the prospect (if one can call it that) of maintaining the economy at the same level, i.e., for all intents and purposes at the level of the breakdown.

That is why we favor a decisive re-examination of the foreign debt question. What would such a re-examination mean? It would mean an end to the outflow of currency to pay interest amounting to 8 percent of the GNP.

Within the government there are two viewpoints or two approaches. The essence of the first consists of giving Mexico some breathing space and an opportunity to hold out over a short period of time through, for example, a special

credit. According to the second viewpoint a deferment of interest payments is essential. In the present political conditions, both foreign as well as domestic, it seems as though a solution somewhere in-between will be found.

And what are these conditions? First of all, there is the position of the creditors, i.e., the American government, international financial centers, the IMF, and private banks. What they propose is for the most part a somewhat modified model of the "Baker plan." In fact, we are talking about a reduction in the state sector of the economy, the further weakening of control over prices and the liberalization of the currency exchange system. In short, we are talking about measures aimed at a sharp reduction in the state regulation of the economy.

They demand that we change our attitude toward foreign capital investment and create in essence a regime favorable to foreign business, and they also require changes in the legislation regulating the activity of the multinational monopolies operating in Mexico.

Further, the proposals of the creditors include points of a political, even a fundamental nature: in the first place, they concern Mexican foreign policy, especially in Central America, and in the second place, they concern our electoral system. It is perfectly clear that there is a desire to weaken the role and influence of the government in the resolution of the Central American conflict. As an active participant in the Contadora group, Mexico makes it difficult for the USA to carry out its interventionist plans in this zone. The second aspect is related to the desire to impose upon Mexico a two-party electoral system corresponding to the concept of "citizens make policy and not public organizations." In other words, those kinds of parties which would express the interests of particular groups of citizens would suit the creditors.

At the negotiations on the foreign debt issue, the Mexican government invariably displays a desire to achieve guarantees for the protection of its political and economic strategy. But, after all, it is time to recognize that the modernization plans proposed by President Miguel de la Madrid three years ago have failed on the main point; stabilization of the economy within two years has not taken place. This calls into question the government's strategy. However, it seems that the government has decided to take any and all steps in an attempt to continue its policy of modernizing industry and agriculture, and of re-organizing the state apparatus... with the goal of raising Mexico to the current world level. But the problem is that other participants in the negotiations do not want to make any concessions when the discussion concerns Mexico's sovereign policy, both foreign as well as domestic.

In this entire picture there is one great factor missing, and that is the people of Mexico. As a result, political phenomena which I see as new are now letting themselves be known, especially in the middle strata of society.

[Question] What do they consist of?

[Answer] In the dissatisfaction which is already being expressed in political sentiments. Unfortunately, they are more reactionary than progressive in nature. They have manifested themselves with particular force in the northern part of the country and they have spread within the middle strata, who are attracted by the American model of development. These sentiments are also manifested in politics: some of the voters give their votes to the rightist National Action Party.

What is new is that the official trade unions are to some degree moving away from the government. They have found in themselves the strength to embark on the path of criticism (formal but nonetheless criticism) of de la Madrid's economic policy.

[Question] And how does the crisis situation manifest itself at the level of the political parties, and in the positions of the Mexican left?

[Answer] Consolidation of the rightist forces has taken place under the crisis conditions. This provides evidence that the leftists are losing when they should be expanding their sphere of influence. There are several reasons for this, I think.

The development of events in Mexico refutes the frequently expressed opinion that the worse the situation the more easily people join the struggle on the side of the leftist parties. The workers, peasants and the masses in general have not moved toward the leftist organizations; they have not started to knock on their doors as some expected. Why? Because the leftist forces have not worked out a genuine alternative to the crisis, another path to the resolution of the burning questions--either for the more distant future (which involves the formulation of tasks of socialist construction) or for the present day (tasks which involve the direct struggle against the most negative, anti-people consequences of the crisis). This aspect is very important.

Another reason is that the leftists have only been participating--on a legal basis--in political life for seven years. They have little experience of legal activity in an election struggle using modern mass media. Inadequacies of an organizational nature, which have prevented them from becoming mass parties, have also played their role. At present our party has 65,000 to 70,000 members. But in the last 20 years not one leftist organization in Mexico has had more than 6,000 members. The organizational structure which is useful for a small party falls apart when the membership exceeds 10,000, and after all, in the future we must talk about hundreds of thousands.

To go on. The tactics of the USPM have been directed more to the fulfillment of ideological tasks than to the resolution of problems directly facing present-day Mexican society such as inflation, unemployment, the foreign trade deficit, a nondemocratic electoral system, relations with organs of the state apparatus or practical activities in the municipalities. We have no practical experience in these kinds of matters, and this shows that we are poorly prepared; we have not able to utilize all the opportunities which in one form or another are granted to us even by a limited bourgeois-democratic system.

Our television appearances, for example, do not compare with bourgeois propaganda.

And, finally, the leftist forces have not been able to fully overcome what has become, unfortunately, a bitter tradition of the Mexican left--its inclination toward schism and factions. At the present time the voter going to the polls confronts a choice of five candidates who are all socialists! Looking at his ballot, it is difficult for him to determine the advantages of each one. And, incidentally, the leftists in Mexico get from 10 to 15 percent of the electorate's votes, which is not bad at all for a start. But when this 15 percent is split between five different organizations you yourself can judge the consequences...

