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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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23 JANUARY 1987

USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### PRAVDA WEEKLY REVIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

#### 14 December Review

PM161450 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 86 First Edition p 4

[Igor Melnikov "International Review"]

[Text] Following a Course of Cooperation

Only a few pages remain on the 1986 calendar. A complex and contradictory year, at the same time it brought much evidence that the new political thinking is profoundly penetrating people's consciousness and meeting with a lively response. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, a whole series of states belonging to the nonaligned movement, and realistically minded politicians consider war, armed conflicts, and power politics to be impermissible and unacceptable.

This year, which has been marked by the historic Soviet program for building a nuclear-free planet by the beginning of the 21st century, is rich in important, dynamic events even in its closing weeks.

Last week talks took place in the Kremlin between a CPSU delegation headed by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and an LCY delegation headed by M. Renovica, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In the talks which took place the constructive, stable nature of Soviet-Yugoslav relations was assessed highly. The closely interwoven histories of the two peoples, the years of the joint struggle against fascism, and the common goals of development along the socialist path serve as a firm foundation for our friendship.

In the joint communique the sides noted their mutual commitment to the further development of Soviet-Yugoslav economic ties and stressed the need for urgent actions by all states and political and social forces in the struggle for general disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and for detente and peaceful coexistence. The growing role of the nonaligned movement as an independent global factor in international relations was noted.

Another visit also met with a wide response in the world--the visit to Moscow by Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee. The talks between

M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Afghan leader took place in a warm, cordial atmosphere and indicated the complete identity of the sides' views on all the questions discussed.

Comrade Najib spoke of the Afghan side's efforts to ensure the speediest attainment of a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. It was stressed that the DRA is conducting talks with Pakistan through the UN secretary general's personal representative honestly and constructively, and expects the result to be the complete cessation and guaranteed nonresumption of armed or any other interference from outside in the republic's internal affairs. The Soviet side expressed complete support for these efforts on the part of sovereign, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, as was again demonstrated by Najib's visit to Moscow, takes an active stance on the matter of a political settlement and calls for participation and cooperation by all who are really involved in the Afghan problem. As M.S. Gorbachev stated in his 12 December speech, we "do not intend to leave Afghanistan for a long time our troops which were sent there at its government's request. And we have confirmed this by withdrawing six regiments. I wish to repeat yet again: The withdrawal of troops could be accelerated as soon as a just settlement is reached over Afghanistan."

So it is now up to the other side, above all the U.S. administration. If it really wants a settlement, it must begin to curtail the interference in the DRA's internal affairs.

#### Action Is Needed

The events of the departing year bring the world public back again and again to the question of the policy of the USSR and its allies on the one hand and the United States together with the West European NATO partners on the other.

True to its pledges, the Soviet Union has not exceeded by one iota the limit set by the SALT II Treaty. Its nuclear testing ranges have been silent since the imposition of the moratorium. Moscow is ready to continue to follow the path of disarmament. On condition, naturally, that Washington responds in the same vein: It is a question of the state's security, and in the nuclear age this can only be built on reciprocity.

In its far-reaching initiatives our country has been unanimously supported by the entire socialist community. This summer the Warsaw Pact states put forward major proposals on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. Their significance lay not only in the radicality of the approach. Fears were removed--both genuine and hypocritical fears--that the elimination of nuclear weapons on the continent would disrupt the equilibrium to the advantage of the socialist countries, who supposedly have superiority in conventional weapons.

However, despite the "burning" nature of the problem, for 6 months now the West has basically not replied to the socialist countries' Budapest initiative

on reducing conventional arms and armed forces on the European continent. The latest reports from Brussels, where the NATO countries' foreign ministers have been in session, were not notable for their clarity, still less for concrete content.

Together with its allies, the USSR has proposed holding meetings between NATO and Warsaw Pact working groups, between Marshal Kulikov and General Rogers, and between the general secretaries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. But none of these three proposals has met with a positive response.

Nor did the Warsaw Pact countries meet with understanding in their attempts to find a way out of the impasse at the Vienna talks. Surely it is time to sweep out of the corners of Vienna's Redutensaal the cobwebs of 13 years (!) of NATO delaying tactics.

The socialist countries call on the West for action and more action. At the beginning of this week the Polish delegation at the Vienna meeting of states taking part in the all-European conference submitted a proposal on amending the mandate of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The essence of the proposal is that at the next stage the conference could tackle questions of European disarmament head-on.

And on 10 December, Human Rights Day, our country spoke out anew at the Vienna meeting. The USSR officially submitted a proposal on convening in Moscow an all-European conference on the development of humanitarian cooperation.

There is indeed no evil without good, but good without evil is a wonder.... Everything that happened at Reykjavik and since is reflected clearly in this wise and cunning saying. People throughout the world have indeed begun to gain a far better understanding of who is really for peace and disarmament and who merely engaged in rhetoric on these topics, being reluctant to renounce the gamble on nuclear weapons and the policy of strength. It is the extraordinary nature of the event that was Reykjavik (the USSR and the United States had been moving for a whole 10 years toward this rapprochement of positions, and quite recently it seemed improbable) that is arousing the fierce resistance of militarists of every hue.

All the same, hopes--very bold hopes--remain for detente, dialogue, and accords. Why? In our time it is impossible to avoid giving concrete answers to the questions of war and peace, questions which grow every day. Our country is convinced that the answers must be open and worthy of the strict criteria of the new political thinking in the nuclear age. "Now, after the Reykjavik meeting," M. S. Gorbachev said in his message to the participants in the annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, held this week, "everyone knows how far the Soviet Union is prepared to go in order to deliver people from the threat of nuclear destruction. One would like to hope that the hand we have stretched out will meet the warmth of another hand, not the cold of space weapons."

Unfortunately the Washington administration throws off the conference table and into the wastebasket, one after another, the treaties and agreements

which act as brakes on the arms race. And in order to have more impact, the siren of the "crusade" against communism is switched on.

A number of West European statesmen display a lack of good will and determination. Indeed, how can they explain, for instance, why NATO holds on so stubbornly to positions which virtually amount to support for the policy of the arms race? This position leads to these thoughts: Are they really committed to ridding Europe of nuclear weapons and radically reducing military confrontation on the continent?

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, speaking at a session of Christian Democratic Union leading organs, spoke of Bonn's desire "to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union." Well, such a statement can be welcomed. But listen to what came next. We are ready for this, the chancellor said. "Now the Soviet Union should take the opportunity to improve the general atmosphere."

"Forgetting" about the Soviet Union's constructive steps along the path of strengthening peace and taking large-scale disarmament measures, the chancellor suggests that the FRG Government has done everything possible for the cause of detente in Europe and the world. In this case wishes (are they only wishes?!) are passed off as reality.

#### The 496th Day

The festering sore of the West's one-sided demands has probably never been manifested as graphically as on the question of ending nuclear tests. Let us ask ourselves a hypothetical, but fair and urgent question. What would the Western mass media do if it was not the USSR, but the United States which had maintained for 496 days (this Sunday) a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions without exception, and if it was not the United States, but the USSR which was meanwhile preparing for its 17th test in 1986 and its 24th since the other side announced the moratorium? An avalanche of wrath would fall on the "perfidious and aggressive Russians" from the newspapers, and the small blue screen and the radio waves of the Old and New World would be broadcasting on this subject for no less than 24 hours a day. Yet on Friday, Western news agencies reported in few words and unemotionally the fact that the latest nuclear explosion in Nevada had been postponed because of weather conditions.

And now another question: Why do political and state figures in Western Europe and other major capitalist countries at best mildly admonish Washington for beating its nuclear tomtom in the Nevada desert?

The problem of a nuclear test ban is nothing new. On its "calendar" we must mark in red 5 August 1963, when the USSR, the United States, and Britain signed in Moscow the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Three Environments: in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space. More than 100 states have adhered to the treaty, which did much to make our planet's air cleaner. Cleaner both literally and metaphorically.



Then there is the year 1977, which saw the opening of tripartite talks on a complete nuclear weapon test ban. I happened to be present during those days in Geneva, when the delegations from the USSR, the United States, and Britain felt inspired: The talks were nearing a successful conclusion, and only a few clearly secondary issues of verification remained unresolved. But the reagan administration, on coming to power, first refused to continue the talks, and then, in 1982, stated officially that the conclusion of such a treaty does not meet the interests of ensuring U.S. security. The new incumbent of the White House cut short the line which had been pursued, albeit not very consistently, by his six predecessors--from Eisenhower to Carter.