The USPM, which has existed for four years, is an example of the desire--put into material form--to do away with this tradition. But the mere fact of our party's formation has proven to be inadequate. That is why recently we signed an agreement with nearly all the leftist organizations concerning the establishment of a united front. We are studying the experience accumulated in South America by the Peruvian Unity of Leftist Forces and the Uruguayan Broad Front, and we are learning from it. I think that in 1988 the Mexican left will go into the election with its own candidate for president. But even this year we will be represented as a unified organization at the elections to be held in some Mexican states.

[Question] Tell me, please, in more detail about the USPM.

[Answer] As the most important segment of the leftist forces, the USPM is not free of those inadequacies which are characteristic of the Mexican leftists in general. We are not yet five years old, and we have already had two splits. And while one of them hardly touched the organization, the other, in February 1985, could be called serious.

The party as a mass association is still going through a formational process and is still making a final determination of its profile as a democratic and national force. The 3d National Congress has been set for November of this year, 1986. I think that it will enable us to move forward in defining our goals and tasks and in establishing ever closer ties with the working class.

We hope that in the future we will be able to better utilize all of the accumulated experience. After all, the USPM has at its disposal experienced personnel, and the communist party has also joined it. At present the organization represents a force which has less political influence than it could have if one were judging on the basis of the "human capital" which it has accumulated. After unification, the USPM had less than 30,000 members. Today, as I have already said, it has more than 65,000. This means that the overwhelming majority of our party's members did not belong to the organizations which comprised it. And this provides evidence that if we can criticize ourselves, as well as set and meet great targets, we have excellent prospects.

[Question] What is new in Mexican-American relations?

[Answer] Our main trading partner is the USA, where a process of technological re-organization of the economy is now taking place, a process which is aimed at returning to America--at any cost--hegemony in the capitalist world. This cannot fail to affect Mexico. It is manifested not only in the area of economic ties, where the dependence of the Mexican side is most acute and extensive, but also in the U.S. offensive against Mexico. The USA is attempting to influence our domestic policy; it is attempting to "attach" us to its own international policy. Further, they want to "bring us closer" to their own political, economic and social model.

This has led to conflict between the two governments. The USA has obviously gone somewhat too far in its desire to utilize Mexico's difficult economic situation to accelerate a re-examination of American-Mexican relations.

For our part we are attempting to participate in the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist front. One result--the most important in recent months--has been the formation of the Front to Struggle for National Sovereignty. Its goal is to head up mass demonstrations by the working people. In addition, it has come to include representatives of other leftist parties and prominent progressive figures. This opens up a new field of struggle in which we are striving for the broadest possible alliances in order to oppose jointly the threat to Mexico's sovereignty.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BRITISH WORK ON LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 123-125

[Review by L.L. Klochkovskiy of book "Generals in Retreat. The Crisis of Military Rule in Latin America." Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1985, 208 pages]

[Text] In the first half of the 80's there were serious changes in the political life of Latin America which were related to the failure of military-authoritarian regimes in a number of countries and the coming to power of civilian governments. This process has become the focus of attention from very wide scholarly and public circles.

The Latin American oligarchy and apologists of international capital are trying to present the activities of the Latin American military regimes in a positive light. They advance the thesis that the establishment of military dictatorships is objectively normal; in their opinion the dictatorships are uniquely capable of creating favorable conditions for the activities of foreign capital, of ensuring the suppression of protest by the broad popular masses and of finding a way to overcome the impasse of import-replacing industrialization and to further develop capitalism both in breadth and depth.

To counter this viewpoint representatives of progressive circles are attempting to provide an objective evaluation of the period of military rule. The numerous works by Western researchers which have appeared recently often provide a realistic picture of the pernicious consequences of the activities of the military-authoritarian regimes. The work under review is one of these. It was prepared by a group of English specialists on Latin America. The authors considered their main task to consist of examining the economic strategy of the military regimes and of showing their main economic, social and political consequences. This work consists of an introductory chapter, four studies of particular countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil) and a conclusion.

In their summary description of the military regimes in Latin America, the authors note that their social base is the elite of the bourgeoisie, which is closely related to the local oligarchy and the multinational corporations. Their activities in the economic sphere are aimed at encouraging the transnationalization of production, and their social-political activities are

aimed at depoliticizing the main social problems, excluding the masses from political life, suppressing democratic institutions, damming up channels through which people influence the government (p 4). It goes without saying that this kind of judgment on the military regimes does not mean that the authors of the collection are opponents of the bourgeois order or favor its elimination. On the contrary, they fear that the intensification of the crisis of dependent capitalist development can push the continent's peoples onto the path of fundamental, progressive social-economic transformation. They are trying to orient the ruling circles in the Latin American countries to the need to re-organize the economic and political course for the purpose of stabilizing the bases of capitalism in the region. As P. Cemmack notes, "the crisis ...makes it essential to re-orient the bourgeoisie economically and politically...The task thus amounts to re-organizing capital and restructuring the system of political hegemony of the bourgeoisie" (p 28).

The military dictatorships, in the authors' opinion, cannot create a firm economic and political base for the stable development of capitalism. "A characteristic feature of the military regimes," it says in the work, "is that through repression of the popular masses they are capable of achieving success in the short term, but they are not capable of creating an institutional system which would ensure stability in the long term" (p 30).

The chapters about specific countries, although they are not all at the same level, are of undoubted interest due to the abundance of factual material and certain theoretical generalizations which are deserving of attention. The sections on Argentina and Chile are the most interesting.

The study of Argentina contains an analysis of the activity of the military governments during the period from 1966 through 1983. The intensifying political and economic crisis in this country aroused the Argentine ruling circles to embark upon a path of establishing a military dictatorship. The goal of the government of the Generals Ongania, Levingston and Lanusse (1966-1963) was, as noted in the book, "to restructure Argentine capitalism from above and to create a new system of political predominance of the ruling classes" (p 41).

However, their attempts did not bring success, which forced the military to leave the political scene. The further radicalization of the masses after the Peronists returned to power posed with ever greater acuteness the question of the path for the country's future development. "The military elite and the dominating classes," writes W. Smith, "were clearly conscious of a direct and serious threat to the stability and normal functioning of capitalism in Argentina" (p 41). Under these conditions a new military coup was carried out in 1976.

The military dictatorship made broad use of the methods of mass violence and terror to suppress the political opposition, and the democratic and workers and democratic movement. In the sphere of economics the government began to actively carry out the monetarist concepts widely propagandized by the IMF. This course stipulated a 40 percent reduction in the real wages of workers, a reduction in import duties, the elimination of export taxes on agricultural commodities, the liberalization of external financing, curtailment of the

activities of the state sector and a reduction in expenditures for social needs.

The implementation of this policy was welcomed by international monopolistic capital, which noticeably expanded the volume of external financing and investment. In general, however, the policy of an "open economy" had sharply negative consequences for the state. In Argentina a process of deindustrialization began. In 1981 industrial output fell 17 percent from the 1975 level, and its proportion of the GNP dropped from 29 percent to 22.1 percent. In certain sectors this drop was even sharper (in metallurgy it was 60 percent) (pp 67-68). The country's production capacities fell by 30 percent, while the general financial losses related to a reduction in industrial investment and the destruction of capacities are judged to have been \$50 billion (p 72). Many Argentine firms, not only small and medium-sized ones, but also major ones, declared bankruptcy. The main loss from the economic policy of the military regime was sustained by the international banks, the leading foreign monopolies and the elite of Argentina's financial and commercial bourgeoisie. As the work emphasizes, the situation which developed in Argentina created opportunities for enormous abuses. For example, out of \$40 billion in foreign debts, \$10 billion simply disappeared. (p 64). In evaluating the monetarist course of the military regime, the authors draw the conclusion: "The neoliberal economic policy not only was anathematized by the majority of the population but also became politically unacceptable for the greater part of the military" (p 62).

The policy of an "open economy" also led to sharply negative results in Chile, where the USA actively imposed the ideas of neomonetarism. As long ago as 1955 the University of Chicago and the Catholic University of Chile signed an agreement on the basis of which a large group of Chilean economists trained at Chicago. P. O'Brien emphasizes the active role of the "Chicago school" in the subversive activities of the reaction against the Popular Unity government. He writes, "The study of the activities of the main groups which organized the military coup in Chile reveals the important role of the "Chicago chaps" (p 150).

After Pinochet seized power, the leading representatives of the "Chicago school," M. Friedman, A. Harberger and F. Hayek, became the main sources of inspiration for the economic policy of the military-fascist junta. In no other Latin American country were the recommendations of the "Chicago school" carried out on such a scale as in Chile. The state sector was almost completely eliminated. Out of 464 firms and organizations which were under state control in September 1973, 364 had been transferred to private hands by June 1977 (many of them were sold for a song; the state earnings amounted to a more than modest sum--only \$434.3 million), while the rest went into the private sector for the most part by June 1980 (p 166). The process of enrichment for the ruling elite acquired enormous scale. According to O'Brien's evidence, "two or three leading financial groups seized dominating positions in the Chilean economy. They accounted for the bulk of all foreign loans" (p 165).

The neomonetarist course in Chile, as in other Southern hemisphere countries, did not ensure the resolution of economic and social problems; on the

contrary, it made even more acute the basic socio-economic contradictions. It led to an increase in unemployment, the further polarization of wealth and poverty, the growth of the foreign debt, and a reduction in accumulation. These contradictions, which were intensified by the economic drop in the centers of capitalism, led to the unprecedented economic crisis of 1982-1985, which manifested itself in the sharp drop in the GNP, in industrial production, and in foreign trade turnover.

In judging the work of the English specialists on Latin America, it should be recognized that the book undoubtedly makes a positive contribution to the critical interpretation of the policy of the Latin American military regimes and makes it possible to more fully understand the sources of the turn toward the democratization of political life.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BOOK ON SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA REVIEWED

MOSCOW LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 126-127

[Review by V.A. Galichin of book "Strany tsentralnoy ameriki: tendentsii ekonomicheskogo i sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiya" [The Countries of Central America: Economic and Socio-Political Development Trends], editor-in-chief V.V. Volskiy, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, "Nauka", 1968, 336 pages]

[Text] The monograph under review, prepared by a collective of staff members at the USSR Academy of Sciences IIA (Institute of Latin America) under the editorship of V.V. Volskiy, V.I. Morozov, Yu.G. Onufriyev and M.L. Chumakova, represents a comprehensive study of the complex processes of social development in five Central American states: Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador in the 70's and early 80's.

The first section of the work shows convincingly that the basis of the present-day conflict in Central America is a profound structural crisis, which reflects both the general tendencies in the development of capitalist society as well as the specific national features of Central American reality. "The essence of the social conflict," the book emphasizes, "lies in the collision between the objective possibilities (accumulated over a long historical period) for the development of the nation and the people (i.e. the level of production forces) and the structure of social relations (types of production, forms of exploitation, and systems for the management of socio-economic and political life)" (p 70).