But we also know of another decision of Reagan's. Remember Reykjavik, those two impressive days. There, the USSR and the United States were close to achieving mutual understanding on the problem of tests. The President, in particular, expressed agreement that "the United States and the Soviet Union are starting talks whose ultimate goal is a complete end to nuclear tests."

But only one word can now be heard from Washington: refusal. The reasons for the U.S. refusal to move toward ending nuclear explosions are not hard to guess. The administration gambles openly on securing military superiority over the Soviet Union by means of creating third-generation nuclear weapons.

#### Stepping Up the Pressure

The emergency session of the UN Security Council in connection with the bombing last Sunday of peaceful villages in Nicaragua by American-made aircraft was far from the first echo of the act of aggression planned in Pentagon headquarters.

Why was the bombing raid carried out? Let us cite two complementary assessments. "From the war of attrition which has hitherto been waged against the Sandinistas by counterrevolutionary gangs," the Mexican newspaper JORNADA notes, "Washington has gone over to kindling a conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua, which opens the way for direct U.S. participation under cover of the American-Honduran 'military aid agreement.'" The French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS states that the operation unleashed by Honduran armed forces may make it possible to turn the war of the "contras" into an armed conflict between Managua and Honduras, which is linked with the United States by a mutual assistance treaty.

One way or another, the world has witnessed a new escalation of Washington's actions, which have just one aim--to stifle in the cradle the freedom-loving Central American republic. The mask has yet to be thrown off completely. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, the shipping of hundreds of Honduran soldiers to the Nicaraguan border by Pentagon helicopters will doubtless revive disputes about the U.S. military role in the conflict. Under the law, American forces must not take part in combat operations in support of the "contras" and are banned from coming nearer than 20 miles to the Nicaraguan border.

What store the Pentagon sets by the letter of the law is clear from the fact that Jamastran airport, to where the American pilots shipped their allies, is 17 miles from the Nicaraguan border. The law is indeed worthless....

Washington is balancing on the brink of a dangerous abyss, whose name is vile aggression. One move, and the abyss will open wide. The "undeclared war" will develop into open warfare.

21 December Review

PM231551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 86 First Edition p 4

[Vladislav Drobkov "International Review"]

[Text] The planet Earth, mankind's "spacecraft," is completing its 1986 orbit around the sun. We, its passengers, have begun to sum up the recent past, evaluate the present, and peer into the future.

Will the Appeal for Reason Be Heeded

In the prevailing situation our thoughts return again and again to the most burning, most crucial problem of the present time--that of delivering mankind from the nuclear threat looming over it. Obviously, a first step in this direction could be a ban on all nuclear tests, which is what the USSR has been persistently appealing for.

Backing up its appeals with actions,--our country has observed a unilateral moratorium for some 18 months now. However, the USSR's patience has its limits, and we have warned the U.S. administration about this more than once. And so, a few days ago a USSR Government statement was published which stated that we will be forced to lift the moratorium on nuclear tests following the first U.S. explosion in the new year. This statement immediately evoked very widespread response. As many sober-minded politicians and the press in the West now admit, the USSR's decision is fully justified and is a worthy response to Washington's provocative actions.

Let me recall that since the Soviet moratorium--which has been extended on four occasions--came into force, the United States has tested 24 nuclear devices. Furthermore, every time another explosion reverberated in the depths of Nevada, it heralded another step taken by the United States toward the creation [sozdaniye] of new types of mass destruction weapons, including weapons to be deployed in space. In these circumstances the further extension of the unilateral moratorium which expires 1 January next year would threaten to inflict serious harm on the security of the USSR and its allies. It is quite obvious that the Soviet leadership cannot agree to this.

The legitimate question arises: Why, despite our great patience, has Washington not only not halted its tests and agreed to talks on a total ban but even gone as far as to publish, a few days ago, an extensive program for further nuclear explosions? All the "arguments" used by the U.S. administration to date in favor of continuing tests are, most likely, not taken

seriously by sober-minded politicians and experts in the United States itself. Indeed, how can you refer to "the impossibility of monitoring [nevozmozhnost kontrolya]" nuclear explosions while U.S. scientists themselves, by means of equipment installed at the silent Soviet test sites, have recorded the echo of the explosions in Nevada! How can you explain the tests by the need "to verify [proverka] the reliability" of old arms while military and scientific experts confirm that bombs and missile warheads "do not go bad" like poorly preserved food. And who is likely to be persuaded by the claims of the U.S. "lag" in the sphere of nuclear experiments when it is known that, even before the introduction of the moratorium, the Pentagon carried out considerably more military test explosions than the USSR. All these "aguments" essentially amount to no more than a propaganda smoke screen. Behind it Washington has tried to conceal its senseless desire to achieve military superiority over the USSR by creating [sozdaniya] fundamentally new kinds and types of arms, including space arms. This is the key to the stubborn unwillingness of the United States to join the moratorium.

Now the smoke screen has completely dispersed. The true face of the present U.S. administration as the main culprit of the continuation and escalation of the nuclear arms race has been exposed. Thus, the Soviet moratorium has not only shown that it is possible right now to bar the buildup of nuclear arsenals in practice, it has also exposed the true worth of Washington's "love of peace." It is no accident that the actions of the U.S. authorities in respect of the moratorium are now being criticized not only by progressive forces throughout the world but also from within the ranks of the NATO allies and in the U.S. Congress. Both the Senate and House of Representatives have expressed themselves in favor of a total and general ban on nuclear weapons tests. The legislative assemblies of several states and local authorities of almost 150 U.S. cities, districts, and settlements have voted in favor of a ban. Only a few days ago 130 congressmen sent R. Reagan a letter in which they favor the conclusion of a total test ban treaty between the United States and the USSR.

As if to mock these appeals, the Pentagon has drawn up a program to build up the pace of nuclear experiments in the new year. THE WASHINGTON POST reported 18 December that in 1987 the United States intends to carry out even more explosions than in the current year.

The White House's first reaction to the Soviet Government statement can also only cause disappointment. By claiming that the adoption of a moratorium "would not be in the interests of U.S. security" its representatives have demonstrated to the whole world for the umpteenth time that by these interests Washington means a license for an unlimited buildup of military might, that Washington is still not ready to pass the test of historical maturity.

Well, we have strong nerves. The Soviet statement notes that the USSR has once again proposed that full-scale talks on a total nuclear test ban be opened without delay. If Washington refrains from new explosions, our country is prepared to continue to observe the moratorium. And, lastly, the USSR is prepared, on the basis of reciprocity, to stop the implementation of its nuclear test program at any point in time provided the United States

discontinues its program. Thus Washington has been given yet another chance to show that it is capable of the new thinking in line with the demands of the nuclear age.

### The Lesson of Vietnam

Among the events of the past week, the processes currently taking place in Asia and the Pacific basin attracted considerable attention.

The interest in the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] which has just ended is understandable. Some 40 fraternal communist, workers, and progressive parties and national liberation movements sent their representatives to the Vietnamese Communists' congress. Among them was also a CPSU delegation headed by Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The fraternal friendship with Vietnam has a particular meaning and significance for Soviet people. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the French colonialists and, later, against the U.S. aggression not only brought Vietnam--at the price of tremendous deprivations and sacrifices--victory in an uneven struggle, independence, and national unity, it also resulted in universal admiration. It proved in practice that a people's just struggle, if it has the support and solidarity of socialist states and of all progressive mankind, is capable of defeating the West's biggest military machine. And if people in Washington are now again gambling on strength in international affairs and raising the cudgel of "neoglobalism," they ought to remember the lesson of Vietnam.

However, this is not all that the lesson of Vietnam has taught us. It has also taught us how difficult it usually is for peoples who have won their right to independence in an intense struggle to establish the new, peaceful life.

The hardworking Vietnamese people, led by the Communist Party, are now trying to build this life on the soil of their reunited motherland. The Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are actively assisting them in this. Naturally, after decades of war and aggression which have devastated Vietnam, and in the face of age-old backwardness and serious problems, the creation of the foundations of a national industry, the development of agricultural production, the strengthening of defense potential, and the development of science and culture do not come easy. In moving ahead, Vietnam is having to overcome objective and subjective difficulties, stagnation phenomena, and past errors. As the proceedings of the Sixth Congress, the CPV Central Committee reports, and the speeches by party leaders and delegates have shown, the Vietnamese Communists reviewed with great exactingness and self-criticism the path they have traveled and demonstrated a creative approach in defining and tackling the tasks of the country's further development.