The second part of the book provides a description of the liberation process in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, where the struggle of the revolutionary forces against imperialism and the local reaction has become especially acute. In this section the chapter about the heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza dictatorship deserves particular attention. Influenced by the victory of the Nicaraguan patriots, the revolutionary and democratic forces of El Salvador and Guatemala have made significant advances in consolidating the leftist organizations and movements; this has enabled them to attract to their side new representatives of various social strata and to achieve important successes in the struggle against the reaction and the oligarchy. A concretely historical approach, citations from a wealth of factual material and the broad utilization of numerous original

sources have given the authors the opportunity to acquaint the reader with various aspects of the struggle of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan peoples.

The section which exposes the attempts to carry out reformist plans for the purpose of overcoming the structural crisis in Costa Rica and Honduras occupies an important place. The authors come to two conclusions. In the first place, reformist models of development and "liberalization" are not capable "either of resolving economic problems or of easing and eliminating class contradictions"; nor can they lead to political stability given the continued dependence of this region's countries and direct U.S. interference in their internal affairs. In the second place, reformism in all of its numerous forms represents an alternative to the revolutionary forces, and under the specific conditions of Central America it plays into the hands of imperialism and the reaction.

The work under review possesses unbought merits, which include the use of rich factual material and a high level of analysis of the problems under consideration. It is of interest not only to specialists but also to a wide range of readers. At the same time the book has certain inadequacies. For example, the international isolation of the Somoza dictatorship in the late 70's is presented by the authors as purely the result of the solidarity with the Nicaraguan people expressed by democratic and progressive forces (p 111). Inadequate treatment is given to the diverse and fruitful foreign policy activity of the Sandinistas; for the most part there is nothing analogous to it in the Latin American revolutionary movement. In addition, the political processes in Costa Rica, as well as the role and place of the leftist organizations in them, should have been discussed in more detail. There are a number of factual inaccuracies in the names of certain organizations. The book provides a definite summary of the research into the socio-political and economic problems of Central America and sets out certain new and promising directions for further work in this area.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

UN LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC COMMISSION MEETING IN MEXICO CITY

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 133-135

[Article by A.N. Borovkov: "The 21st ECLA Session: Propsects for the Development of the Region"]

[Text] The 21st session of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLA) took place in April 1986 in the Mexican capital. Thirty-three members of the commission, [1] as well as a delegation from the Antilles Islands, which has associate member status, were represented at the level of economic ministers. The following were present as observers from the socialist countries: representatives from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Vietnamese People's Republic, the Korean People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the USSR, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. From the capitalist countries the observers included representatives from Austria, Australia, Belgium, Egypt, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Norway, New Zealand, Turkey, the Philippines, Finland, FRG, Switzerland and Japan. Delegates from a number of international organizations, including CEMA and the EEC, also participated in the work of the session.

The agenda included such questions as prospects for the development of the Latin American and Caribbean countries up to the end of the 80's; the policy of stabilization, structural transformations and increases in economic activity; cooperation among the region's countries; the use of water resources; the problems of urbanization; and the plan for ECLA's work in the 1988-1989 period.

The documents of the session and the presentations by participants provided a description of the current stage at which the Latin American and Caribbean countries of Latin find themselves. Specifically, it was noted that a sharp reduction in the rate of GNP growth had taken place during the 80's. In the 70's this growth amounted to an average of 5.5 percent annually. If we exclude Brazil, which managed "to stay afloat," the GNP growth throughout the region amounts to a total of 0.8 percent. From 1981 through 1985 per capita production fell by an average of 9 percent. In a number of countries this level was much greater: in Bolivia it was 28 percent, in El Salvador 24 percent, in Venezuela, Haiti, Uruguay, Argentina and Guatemala it was from 18

to 22 percent, while in Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica it was from 11 to 15 percent.

Given the high rate of population growth, the drop in production has exacerbated the problem of unemployment. The number of totally and partly unemployed in the region amounts to about 110 million people. This problem has become particularly acute in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Honduras, Uruguay and Venezuela.

In the last five years the real wages for working people fell 7 percent in Costa Rica and Chile, 12 percent in Uruguay, 27 percent in Mexico and 43 percent in Peru.

By the end of 1985 the foreign debt of the region's countries had reached \$368 billion. Interest payments on the debts grew from \$6.9 billion in 1977 to \$39 billion in 1984. The debt crisis was made substantially worse by the reduction in exports which was caused by an increase in protectionism on the part of the developed capitalist countries, as well as by a drop in prices for the traditional export commodities. The documents of the session point out that due to the non-equivalent exchange alone, the region lost \$15 billion in 1985.

A detailed analysis of the situation led the participants in the 21st ECLA session to the conclusion that the first half of the 80's was lost for the economic development of the Latin American states, and given the existing conditions, the subsequent five-year period will not save it either. In the opinion of ECLA's executive secretary, Norberto Gonzalez, not all of the region's countries will succeed in reaching the 1980 per capita production level by 1990.

Overcoming the crisis in the centers of capitalism, the session noted, will not by any means lead automatically to an improvement of the situation at the periphery. The crisis is structural and requires serious re-organization of the economic mechanism. There is specific evidence of this in the negative results of the "stabilization programs" which are being carried out under IMF pressure: they call for a reduction in imports, the re-orientation of the national economy toward the foreign market, etc. The debt load has not only not eased, it has, on the contrary, increased. The region's states are no longer in a position to sacrifice economic development for the sake of an unattainable goal--the repayment of the foreign debt. At the same time, it was noted that financial obligations can be fulfilled only if there is stable economic growth.

Recently the capitalist countries have more or less agreed to this. As part of its attempts to seize the initiative, the USA proposed the not-unfamiliar "Baker plan in October 1985.

The session in fact rejected this plan, noting that it contains conditions which limit the sovereign right of the Latin American states to utilize foreign credits in the national interests, while the amount of "aid" is far from the real needs of the debtors. It is essential to have a comprehensive

solution, which would stipulate the re-organization of the entire system of international currency-financial and trade-economic relations.

According to the concrete proposals adopted by the session it is essential to do the following: amend the debt obligations in accordance with the real ability of the debtor nations to pay; establish in certain cases a limit on export earnings directed toward debt repayment; lower bank interest rates to a normal level; increase the inflow into the region of new loan funds, including funds from international financial organizations, on preferential conditions; eliminate protectionist barriers to export commodities, and establish for them firm, higher prices.

One of the most important recommendations was to hold a new round of multilateral negotiations between creditors and debtors to work out balanced international agreements. For this purpose plans were made to hold an extraordinary ECLA session to be held in December 1986 in Mexico.

The session devoted a great deal of attention to the establishment of regional and inter-regional trade and economic cooperation. A number of concrete recommendations were made on this question.

It is important to note that the opportunity to achieve the set targets was linked to the problem of restraining the arms race and creating a firm basis for the peaceful development of the Latin American countries. The Mexican president, Miguel de la Madrid, in particular pointed this out. The session came out in favor of the peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict, seeing in it the main obstacle to overcoming the crisis in the subregion.

The conclusions reached by the session participants coincide in a number of cases with those which were formulated at the international conference on foreign debt by representatives of the political and public circles of the region's countries, which took place in Havana in the summer of 1985. This provides evidence of some radicalization in the position of certain Latin American governments. In the course of the session a growing polarization of forces between Latin America and the USA was displayed. Conflicts existed on both procedural questions and on the essence of the problems which were being discussed. The United States put itself in opposition to the region even before the official opening of the session, when it opposed the admittance of Cuban and Nicaraguan representatives to its working organs on the grounds that these countries are "not in a position to make a constructive contribution to the resolution of problems being experienced by the free world." However, all the Latin American countries (with no exceptions) voted for the head of the Cuban delegation to be the second deputy at the session's plenary meetings and the leader of the Nicaraguan delegation to be the first deputy chairman of the committee on urbanization problems. Thus the USA found itself isolated even before the start of the discussion on the agenda's main questions.

At the session U.S. Assistant Secretary of State A. Keys put forward a program calling for the privatization of the economy in the region's countries, further reduction in the state sector, an increase in the role of the multinational corporations, liberalization of foreign trade, etc. Many forum participants criticized the proposals harshly, emphasizing the important

role of the state sector in overcoming the crisis. The amendments and comments made by the American delegation to the draft resolution "Consequences and Prospects for the Foreign Indebtedness of the Latin American and Caribbean Countries" were rejected by a majority vote.

In general, it can be said that, despite the inconsistency of positions taken on a number of the issues which were discussed, the 21st ECLA session contributed to a deeper understanding of the need to re-organize the system of international economic relations, especially those concerning currency and credit.

FOOTNOTES

1. Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Great Britain, Venezuela, Guyana, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras, Dominican Republic, Spain, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, the Netherlands, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, El Salvador, Surinam, the USA, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, France, Chile, Ecuador and Jamaica.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

UNESCO'S ACTIVITIES (WITH SOVIET SUPPORT) IN LATIN AMERICA

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 135-138

[Article by I.I. Kucherenko: "UNESCO and Latin America"]

[Text] Forty years ago, on 4 November 1946, the UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Charter went into effect. Many Latin American countries have shown great interest in its activities since its very early days and have taken an active part in the fulfillment of its program. At the present time 33 states of Latin America and the Caribbean are members of UNESCO (21 percent of all the member countries in the organization), and it has become a major international forum of the UN system. Their role and place in UNESCO is reflected in the fact that this region accounts for 9 out of 51 seats on the Executive Council, the highest organ in the period between sessions of the General Conference.

UNESCO activities in the Latin American countries are diverse and help them in the resolution of essential problems, ranging from the planning and development of educational systems and the preservation of the cultural heritage to concrete projects in narrowly technical areas (for example, drilling methods as part of search for geothermal sources in Mexico; research into vulcanology in Ecuador, petrography in Brazil and the use of computer equipment and production of foodstuffs in Cuba).

A network of bureaus which encompass all the areas of this organization's activities has been established to prepare and carry out various UNESCO projects. For example, the Regional Education Bureau is located in Santiago, the Regional Science and Technology Bureau is in Montevideo, and the Regional Culture Bureau is in Havana, while the Bureau of the Regional Adviser on Communications operates in Quito. In addition, most of the countries have accredited UNESCO representatives who consult with governments on all questions related to obtaining help through its channels.

In the area of education a broad program is being implemented, which includes assistance in the development of national plans to eliminate illiteracy and to train teaching personnel. This work has great significance because the region had more than 15.3 percent illiteracy among those 15 years and older bracket (43.6 million people) in 1985. With the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, UNESCO in the early 80's undertook to carry out a major

project with the goal of eliminating illiteracy in this region of the world by the year 2000.