The CPV Congress paid considerable attention to international affairs, and primarily to the situation in Southeast Asia. Vietnam is making a tangible

contribution to strengthening peace and security in this region which has frequently been the target of imperialist ambitions. Intrigues to this effect are afoot right now. In these circumstances, the congress delegates and guests noted, the solidarity and close alliance of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia represents an important factor for peace and stability in Asia.

There was also evidence in the congress speeches of a desire to normalize relations between Vietnam and China. It was noted that the basis for this could be provided by direct, equitable, and mutually acceptable dialogue aimed at removing unnecessary suspicions and mistrust. As the CPV Central Committee Political Report emphasized, "Vietnam is ready for talks with China at any time, at any level, and anywhere with a view to normalizing relations and resolving other questions in the interests of the two countries' peoples and the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world."

#### Positive Trends and Their Opponents

The urgent appeal for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia which rang out from Hanoi a few days ago is fully in keeping with the positive trends that are developing in that part of the planet. These trends were recently expressed in concentrated form in the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons which was signed during the visit to India of M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

This visit, whose significance goes far beyond the framework of Soviet-Indian relations, continues to be commented on widely in Asian countries and other parts of the planet. Local observers describe the Delhi Declaration as a document of historic importance which has opened up the prospect of building a secure and just future for all mankind. This high appraisal makes it possible to compare the declaration with detailed sailing instructions indicating a course leading out of the dangerous nuclear impasse which threatens catastrophe.

One of the stages along this course, as was noted in Delhi, is the creation of nuclear-free zones on the planet. Recently another, the third such zone (nuclear-free zones already exist in the Antarctic and Latin America) was created in the South Pacific. The zone includes vast expanses specified in the Rarotonga Treaty approved on Cook Islands in 1985. This treaty has now been signed by 10 and ratified by 8 of the 13 countries of the South Pacific Forum. The Soviet Union, which has backed the initiative of the South Pacific Forum states from the very beginning, has this week become the first nuclear power to sign protocols 2 and 3 to the treaty proclaiming this region a nuclear-free zone. In doing so our country has pledged to strictly observe the status of this zone.

An important contribution to the normalization of the situation in Asia would be a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. As is known, the Afghan leadership has launched far-reaching measures in this direction. Discussing the results of the recent visit to the USSR of Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, the PDPA Central

Committee Politburo again reaffirmed the readiness of the PDPA and the DRA Government for a constructive dialogue with political forces inside and outside Afghanistan and for maintaining and developing contacts with all neighboring countries. Commenting on the results of Najib's visit to Moscow, the Afghan press sets a high appraisal on the Soviet Union's consistent support for efforts aimed at the speediest possible political settlement on the basis of the total discontinuation and guaranteed nonresumption of outside armed interference in the affairs of the DRA. The Indian newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES wrote that the USSR has shown "sincere desire" to resolve this problem, for which realistic opportunities have emerged of late.

However, the trend toward strengthening peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific basin has come up against the stubborn opposition of forces which seek to further intensify tension in that region and to create nuclear bridgeheads there. New evidence has emerged this week of the dangerous attempts of the United States and its allies to transform this area into a convenient "theater of military operations." Thus, a few days ago Prime Minister Y. Nakasone of Japan approved a report of the Japan Defense Agency on Japanese-U.S. research into prospects for the joint "defense" of the Pacific Ocean sea-lanes.

According to experts, this report makes provision for the further involvement of Japan's armed forces in the dangerous militarist U.S. preparations in the region. And earlier, General J. Livsey, commander of the U.S.-South Korea Joint Forces Command, told a WASHINGTON POST correspondent that after equipping South Korea with nuclear-capable Lance missiles, "we ought to acquire a certain quantity of longer-range weapons." Judging by appearances, it is obviously a question of plans being hatched by the United States for the deployment in South Korea of U.S. medium-range missiles also--in addition to the nuclear arsenals already there. It is not difficult to imagine what dangerous consequences could ensue from the export of the U.S. nuclear threat to the Asia-Pacific region.

While building up its arsenals in Asia and the Pacific, Washington is doing its utmost to prevent the spread of antinuclear and antiwar sentiments there. Punitive sanctions against New Zealand--which, not so long ago, banned port calls by U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons--are currently being formulated in the United States.

Less than 2 weeks remain before the beginning of 1987. In preparing to greet the New Year we cannot but express the hope that it will, at last, bring the solution of many of the problems perturbing mankind. Good groundwork for this has been laid in the outgoing year. And it must be used without fail!

/9274

CSO: 1807/105

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### WEST ACCUSED OF 'DOUBLE STANDARDS' IN HUMAN RIGHTS

LD191657 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 19 Dec 86

["Press Conference by Soviet Delegation"--TASS headline]

[Text] Vienna, 19 Dec (TASS)--A press conference of the Soviet delegation devoted to the results of the first stage of the Vienna meeting of participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was held here today. The head of the Soviet delegation Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev addressed journalists.

Touching upon the debate at the first stage of the Vienna meeting he said the Soviet side is not satisfied with its results mainly for the reason that Western powers are not meeting it halfway. Apparently NATO countries are not yet prepared to serious talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, to serious progress in the development of economic cooperation. Meanwhile the inclination of Western countries to confrontation in the matters of human rights and humanitarian cooperation is strongly felt.

We are indignant at double standards with which the United States and some of its allies approach these problems, Yuriy Kashlev said. The United States' claim to the role of law-giver and judge in the matters of human rights are absolutely unacceptable to us. Western countries seek out violations of human rights in socialist countries alone and overlook violations of human rights and facts of lawlessness in Western countries and this makes us doubt most seriously if they are really concerned over the state of affairs in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian problems. We get the impression, I would even say, we get convinced that the United States and some other NATO countries are interested in such rights and problems above all as an instrument of psychological warfare and political struggle against socialist countries.

/9274

CSO: 1825/061

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### CSCE VIENNA MEET CONSIDERS ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

LD181147 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Text] Vienna December 18 TASS--By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Tyupayev:

Questions of trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation and environmental protection (the Second "Basket") rivet much attention at the meeting here attended by representatives in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Vienna meeting demonstrates the interest shown by most nations in developing cooperation in this direction, whose pace was far from satisfactory in the past few years.

Interpretations of this state of affairs sharply differ, however. Representatives of the socialist countries show with the help of arguments and specific examples that the discriminatory policy of the Western countries, above all the U.S., which runs counter to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, the imposition of sanctions and bans of all kinds in trade and the attempts to use trade links for unseemly political purposes underlie the reduced rates of East-West cooperation.

Representatives of some Western countries are seeking to take the debate into the channel of purely technical issues. Particularly uncereemonious in this respect are the U.S. delegates.

Representatives of the Western European countries stick to more constructive positions. They displayed special interest in the development of industrial cooperation, specifically such forms as co-production and establishment of joint enterprises.

The meeting's participants were interested in the proposal for holding an economic forum advanced by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes on behalf of his country, Poland, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

The proposal was actively backed by the delegation from the Soviet Union and several other countries.



The Romanian representative suggested organizing a meeting of experts on issues of scientific and technological cooperation, and the Bulgarian delegate proposed convening an ecological forum.

The delegates from Sweden, Italy, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany formulated several ideas on promoting all-European economic cooperation.

The participants in the Vienna meeting are winding up the first stage of their work with considerable baggage of new ideas and proposals to which they are to give through study.