Some Latin American countries have already achieved substantial success. Proof of this can be seen in the 1979 presentation of the N.K. Krupskaya prize, established by the Soviet government, to the Popular Alliance of Women of Peru for helping women to return to school and in 1981 to the Federation of Cuban Women for participating in the mass campaign to spread literacy in Cuba.

Nor can we fail to note that UNESCO, with the support of the socialist countries, has taken the initiative in recruiting the world community to grant material aid to carry out a campaign to eliminate illiteracy in Nicaragua, having called upon all governments, state and private organizations to display "active solidarity with liberated Nicaragua." The Soviet Union has donated to Nicaragua school textbooks and equipment worth a significant sum, and this has been a serious help in the expansion of that country's elementary education system.

Vocational and technical education is allotted an important place in the regional plans. Of great significance in this regard is the fulfillment of an experimental plan in which a number of Latin American states are participating. Its purpose is to develop new methods of training technical personnel, both those who study full time and those who work at the same time. This is also the target of a plan for the development of vocational-technical education, which involves nine countries in the Eastern region of the Caribbean.

In 1981-1983 the financial aid allotted by UNESCO to the development of the educational system in the region amounted to \$13.4 million, or approximately 10 percent of the amount allotted for these purposes throughout the world.

In the scientific sphere UNESCO's activities of recent years have been directed toward helping the developing states in their struggle to free themselves from scientific and technical dependence and in the utilization of scientific and technical achievements to resolve their essential tasks. The problems facing the Latin American countries in the sphere of training scientific personnel and the application of the results of scientific research are being partially resolved within the framework of UNESCO's inter-governmental programs, including the International Program of Geological Correlation, the International Hydrological Program, the "Man and the Biosphere" (MAB) program and the program of the Inter-governmental Oceanographic Commission. The projects which are being carried out within the framework of these programs have helped in evaluating the natural potential of the region and in utilizing it rationally.

Within the MAB framework there are 36 projects which are being carried out on problems of ecology, the utilization of tropical and subtropical forests, land utilization and the degradation of lands in semi-arid and mountainous regions, and population migration. We should mention first of all a project of continental significance on the rational utilization and conservation of water

resources in rural regions and an inter-regional plan on the comprehensive management of coastal eco-systems.

UNESCO carries out diverse work in the area of culture. The implementation of projects on the study of local languages, the revival of popular traditions and the development of folklore contributes to this in no small degree. Serious work is being carried out on the preservation and restoration of cultural monuments; they are being inventoried. In Cusco (Peru) UNESCO annually organizes courses for specialists on the protection of architectural monuments, archeological ruins and works of ancient art. Scholars with world-wide reputations teach these courses.

The Convention on the Protection of the World-Wide Cultural and Natural Legacy, adopted by UNESCO in 1972, was a very important beginning in the area of cultural cooperation. A list of culturally significant monuments includes both a number of individual buildings as well as whole cities and regions of Latin America. They include Old Havana and its fortifications, the historic city center of Olinda (Brazil), the Galapagos Islands, Quito (Ecuador), Cartagena (Colombia) and the Tikal National Reserve (Guatemala). Soviet specialists are participating actively with their Cuban colleagues in projects to restore the architecture of Old Havana.

Since 1983 well-known historians and scholars have been involved in a project to prepare a history of Latin America and the Caribbean. This work should be an objective evaluation of the historical processes in the region and the contribution of its peoples to world civilization. The work being carried out will make it possible to acquaint the world community on a broad scale with the cultural heritage of this region.

Important work is taking place in the area of information, which has acquired greater scope since 1976, when UNESCO joined a study on the establishment of a new international information order and the development of the basic principles for the dissemination of information. At the initiative of the Soviet Union and with the support of the socialist and developing countries, the UNESCO General Conference adopted in 1978 a Declaration of Basic Principles on the Role of the Mass Information Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in the Struggle Against Racism and Apartheid. This document, like the International Program for the Development of Communications developed in 1980, has become an important aid in the struggle for a new international information order based on just principles.

In order for Latin America to be able to free itself from the dominance of the Western information agencies, a Latin American special information services agency and a Caribbean news agency have been established with UNESCO assistance. Plans call for them to be equipped with a satellite communications system.

Along with concrete work on the resolution of urgent problems of cooperation among states in the area of education, science, culture and information, UNESCO by the 80's had developed a whole series of documents in which the basic principles of cooperation based on equal rights and mutual advantage are set out. It is participating ever more actively in the search for a way to

resolve today's most acute problems, on which depend not the only scientific and cultural progress of mankind but also the very existence of world civilization. In opposing the threat to the destruction of cultural valuables as a result of military actions or military occupation, UNESCO has more than once raised its voice in the defense of peace, and for the right of every people to build a life according to its own will. Specifically, in 1985 a UNESCO international jury awarded the Simon Bolivar prize to the "Contadora Group" in recognition of its efforts aimed at searching for ways to settle the Central American situation peacefully.

This UNESCO position runs counter to the policy of the aggressive circles headed by the USA, which has started an attack against the work of the UN and its specialized agencies in defense of peace and in the interests of broad international cooperation. Having failed in its attempts to draw UNESCO away from promoting the resolution of humanity's global problems, the USA and Great Britain (joined by Singapore) left the organization, trying in this way to undermine the entire system of international cooperation which was developed as a result of the victory of the peoples in the Second World War.

The 23d General Conference, which took place in Sofia in the fall of 1985, was a very important stage in the struggle to preserve UNESCO's positive course. It demonstrated the solidarity of the developing countries, including those in Latin America, in their aspiration to defend multilateral cooperation in the area of education, culture and information.