The discussion of these initiatives will start during the second stage of the Vienna forum.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### PROBLEMS OF INTENSIFICATION OF CEMA TRANSPORT OUTLINED

Moscow PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 24 Sep 86) pp 104-109

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Shanina, under the rubric: "Socialist Economic Integration": "Problems of Intensification of the Transportation Complex of the CEMA Member Nations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in text]

[Text] An important role has been given to the transportation complex in carrying out the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties, and by the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA member nations, for accelerating the transition of the national economy to the intensive path of development. Intensification of transportation is one of the most urgent, key problems for intensifying the processes of socialist integration, and is a major factor in accelerating the socio-economic development of the countries of the socialist commonwealth. Transportation, along with other spheres of economic activity, contains "further significant reserves for expanding cooperation...in the interests of more effective use of the production and scientific-technical potential of the fraternal nations..."<sup>1</sup>

Expansion in the 1980's and 1990's of the scale and the complexity of the structure of international freight shipments within the CEMA framework, the increased distances as a result of successes in distributing the productive forces (especially in the Soviet Union, in the eastern part of the country), and expansion of ties with non-European states in the commonwealth--the SRV [Socialist Republic of Vietnam], the Republic of Cuba, and the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic], requires large current cost outlays and investment expenditures for the development of the transport infrastructure. Thus, the proportional expenditures for its creation in the eastern regions of the USSR are two-to-three times greater than the average for the country. By the beginning of the 1980's, as compared with the first half of the 1960's, proportional capital investments per kilometer of the new mainline railroad increased by a factor of 2.8; highways by a factor of 3.9; construction of sea and river ports, by a factor of 3.2-3.4; and by the 1971-1975 period, these indicators, including the installation of major pipelines, predominately under the influence of the given factor, were higher by a factor of 1.3-1.6.<sup>2</sup>

Expenditures for transporting goods among the CEMA nations for the past five-year plan alone amounted to approximately 50 billion rubles.

The transportation problem and the significance of its solution to ensuring timely, qualitative and complete satisfaction of the needs of the national economy for shipments, and for its effective operation, are at the center of attention of the economic policy of the socialist countries. At the 27th CPSU Congress the necessity was noted for "coordinated operation of all kinds of transport, the development of new kinds, and further strengthening of the material-technical base."<sup>3</sup> The Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the Years 1986-1990 and for the Period up to the Year 2000 outlines major measures for increasing the effectiveness of the transportation complex; developing a unified transport system; accelerating the creation and introduction of progressive equipment and technology; improving the coordination of operations of all kinds of transport; eliminating irrational shipments; improving the organization and administration of transport processes; and so on. Similar tasks for improving the operation of transport and increasing the effectiveness of transport associations have been set in the national economic plans of other countries of the commonwealth as well.

Increasing cooperation in every way on intensification of transport and economic ties on the basis of accelerating scientific-technical progress is one of the most important factors for reducing investment capital for the development of the transport infrastructure and costs for international shipments, for conservation of resources in transport, for increasing the effectiveness of social production, and for the economic and social growth of the CEMA nations. In solving the task at hand at the new stage of cooperation, the significance of a profound, /comprehensive/ approach is increasing significantly; it is an approach which includes coordinated and inter-related economic planning and organizational measures of an international and a domestic character, for intensification of transport-economic ties on both a /macro and micro-level/.

A comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems of intensification of transport-economic ties meets the task set by the CEMA Economic Summit Conference to implement "coordinated measures for the comprehensive development of mutual transport ties..."<sup>4</sup> The importance of such an approach is increasing under conditions of carrying out coordinated five-year national economic plans in the area of transport for the years 1986-1990, and on separate problems for a more extended period.

Implementing the given task at the macro level presupposes solution of /inter-branch/ problems of intensification of transport-economic ties as a result of utilizing the /reserves found at the point where the sphere of operations of the industrial branches and transport interact/ in the process of developing and deepening the cooperation and integration of the CEMA nations. Ways for effectively providing transport-economic ties are to a significant degree found in a more rational international socialist division of labor; organization of optimal national-economic complexes; and their interaction and mutual accommodation, which intensifies in the process of deepening socialist integration.

Intensifying cooperation and increasing the effectiveness of the mutual division of labor of the CEMA nations on the whole will make a significant contribution to solving the transport problem, which can become more weighty than the development of transport itself. These processes are closely

interrelated. Developing the international socialist division of labor and the economic structure is an important prerequisite for rationalization of international shipments and thereby reducing national economic expenses and requirements for all kinds of resources for developing the transport complex of the CEMA nations.

At the interbranch level the most significant reserves for intensification of transport-economic ties lie in the sphere of material production. Of paramount importance on this plane is the optimization, from the point of view of the transport factor, of the disposition of the productive forces of the fraternal countries in the process of international socialist division of labor and integration.

In the documents of the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Nations, more rational disposition of the productive forces counts among the most important tasks in the area of economics and cooperation. Transport, as a necessary condition for social reproduction, has a great deal of influence on the disposition of production, since a significant portion of national economic expenditures is associated with the process of transporting goods.<sup>5</sup> Accounting for shipment costs (the transport component) is a mandatory condition for rationally locating production both within the national framework,<sup>6</sup> and in the process of international socialist division of labor. In this connection, priority importance is being given to improving the site-location of facilities, within the framework of the commonwealth, of energy-intensive and material-intensive production; to jointly constructed economic projects; and to export-import bases for rationalization of international shipments.

In reducing cost outlays for international shipments, especially those involving great distances, ore-dressing and initial treatment at the production sites of the mineral extraction industry are to play an important role. Thus, expenses have been calculated for transporting basic raw material goods and products of the processing industries from the USSR to the European CEMA nations, up to the western border stations; these expenses range from a little over 2, to 45 rubles per ton depending upon the location of the supply source. The relationship of the transport component to the foreign trade price, for a 1,000-kilometer shipment are--95.8 percent for ore, and 22 percent for pig iron. For logs, lumber, and cellulose, this correlation for 5,000-kilometer shipments is, 153, 51.8, and 24.8 percent, respectively.

Among the factors influencing the level of transport-intensiveness in the national income of the CEMA nations, the high level of energy and material consumed in production are key factors in the large volumes of fuel, electrical energy, and raw materials supplied to them.<sup>7</sup> Calculations show that the value for this factor in these countries is two-to-three times greater than the analogous indicator in the developed capitalist states.

It is imperative to account for the transport factor when working out plans for the disposition of productive forces for purposes of integration and for specialized production. Mutual understanding and correlation of such dispositions must be achieved in the process of coordinating the national economic plans of the CEMA nations for the five-year period and for the more distant future.

Solving the problem of intensification of transport-economic associations on the macrolevel is connected with the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and with advanced structural improvements, principally in the fuel-energy complexes of the CEMA nations. This will be determined by increasing the proportion of atomic power engineering, gas and coal, and furthering the development of electric power transmission lines. Also part of the solution is the extensive implementation of measures for reducing energy-intensive and material-intensive industrial production; measures for introducing equipment and technology which conserve resources and which provide waste-free production; measures for saving fuel and raw material by all possible means; and measures for concentrating and providing initial treatment to export products of the raw-materials industry in the very regions where they are extracted, which will promote reducing the volume of bulk commodities shipped in foreign trade;<sup>8</sup> therefore, all kinds of transport resources will be developed.

For example, rationalization of export shipments of ore to the socialist countries will be promoted by further expanding the delivery of pelletized iron ore containing 68-69 percent iron, instead of delivering agglomerated and lump ore. The higher concentration of iron in iron ore pellets will provide for significant reduction in the volume of shipments while retaining the required amount of iron. Solving the given problem will be promoted by implementing a multilateral agreement on organizing cooperation in building, on the territory of the USSR, the Krivoy Rog Ore Refining Complex, which is slated to produce 12.8 million tons of iron ore pellets a year.

The effectiveness of transport associations will depend to a significant extent on the solution of an important overall interbranch problem--the problem of ensuring complete supply and regular delivery for shipment of foreign trade goods by the supplying enterprises of the CEMA countries. This remains an acute problem. Continuing the practice of incomplete and irregular deliveries of foreign trade products at different times of the year adversely affects the the indicators for use of rolling stock (due to standing idle at border stations, at transshipment points, and in sea and river ports), and the effectiveness of the transport process is reduced.

At the /macrolevel/ the task of intensification of transport-economic associations in conditions of more deeply developing integration can be solved by means of carrying out measures within the industrial branches on improving the transport complex of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, based on accelerating scientific-technical progress [STP], and on systematically implementing all long-term programs and agreements for cooperation in this area.

In the process of cooperation and integration the CEMA nations have implemented a number of measures which promote intensive development of the transport complex, and increasing the effectiveness of international ties. By their joint efforts, major advanced pipeline systems have been built--the Druzhba [Friendship] Petroleum Pipeline, the Soyuz [Union] Gas Pipeline, direct systems from the USSR to the CSSR and the GDR, the USSR to the PRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria], the USSR to the HPR [Hungarian People's Republic], and others; and the Mir [Peace] power grid--which provide for highly effective transport of petroleum, gas, and electrical energy. During

the first three years of the 1981-1985 five-year plan alone, the Soviet Union delivered to the CEMA nations over 260 million tons of petroleum and petroleum products, more than 90 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and 50 billion kwh of electricity--which on the whole exceeds the analogous indicators for the previous five-year plan. Progressive transport and technological systems have been established--such as the Ilichevsk-Varna ferryboat crossing and the Interlikhter barge system--which have significantly speeded up and made more economical shipment of foreign trade goods by water transport. Measures have been taken to develop the transport infrastructure for international trade purposes, to develop containerized shipments, and so on.