Among the Latin American countries Cuba takes a particularly active position; it provides decisive support for UNESCO's efforts aimed at the resolution of the urgent problems of the present. In Sofia the Cuban delegation made a significant contribution to the adoption of a number of general political resolutions calling for disarmament, detente in international relations and support for the activities of the "Contadora group." Cuba also made a large contribution to the success achieved, despite the attempts by the Western powers to remove as much as possible of the social-political subject matter from UNESCO activities, in preserving all the most important programs, including ones such as the "Analysis of World Problems and Future Research," "Peace, International Understanding, the Rights of Man and the Rights of Peoples," etc.

The Sofia session, despite the maneuvers by imperialist circles, demonstrated the obvious desire of the peoples to strengthen UNESCO as an important link in the entire UN system, and it emphasized their interest in ensuring international security and broad mutually-beneficial cooperation.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

SOVIET-AMERICAN SYMPOSIUM ON LATIN AMERICAN PROBLEMS HELD

MOSCOW LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 139-141

[Article by P.P. Yakovlev: "The 5th Soviet-American Symposium"]

[Text] The 5th Soviet-American Scientific Symposium on the problems of Latin America was held in Leningrad in 1986. A representative delegation from the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), which brings together several thousand U.S. specialists on the problems of the region, arrived to take part in it.

The delegation was headed by Cole Blasier, a professor at Pittsburgh University and LASA president. It included Michael Meyer, director of the Center for the Study of the Latin American Continent at the University of Arizona at Tucson; Jerry Ledman, director of the Center for Latin American Studies at Arizona State University at Tempe; Richard Fagan, a professor at Stanford University; Frederick Nann, professor at Portland University; Lars Shultz, professor at the University of North Carolina and Bryan Lavman, professor at the University of San Diego.

The Soviet delegation, which was headed by V.V. Volskiy, director of ILA (Institute of Latin America) and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, consisted of a large group of Latin American specialists from Moscow and Leningrad, including staff members from ILA, IVI (Institute of General History), MSU (Moscow State University), ISU (Leningrad State University) and other organizations and institutions.

In his opening remarks to the symposium, V.V. Volskiy emphasized that the practice (started in 1981) of holding meetings of Soviet and American specialists on Latin American problems facilitates the exchange of opinions between scholars in the two countries and makes a contribution to the cause of peaceful cooperation and better mutual understanding of peoples.

The theme of the current symposium, "The Latin American Revolutions of the 20th Century," made it possible for Soviet and American colleagues to raise and discuss a broad range of important economic, social and political problems, to trace the main tendencies in the development of the revolutionary process in the region. The discussion, which was very disputatious, revealed substantial disagreement in the judgments passed on the various phenomena.

Nonetheless, it was useful, because, in the general opinion of the participants, it provided an opportunity to become acquainted with the methodology and research results of one's counterparts and to carry out a frank exchange of opinions on many current issues in Latin American studies.

F. Nann; L.L. Klochkovski (IIA), doctor of economic sciences; and B.M. Merin (IIA), doctor of historical sciences, presented reports on the first item on the symposium agenda, "Economic and Social Preconditions and Factors in the Latin American Revolutions." The discussion centered on questions of the nature and tendencies of the class struggle in the region's countries, and the role of the working class and other social forces in Latin American revolutions. In contrast to the position of the Soviet scholars, the growing role of the proletariat in the revolutionary-liberation movement was denied in the presentations by the American participants in the meeting. The American specialists claimed that in the movement's development it is not the element of class or the class struggle which has primary significance, but rather the political positions and activities of various social groups, especially young people. Speaking at the conclusion of the discussion, V.V. Volskiy emphasized that in the face of all of the complexity and inconsistency in the social processes taking place in Latin America, it is the class struggle which has decisive significance in their development.

On the second agenda item, "The Agrarian Question in Latin American Revolutions" (the presenters were B. Lavman and M.V. Kulakov (MGU), doctor of economic sciences) a lively discussion ensued concerning the role of the peasantry and the agricultural proletariat in the social life of the Latin American countries. Many participants in the discussion shared the opinion that under the present conditions it is incorrect to talk about the Latin American peasantry in general because the situation in the region's countries varies and each requires a specific scholarly analysis.

The difference in the positions of the Soviet and American scholars revealed itself with particular clarity during discussion of the subject "External Factors in the Latin American Revolutions," on which C. Blasier and P.P. Yakovlev (IIA), candidate of historical sciences, presented reports. In the course of the discussion it became clear that the question of external factors in the Latin American revolutions is one of the most complex and controversial problems of present-day Latin American studies, one which constantly provokes sharp conflicts between the different approaches and viewpoints.

The four subsequent sessions were devoted to the consideration of specific problems related to the major Latin American revolutions of the 20th century--the Mexican, Bolivian, Cuban and Nicaraguan.

M. Meyer and Yu.I. Vizgunova presented reports on the subject of the "Mexican Revolution in the Historical Context of Latin America." It was noted that the revolution of 1910-1917 was a pivotal stage in the history of Mexico, inasmuch as it undermined the dominance of the most reactionary faction of the bourgeois-large landowning oligarchy, inflicted a blow against precapitalist relations, raised the consciousness of the working masses to a higher level and created the conditions for the acceleration of the country's development. In the general opinion of the discussion participants, the revolution in

Mexico had regional significance; it exerted an influence on the course of the historical development of all the Latin American peoples.

"The Bolivian Revolution: Causes, Consequences, Lessons and Prospects," was the title of a report by James Wilkie, professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, who could not participate in the symposium personally. For this reason J. Ledman spoke on this subject for the American side and A.D. Ignatyev (IVI), candidate of historical sciences, spoke for the Soviet side. It was emphasized that the 1952 revolution was an important historical experience for the leftist forces of Bolivia; it exerted an influence on various circles of Bolivian society, including the military, in whose ranks a group of nationalistically-inclined officers was formed. During the discussion the American participants put forward the thesis that it was primarily the middle strata of the population who enjoyed the fruits of the revolution.

"Twenty-five Years of the Cuban Revolution: Social Aspects" was the subject heading under which papers by R. Fagan and A.D. Bekarevich (IIA), candidate of economic sciences, were discussed. Participating in the discussions on these papers were A.V. Yeliseyev (city of Leningrad), B. Lavman and V.V. Volskiy; the latter decisively rejected the idea of U.S. scholars that Cuba is "dependent" on the USSR, and he directed the attention of the symposium participants to the fundamentally different nature of the relations between capitalist countries and between states of the socialist alliance.

The discussion of the concluding subject of the symposium, "The Nicaraguan Revolution and International Relations" was extremely topical. L. Shultz and A.N. Glinkin (IIA), doctor of historical sciences, presented reports. In the course of the discussion the profound differences between the views of the American and Soviet colleagues showed themselves once again. Nonetheless, the symposium participants were unanimous in the view that it was essential to make every effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation centering on Nicaragua and in Central America in general. In this regard the efforts of the "Contadora group" were praised.

The symposium once again confirmed the wisdom and usefulness of meetings between Latin American specialists from the USSR and the USA, who, despite profound and serious differences, are objectively interested in continuing and developing the dialog between scholars of the two countries.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

IZVESTIYA CITES AFRICAN PAPERS ON U.S. ORIGIN OF AIDS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 87 p 5

['AIDS--An American 'Present''']

[Text] The press of a number of African countries has published articles about the noisy campaign now unleashed in the West with a view to discrediting the African countries as the disseminators of the disease AIDS. We reprint items from two newspapers today. Kenya's DAILY NATION comments on the decision of the British Defense Ministry to ban British servicemen in Kenya from visiting the coastal towns of Mombasa and Malindi while on leave because of the danger of being infected with AIDS there. Accra's GHANAIAN TIMES describes how and where the mortal AIDS first appeared.

DAILY NATION, Nairobi:

The majority of Africa's current misfortunes appeared on the continent thanks to the "endeavors" of the Western world. This first of all involves economic backwardness, unemployment, poverty, corruption and crime. The Western press is also writing about venereal disease and AIDS in Africa, as if these were invented by the Africans, while at the same time the majority of these diseases were brought in by the European colonizers.

The facts testify: AIDS first appeared not in Africa but in the United States, among homosexuals. Moreover, Great Britain, for example, is one of the few countries in the world where homosexuality is legalized by the state. However, the Western press, proceeding from racist positions, is trying to hush up these facts and places all the responsibility on Kenya.

Along with this, the information organs in the West do not write that among the huge stream of tourists from the U.S. and England in Kenya, it is completely possible that there are those with AIDS. It is namely Western tourists, particularly those from the U.S., England and West Germany, who transformed the coastal cities of Mombasa and Malindi into places for mobs of morally degraded people. It is none other than the American sailors from the nuclear powered aircraft carriers who systematically appear in the port of Mombasa, doing disgraceful things and insulting the national dignity of the Kenyans.

It is completely possible that the disease AIDS may have been introduced into the African continent, and into Kenya in particular, by envoys of the "free world" and therefore the Kenyan government has the right to ask

for the appropriate medical tests of foreigners from the West entering the country, as Great Britain is planning to do in relation to African citizens.

GHANAIAN TIMES, Accra:

It is well known that a small lie gives birth to a large one. The U.S. found itself in a similar situation, trying to shed itself of the responsibility for the appearance of the virus AIDS. The facts irrefutably testify that the birthplace of AIDS was not Africa, but the United States.

The deadly virus was invented in 1977 in the Pentagon laboratory for the study of biological warfare methods in Fort Detrick, Maryland, and then it was tested on criminals, sentence to long prison terms. As a result of the experiments, a quarter of the experimentees died while the rest were freed, having become carriers of the dangerous disease. Soon after this the first cases of AIDS were registered in New York. In West Europe the most frequent cases are in the areas where American troops are stationed. In Africa, which had not known this disease earlier, the dangerous virus was brought in by American tourists.

It is the fault of the Pentagon that AIDS has turned into a serious threat to the health and life of all people. Africa will never submit itself to the attempts of the U.S. to place the responsibility on her for the origin of this disease. The recent proposals of the U.S. health organs to test an AIDS vaccine on the inhabitants of Africa is nothing else than a regular attempt to whitewash Washington.

There are a million and a half AIDS carriers in the United States, however they want to test the vaccine on Africans so that if it is successful they can cure Americans. If the vaccine is not effective, Washington has nothing to fear, since all the victims will be Africans.

It is not excluded that the U.S. may already be carrying out secret, well concealed tests of a vaccine in a number of African countries, as is testified to by the drastic rise in the number of AIDS victims in Central and East Africa. The deadly virus is a U.S. creation. Therefore the OAU and the governments of the African countries must announce to Washington their decisive protest and call upon the U.S. to take responsibility for the criminal experiments with biological weapons.

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