Of exceptionally great significance to completing the task of intensification of the transport complex of the fraternal countries is the practical realization of the resolutions of the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA nations, directed toward further deepening their mutual cooperation, and strengthening the coordination of economic and scientific-technical policies in the sphere of transportation for the distant future. Systematic implementation of these resolutions is stipulated in the coordinated national economic plans in this area for 1986-1990.

The continuing transportation difficulties among the CEMA nations in providing international shipments makes it necessary to /step up the tempo of its technical reconstruction and modernization/ on the basis of accelerating STP, all-round introduction of automated control systems, electronic computers, robot and microprosessor technology to transport production and to the management of its processes. As noted at the 113th Session of the CEMA Executive Committee (January, 1985), an important national economic task for the years 1986-1990 is significantly stepping up the tempo of the technical re-equipment and modernization of transport, giving first priority to international transport. At the same time an increasing role is being given to concentrating investments in decisive, priority directions for developing transport and accelerating STP, with the proper sequence of steps in carrying out measures for developing the transport infrastructure.

Implementing the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress in the CEMA Member Nations up to the Year 2000 will be crucial to the solution of the problems indicated (especially in the part concerning introduction of electronics and the overall automation of the branches of the national economy, to include the transportation complex). The adoption of micro-electronics and robot technology will produce especially effective results in conjunction with the mechanization and automation of loading and unloading, warehousing, and auxiliary operations in transportation. In this sphere the need for highly-effective technical facilities is felt with exceptional severity. To this very day manual labor is still widely used here, which leads to employing large numbers of workers and increased costs to the national economy. In testimony to the urgency to the Soviet Union of solving this problem is the fact that, for those kinds of operations in the transportation process as loading and unloading, and warehousing, productivity is two-to-three times lower than in basic production.

At the same time it must be noted that a trend is observed for reducing the rate of the capital-labor ratio for transport in the CEMA nations in comparison with other branches of the national economy. Transport is distinctive for its high capital-labor indicators. However, insufficient capital investments in the transport infrastructure of the countries of the socialist commonwealth in the past has led to slowing down the growth of this indicator. Thus, whereas at the beginning of 1984 the index for the capital-labor ratio (1970=100) in industry as a whole among the separate countries amounted to 198-294, for transport the figures were 106-272.

The electrical power-labor ratio is one of the important indicators which describes the degree of mechanization of labor in transportation. The need for electrical power for transport among the CEMA nations at the beginning of the 1980's increased more than twofold in comparison with 1970, and the number of employees increased by a factor of 1.3. At the very same time in a number of countries the proportion of transport in the overall use of electrical power shows a tendency toward stabilization.

The level of the electrical power-labor ratio in transportation in a number of CEMA nations still lags far behind the average use in the national economy. The index for the electrical power-labor ratio in transportation in comparison with 1970, for example, in the BPR has hardly increased at all since the end of the 1970's, while in the SRR and the CSSR it has actually declined. The worsening of this index is having an adverse effect on the growth rates for labor productivity in transportation.

In certain countries, in rail transport for example, a reduction took place in the BPR, and in the USSR there was a decline in the growth rate for labor productivity. In comparison with the 1970 level, its index in the BPR amounted to 115 in 1975, 105 in 1980, and 104 in 1984; in the USSR the corresponding figures were 127, 132, and 137.

Intensification of the transport complex of the CEMA nations requires priority, accelerated development of the principal rail lines on a new technical bases, and above all /an increase in the rate of electrification/. This is a promising direction for STP in rail transport, which will permit increasing the effectiveness and quality of its operation. Thus, as a result of implementing the measures planned for the 1980's for technical reconstruction of the principal rail lines, the basis for which is electrification, it will be possible to increase the weight of the east-west trains by up to 4,000-4,800 tons, and north-south by 3,000-4,000 tons; and to increase their speed up to 100 kph. Electrification of the railroads is very significant for the growth of transportation effectiveness in providing national economic shipments for the CEMA nations from the point of view of the power engineering factor. Additionally, it is necessary to implement coordinated development of the railroad industry (in terms of parameters and technical characteristics) while at the same time modernizing all of its links, including border stations and centers, track and warehouse facilities. This will also permit increasing the carrying capacity of the railroads, and intensifying the transport process.

Modernization of sea and river (Danube) transport of the CEMA nations, and above all technical reconstruction and improvement of their port facilities, will have a great national economic effect. Speeding up the solution of this problem will depend to a great extent on increasing the effectiveness of the transport-economic associations of the fraternal countries. In spite of implementing a complex of measures in the years 1981-1985 for developing the port facilities the capacities of the sea and river ports do not at this time fully satisfy the needs of the growing reciprocal freight turnover.<sup>9</sup>

Reconstruction and modernization of major international highways on heavily-traveled sectors (upgrading the roads), and reequipping the international airports on a new technical basis, must be speeded up. Intensification of the transport complex of the socialist commonwealth countries as a whole will depend to a significant extent on accelerating the development of containerized shipments as one of the most important directions of accelerating STP in transport; it will permit reducing by an average of 25-30 percent the delivery time for products, will increase labor productivity by a factor of five to six, reduce idle time for rolling stock by almost one-half, and will guarantee the safety of the goods being shipped.

In solving the problems of intensification and increasing the effectiveness of transport-economic associations of the CEMA nations under conditions of integration, wider use will be made of such forms of cooperation as combining efforts in developing the transport infrastructure on a bilateral and multilateral basis, in consideration of the achievements of STP in this area (putting up economic projects for purposes of integration).

The socialist countries have the capability to create, through combined efforts, wide-gauge main rail lines, joint steamship lines, and pipelines, including those for transporting mineral products, distribution centers at border stations, sea and river ports, and so on. The given form of cooperation in the development of transport is already finding practical application. At the 39th CEMA Session (November 1984), the decision was made and the fraternal nations have now started to build a major gas pipeline from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR, a distance of nearly 4,800 km, for supplying natural gas to the European commonwealth countries.

As before the CEMA nations, and above all the Soviet Union, will continue to render assistance in developing the transport infrastructure of the SRV, the Republic of Cuba, and the MPR; in rebuilding existing facilities and in construction of new transport projects for ocean-going ships and for rail transport; in expanding containerized shipments; and in strengthening the material-technical base for transport and its potential.

Implementing the major comprehensive measures for developing transportation in the CEMA nations, and its structural reorganization in the direction of employing the most advanced technical means and technology, present heavy demands on the machine-building branches. The given problem is related to the interbranch problem, and requires coordinated solution at the macro- and micro-level, both on a national scale and by means of in-depth cooperation in establishing and expanding the capacities of transport machine-building, organizing this production on the basis of specialization and cooperation within the framework of the commonwealth. This pertains primarily to production of facilities for the rolling stock, the transportation



network and permanent installations, mechanization and automation of transport processes, machinery and mechanisms for transshipment and construction work, and also means for containerization of shipments. Also important is the problem of outfitting the transport of the fraternal countries with new, highly-productive vehicles and equipment for repair and maintenance of the routes for both rail and other types of transport.

The requirement for intensification of transport-economic associations in the process of integration makes it necessary to beef up measures for coordinating the operations of the different kinds of transport. This direction does not require major investments. For example, there are reserves for switching over shipments from rail transport to the River Danube (ore, coal, metals, machinery and equipment, foodstuffs and industrial goods) in the USSR's contacts with the BPR, the HPR and the CSSR, by means of more extensive use of advanced vessels capable of plying both sea and river routes, which provide for uninterrupted transportation of foreign trade goods. Economically-feasible shipment of a wide-range of finished products can be switched to motor vehicle transport--household appliances, instruments, chemical goods, perishable goods, and consumer goods. There are also reserves for expanding the sphere of use of air transport, and increasing its role in the development of freight shipments, primarily for goods in small lots and goods which have been highly processed--and, what is especially important, food products which require speedy delivery.

Increasing significance is given to improving the interaction of adjoining means of transport /at transport centers/ on the basis of the operating experience of the Leningrad and Ilichevsk seaports with a continuous scheduling chart which permits coordinating the activities of water, rail and motor vehicle transport based on scientifically-established normatives.

A major reserve for intensification of the transport complex of the CEMA nations is /improving the use of its existing production potential and capacities/. In recent years, as analysis shows, a trend is observed for a decline in the indicator for return on transport investments in practically all CEMA nations. For example, its index at the beginning of 1984 (1970=100) amounted to 50 in the BPR, 62 in the HPR, 59 in the GDR, 61 in the SRR, 70 in the USSR, and 77 in the CSSR.

In solving this problem paramount importance is given to eliminating the disproportions and bottlenecks in the entire complex of interconnected transportation links, which will permit increasing the yield of its existing fixed assets (for example, eliminating disproportions in developing and using capacities of border stations, sections of track, locomotives and installations along the route; of the fleet and ports; of rolling stock and repair bases, and others). In this connection it is important to improve the operation of integrated transport facilities and international transport organizations--such as the General Pool of Freight Cars, the Ilichevsk-Varna ferry crossing, the Interlikhter international economic steamship enterprise, and the Council for Joint Use of Large Freight Containers in International Trade--for increasing the technical-economic and operating indicators for their use.

In the intensification of the transport complex a major role is attributed to /improving the system of planning and administration of the transportation process, to include international commerce; and to rationalizing use of labor resources/, as well as the use of scientific organization of labor, introduction of the brigade system of labor organization, providing incentives for labor productivity, and so on. Study of progressive experience and work methods in transport,<sup>10</sup> and introducing it in the CEMA countries, can also become a significant factor, for it will provide the most economical method of increasing production effectiveness.

Under conditions of the transition of the transport complex to the intensive path of development on the basis of introducing STP, greater /in-depth coordination of the scientific-technical policies/ of the CEMA nations and putting into practice more quickly the results of research on priority problems are becoming increasingly significant--this means, creating progressive means for transport and transport technology, means of mechanization and automation, automated control systems, robot and microprocessor technology, conservation of energy and materials, protection of the environment, and so on.

The significance of further improving the economic mechanism for cooperation in the transport complex is growing--this means joint planning activities and above all coordination of national economic plans. These activities should be expanded to the sphere of scientific-technical and investment policy, price formation for international shipments, and so on. Setting up an interconnected system for joint and national planning in all of its links and at all stages is important, for this will serve as the factor which determines the structure for development and intensification of transport-economic associations, and for creation of a highly-efficient transport system for the CEMA nations.

A comprehensive national economic approach to the problems of intensification of transport along cooperative lines will promote increasing the effectiveness of the processes of integration, and solving the tasks for accelerating the socio-economic development of the CEMA nations under conditions of deepening international socialist division of labor.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Ekonomicheskoye soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne, 12-14 iyunya 1984 g.: Dokumenty i materialy" [The Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Nations, 12-14 June 1984: Documents and Materials], Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p 19.
2. VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1984, No 7, p 87; "Trudy Instituta kompleksnykh transportnykh problem pri Gosplane SSSR" [Works of the Complex Transportation Problems Institute at Gosplan USSR], Edition 96, pp 178-179; VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1982, No 3, p 51.

3. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials on the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, Politizdat, 1986, p 248.
4. "Ekonomicheskoye..." op. cit., p 24.
5. For example, in the USSR, for such products as raw materials, fuel, and building materials, transportation costs amount to as much as 45 percent of the cost to the customer; in the BPR for a number of goods this indicator reaches 25-40 percent. Approximately 45 percent of the production expenses in the national economy of the CSSR is connected with overhead costs.
6. For further details, see: V. Pavlov and D. Chernikov, "Rational Placement of Production--An Important Reserve for Reducing Transportation Costs," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, 1984, No 10.
7. For example, Czech economist M. Yanosh notes the relatively high demand in the Czechoslovakian economy for shipments per unit of gross social product and national income (PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, 1983, No 6, p 31). According to I. Mayor's data (HPR), the need for transportation in the Hungarian national economy is relatively high, largely owing to the influence of the highly material-intensive nature of social production (FIGUELO, 1983, No 9, p 9).
8. This relates primarily to export deliveries of iron ore, coal, timber products, mineral fertilizers, and so on. Thus, in the USSR at the end of the 1970's, of the untreated iron ore mined, the yield of product output at the ferrous metallurgy plants amounted to 34 percent, as compared with 40.8 percent in the mid-1960's. After treatment, the ore presented to transport for shipment contained 58.5 percent iron. Of the coal extracted from mines, 24 percent consisted of slack (In the mid-1960's the figure was 21 percent), and the level of treatment was 55 percent. The railroad's need for rolling stock when shipping untreated ore and coal increases by 35-40 percent. Delivery of timber which has been thoroughly dressed decreases the bulk volume for shipment by a factor of 4-5. Shipment of logs requires 30-35 percent more rail cars than for shipping, for example, lumber (VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1982, No 3, p 47).
9. Testifying to this is the continuing, lengthy idle time for vessels undergoing port operations. For example, in USSR seaports dry cargo vessels spend over 50 percent of their overall operating period at anchor, of which 32 percent consists of unproductive idle time. With a high level of overall mechanization for handling cargos, among the ports as a whole a significant volume of labor-intensive operations are carried out manually. Of the total labor expended by dock workers and equipment operators at seaports, 65 percent are employed at manual labor of which 25 percent consists of heavy manual labor in shifting freight, and only 35 percent is spent in operating load-handling and transport machinery (MORSKOY FLOT, 1985, No 10, pp 3-4). Similar problems are typical of the port facilities of a number of the European CEMA nations, and especially for the SRV and the Republic Cuba.

10. One of the leading ways of increasing labor productivity in rail transport is to disseminate the experience of the collective of the Belorussian Railroad. Changing to a new wage system and combining job duties allowed them to release nearly 12,000 persons for work in other enterprises. For 1985 alone labor productivity rose by 11.2 percent. The task has been set to increase labor productivity by about one-third by 1990, as compared with 1983, the base year for the new conditions (For further details, see A. Andreyev and V. Ozhegov, "The Experiment on the Belorussian Railroad," PLANOVoye KHOZYAYSTVO, 1986, No 8, p 22).

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### U.S. 'NEOCOLONIALISM' USES ARMED FORCES, INTELLIGENCE ORGANS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 pp 5-8

[Article by A. Baychorov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "The Military-Political Aspects of Neocolonialism"]

[Excerpts] Military force or the threat of the use thereof has always been widely used by imperialist states for the purpose of establishing or reinforcing their colonial dominance. The collapse of the colonial system at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, the appearance of dozens of new sovereign states on the world stage and the growing assistance to those states by the socialist camp have caused some of the strategists of neocolonialism to reexamine their system of priorities in their mutual relations with new states. At the beginning of the 1960's, one of the leading "think tanks" of American neocolonialism, the Rand Corporation, came to the conclusion that "gunboat diplomacy" should be shelved. It demonstrated that the means by which the United States maintains its sphere of influence in a given country should be economic rather than military.

However, this theory was not subsequently carried over into the practical realm. In 1965, American Marines and paratroopers invaded the Dominican Republic, suppressed popular uprisings and put a counterrevolutionary junta in power. It was about the same time that the escalation of military operations in Indochina began. Not only the Navy and Air Force, but also the U.S. Army became directly involved in military operations in support of a puppet regime in the southern portion of Vietnam.

The U.S. defeat in Indochina did not cause the strategists of neocolonialism to renounce the use of force in the developing portion of the world. It merely spurred them on to look for new and more effective forms and methods of applying force.

In the 1980's, despite the existence of serious economic and political contradictions and differences of opinion between the imperialist states and between the largest multinational corporations, tendencies toward integration in the neocolonialist policy of imperialism have intensified. The basic reason for this phenomenon is the process of increasing internationalization of the world of monopoly capital, which has also begun to encompass some developing countries. The positions of the transnational financial oligarchy,

are growing stronger. This oligarchy controls the basic flows of finances in the nonsocialist world and has an ever-increasing influence on the policy-making of developed imperialist states. With regard to the national liberation movement and all progressive, antimonopoly forces in the developing portion of the world, imperialist countries are attempting not only to coordinate their policies more fully and more frequently, but also to involve the governments of some new states in the implementation of those policies.

The decisions made at a summit conference of the leading seven capitalist powers which was held in Tokyo in May 1986 once again confirm the fact that imperialist strategists are attempting to revive the idea of "partnership" both in relations between capitalist states themselves, and as applied to ties between capitalist and newly-liberated countries. However, as attested to by an analysis of neocolonialist practice in recent years, Western powers and multinational corporations are attempting to strengthen their positions in strategically important regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the guise of rhetoric about an "equal partnership," "interdependence," and so on.

Analysis of the neocolonial strategies of the principal imperialist centers leads one to the conclusion that those strategies, although based upon the common fundamental interests of the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the developing world, also exhibit certain differences. Whereas, for example, the United States, in particular since the Reagan Administration took office, has placed its primary emphasis on the political aspects of its relations with newly-liberated countries, Japan and the European Economic Community seem more concerned about the state of economic relations. In other words, within the context of a general politicization of neocolonialism, it is the United States which most often and most actively acts as the initiator of stepped-up sociopolitical and military neocolonialist expansion.

The process of politicization of the methods and means of imperialist expansion in the developing world and more intensive utilization of methods of force is also tied to the new economic and sociopolitical situation in new states. In light of a situation in which the socialist camp has established a new type of international relations with newly-liberated countries, at a time when the total debt of the latter to imperialist states, multinational corporations and the largest capitalist banks has reached one trillion dollars, and when new loans go almost entirely to pay off interest on that debt, the political leaders and popular masses of developing countries are beginning to realize ever more clearly the class nature of neocolonialist methods of "assistance," "partnership," investment etc. What is occurring is that contradictions within the "developed capitalist states - developing countries" subsystem are growing more acute. The customary economic levers which have been used to smooth over these contradictions in the past are more and more often failing to produce the desired effect. The strategists of neocolonialism have been forced to search urgently for more effective methods and means of preserving intact the basic structures of the unequal international relations which permit exploitation of the peoples of young states.

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During the first half of the 1980's the United States and its allies made active use of military intervention or the threat of invasion against developing countries in Asia (Iran, Lebanon and Syria), Africa (Angola, Libya and Chad) and Latin America (Argentina, Grenada and Nicaragua). As J. Martin, former U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, has remarked, all in all during the past century the United States has carried out 199 acts of aggression, intervention or other military actions abroad. However, in only four cases did a declared state of war exist at the time of those actions.

Despite certain modifications which have taken place in the methods and means of military-political neocolonialism, armed intervention by the regular army is still regarded as the most reliable means of exerting influence on new states. Under the influence of changes in the international situation, and in particular as the results of lessons learned in the war for the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, there has begun a reorganization of the military forces of the leading imperialist powers. For the first time in many years something more than a mere reequipping with more modern weapons has been carried out; the structure of the armed forces has been changed and has become more complex. Within the armed forces of Western countries new specialized units are being created or existing units expanded; these units are designed to strike powerful lightning-like blows at various points around the globe. As Edward [Meyer], chairman of the U.S. Joints Chiefs of Staff, has stated, "the army of the 1980's is faced with the strategic requirement of being prepared for unprecedented flexibility."

The core of U.S. interventionist forces in developing countries is the U.S. Marine Corps, which in the mid-1980's was a force of approximately 200,000. Its actions are supported by 13 aircraft carriers with 1,050 military aircraft on board, 65 amphibious boats and 558 large military transport planes.

The tendency toward "unprecedented flexibility" has also been expressed by the creation of American "rapid deployment forces" (RDF), which are designed, according to B. Rogers, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, to be utilized "in crisis situations in the Persian Gulf region and in other 'hot spots' outside the NATO theater of operations." France and Great Britain have also created similar units.

The strategists of neocolonialism are also attempting to get regional "power centers" in the developing world involved in the implementation of the fashionable idea of setting up RDF. RDF units have already been formed in Pakistan and in some other young states. "Joint Arab Rapid Deployment Forces in the Persian Gulf Region" have also been formed.

Since the beginning of the 1980's imperialist states have been carrying out a program to establish and expand a special infrastructure in the developing world. This infrastructure would make the application of military force there easier and more effective. This includes expansion of the network of strategic military support facilities: military bases, weapons stockpiles and areas for temporary or permanent deployment of naval or air force combat units. The Reagan Administration has adopted a five-year plan for the construction of new Pentagon bases and the renovation of existing ones in the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

In order to ensure the success of operations by the neocolonialist RDF, imperialist states are intensifying their pressure on certain developing countries with the objective of gaining their approval for the construction of military facilities and transport systems which would be used in "emergency situations." In 1982 the decision was made to establish U.S.- Morocco and U.S. - Jordan joint military commissions. One of their primary tasks is to create the transport capacities required for military purposes.

Western advisors and instructors are sent to give training in the use of the weapons sold to developing countries. During the current year the Pentagon plans to have 323 American "security assistance groups" in 53 countries. That in addition to units of American troops stationed abroad, which number, for example, 15,500 in Latin America, 147,500 in the Far East and the Pacific, over 20,000 in the Middle East, etc. During the first half of the 1980's the numerical growth of American military advisors abroad greatly exceeded Pentagon strategists' most optimistic projections.

Whereas imperialism uses its regular military units primarily in crisis situations which break out from time to time in the "third world," the activities of U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence/diversionary units continue on an ongoing basis. A similar structure of intelligence organs is utilized by other developed capitalist countries as well.

Electronic intelligence work has taken on ever great significance in this era of the scientific-technical revolution. Located at Ft. Meade (Maryland) is the headquarters of the most secret American organization: the National Security Agency (NSA). This government branch is second only to the Pentagon in size. The NSA receives a large portion of the secret U.S. intelligence budget. In addition to its 10,000 civilian employees, approximately 45,000 soldiers, sailors, Marines and pilots work for the NSA, serving at listening posts around the world, from Puerto Rico to Crete and Okinawa. In his monograph "The Puzzle Palace," which was published in Boston in 1982, former NSA employee J. Bamford writes that each year the agency published 40 tons of secret documents. Subordinate to it is a whole system of intelligence satellites, highly advanced computers and super-sensitive antennas which, in J. Bamford's opinion, are capable of eavesdropping on virtually any international telegram or telephone conversation. During the war for the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, for example, NSA experts cracked the Argentine military code and gave the English exceptionally important information concerning the location and orders of Argentine units.

In a report prepared by American intelligence specialists under the aegis of the National Strategic Information Center, it was pointed out that there was a need to make some changes in emphasis in U.S. intelligence activities and devote more attention to the situation and politics of states in the "third world." In 1984 a new department was created within the CIA especially for operations in oil-producing countries.

Along with an increase in the activism of intelligence services, the utilization of mercenaries is typical of military-political neocolonialism. Mercenaries have opposed national liberation movements in Zaire, Angola,

Mozambique, Zimbabwe and many other countries. "Soldiers of fortune" are being sent to defend the H. Habre regime in Chad. In March 1986 the Brazilian police arrested eight American and 10 Argentine mercenaries who were attempting to ship six tons of weapons to one of the antigovernment factions in Ghana. Their ship had an accident underway and was forced to go into port at Rio de Janeiro.

A substantial role in the activities of military-political neocolonialism is also allocated to the utilization of counterrevolutionaries and reactionary political emigres to destabilize and overthrow regimes in the developing world which are not to the West's liking. In 1985, for example, the U.S. Administration made an attempt to form an international alliance of reactionary counterrevolutionary forces from representatives of the Somozists, anti-Angolan faction UNITA, Afghan bandits and Pol Pot followers, under the pretentious title of a "democratic international." Washington took this step in order, as R. Reagan stated in his "State of the Union" address for 1986, to help "win freedom in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua."

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The world's most powerful imperialist power has armed itself with the "Reagan Doctrine," which is essentially an attempt to adapt the aggressive "Truman Doctrine" from the "cold war" period to present-day conditions. The "Reagan Doctrine" actually serves as a cover for rightwing conservative factions of the monopolistic bourgeoisie in their efforts to mount a counterattack against the main forces of the world revolutionary process.

Analysis of the utilization in recent decades within the framework of military-political neocolonialism of the regular army, special counterinsurgency units, intelligence services, military advisors and counterrevolutionary emigres leads one to the conclusion that what is occurring is a rebirth of colonial "gunboat diplomacy," but on a qualitatively new level. During the 1980's military contingents from the principal NATO countries have taken part (often with participation by military units from some young states) in "peacekeeping" operations in the Sinai and in Lebanon and Chad.

The U.S. Administration has initiated the creation of a worldwide system of military-political neocolonialism, the main hallmarks of which are as follows: changes in the structure and objectives of various types of troops in Western countries, these changes being made so that these troops can be utilized more effectively in the developing world; application of scientific-technical advances for qualitative improvement of conventional weapons with the aim of making them lighter and increasing unit autonomy and "survivability"; formation of special "rapid deployment forces" and counterinsurgency control for autonomous operations in regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America; creation and improvement of a military-technical infrastructure which would facilitate the conducting of military operations in the developing world; increased coordination of military actions by Western states in the zone of national liberation movements; formation and support of Western counterrevolutionary movements in a number of developing countries; utilization of "sub-imperialist centers" as the military-political outposts of

neocolonialism in strategically important regions of the world; and stepped-up efforts to create an ideological justification for a course of expansion and intervention in the developing world.

The theoreticians of neocolonialism who have made substantial contributions to the elaboration of the "Reagan Doctrine" (R. Perle, D. Kirkpatrick, D. Albright, Y. Alexander, D. Graham, M. [Vlakhos], and U. J. Taylor) claim that the military preparations listed above, as well as some others, are necessary in order to contain "Soviet expansionism" or "international terrorism" inspired by the Soviet Union. Actually the growth of imperialism's military activism is intended to safeguard the interests of multinational corporations and the transnational financial oligarchy, which profit by robbing the mineral resources and exploiting the human resources of young states.

The formation of a global system of military-political neocolonialism is linked to the fact that in a new economic and sociopolitical situation which is characterized by a sharp increase in the contradictions existing between developed capitalist countries and developing countries the leaders of world capitalism have decided to add military-political structures for repression and control to the mechanism of neocolonial economic exploitation which was created during the 1960's and 1970's. This does not mean, however, that they will renounce their economic, informational, cultural or other methods of imperialist expansion in developing countries. The "think tanks" of monopoly capitalism are continuing their active search for new means and forms of economic exploitation of the peoples of new states and for ways of keeping them in a state of cultural dependence on the West.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### SOVIET-AFRICAN CONFERENCE PRAISES USSR AID, GOOD RELATIONS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 pp 11-13

[Article by Ye. Mova and M. Pavlov, AZIYA I AFRIKA special correspondents: "'Yes' To Social Progress, 'No' To War!"]

[Excerpts] In June, hospitable Moscow, the capital of the first socialist state in the world, was the site of the 2nd Soviet-African scientific and political conference on the topic "For Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress." Among the conference participants were prominent state, political and public figures, scientists from 26 African countries and representatives from Cuba, the USSR, other European socialist countries, national liberation movements, and African and international organizations.

As demonstrated by the experience of the first such conference (Moscow, 1981), this sort of exchange of opinions gives new impetus to the analysis of the processes which are occurring in the world arena and in Africa in particular, and make it possible to outline the prospects for further development of Soviet-African relations.

#### Struggling For Peace

The danger which hangs over the heads of humanity has never before been so acute. But never before were the opportunities for preserving and strengthening peace so real. By uniting their efforts the peoples of the world can and must remove the threat of nuclear annihilation. (From the CPSU Program, New Redaction)

It is these problems which were at the focus of conference participants' attention. They were outlined in a condensed form in a report given by An. A. Gromyko, director of the Africa Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "The Soviet Union and African Countries In the Struggle For Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress."

The sharp worsening of the international situation at the beginning of the 1980's was noted. Further complication of the international situation has been the result of increased aggressivity on the part of imperialism, especially American imperialism, which has recently begun to implement the

doctrine of "neoglobalism" in a more active manner. Imperialism's greatest crime against the peoples of the world is the fact that it has unleashed a nuclear and conventional arms race on an unprecedented scale, and that the Reagan Administration is attempting to extend that arms race into outer space. This is what Seku Kamara, a political figure from the Republic of Guinea, had to say on that subject:

"At times one hears voices which say: 'Why are such small, poor countries as yours concerned about "star wars" and American nuclear missiles in Europe? You should worry about your domestic problems!'" Yes, Africans still have a difficult life. Yet that is precisely why we are very concerned by the fact that tremendous amounts of money are being spent not to fight hunger and desertification, but for armaments instead. Africans need peace. Without it we will not be able to combat our economic backwardness. Our delegation has come to Moscow in order to proclaim our complete support for the peace-loving course of the USSR."

Speakers underscored the timeliness of finding a solution to two global problems which are closely interconnected: disarmament and development. This is necessitated by the situation which exists today. Judge for yourself: in 1985 all states together spent a total of 940 billion dollars for military purposes, which sum is greater than the GNP of China, India and the sub-Saharan African countries together. Since 1960, when worldwide military expenditures were 400 billion dollars (reckoned in 1984 prices), the cost of the arms race to our planet has more than doubled.

Peace is threatened by the intensification of militarist activism by imperialist powers, headed by the United States, in various regions, including Africa. Emphasis has been given to the creation of military bases and new strategic staging areas there. The Pentagon has approximately 25 such facilities in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Morocco and a number of other African countries. During the 1980-1985 period the territories of some of these countries were systematically utilized for the conducting of joint training and maneuvers with the armed forces of the United States and Great Britain.

The intention of the Reagan Administration to expand its "strategic assistance" to its allies in Africa is alarming. Included in this group of "privileged" countries are Kenya, Somalia, Cameroon, Senegal and a number of others.

In the opinion of conference participants, the various forms of imperialist military penetration into Africa are destabilizing the situation on that continent and creating the threat that its peoples will be drawn into global armed conflict, including nuclear conflict.

The interests of world security require progress in dealing with conflict situations in various regions of our planet, including the southern part of Africa. Conference participants expressed their support for the proposals by the USSR and Angola of a system of measures to stabilize the situation in that part of the continent, which foreseen essentially the following: an end to aggression by the racist Pretoria regime against the "front line" states; nonintervention in the internal affairs of those states; renunciation of the

use of terrorists and mercenaries; renunciation by all countries of the granting of military or any other assistance to antigovernment movements in the "front line" states, as well as any attempts to exert political or economic pressure on them; the immediate granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 and corresponding decisions by the UN General Assembly; and eradication of the inhumane apartheid system in South Africa and the creation in that country of a unified democratic state based on the principle of majority rule.

It was emphasized that attempts to link a solution to the Namibian problem to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from Angola are a flagrant violation of the standards of international law and an infringement on the sovereignty of an independent state. Conference participants unanimously supported the levying of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the RSA, which action would help bring about a solution to the problem of southern Africa by peaceful means.

Settlement of the conflict in this region would make a substantial contribution to general improvement of the international climate and reinforcement of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

"At the present time there is no more noble goal than the defense of peace," said Boutros Ghali, the head of the Egyptian delegation and minister of state for foreign affairs, in his address. "We Africans should passionately and resolutely defend this possession of mankind, combining the struggle for peace with the struggle for complete decolonization of our continent and an end to apartheid, for an end to backwardness, hunger and poverty."

The conference gave a highly positive appraisal of Soviet foreign policy strategy, underscored the danger of proliferation of all types of weapons, and expressed the wish that African countries might develop peaceful and mutually advantageous relations with states with various social systems.

#### Expanding Cooperation

The course of history and social progress more and more urgently demand the creation of a system of constructive and creative interaction between states and peoples at the worldwide level. (From the CPSU Central Committee's report to the 27th Party Congress)

Conference delegates noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union favors fair international cooperation and the creations of a system of international economic security which would protect each state to an equal degree from discrimination, sanctions and the other attributes of imperialist neocolonialist policy. An analysis of Soviet-African cooperation in various fields, given in a report delivered by P. Ya. Koshelev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and in speeches by African representatives, bespeak its fruitful and mutually advantageous development, as well as the fact that the Soviet Union is rendering substantial assistance to young states.

Assistance by Soviet organizations is carried out, as a rule, on the basis of loans, the volume of which is increasing. During the 1983-1985 period alone, when tension in the foreign currency/financial realm of developing countries reached an unprecedented level, the average annual volume of Soviet loans to those countries increased by a factor of 2.7. In addition, in response to requests by its African partners, the USSR is granting extensions on the payment of previous loans. During the 1981-1985 period almost 20 countries took advantage of this opportunity.

In the case of emergencies which strike African countries (drought, floods, etc.), the USSR renders those countries immediate assistance. According to UN calculations, the Soviet State's emergency assistance to Ethiopia alone to help it overcome the effects of drought were over 150 million dollars (not counting contributions by nongovernmental organizations).

The representatives of Madagascar, Angola, Ethiopia and other states spoke of the USSR's substantial aid and its importance to Africans. They cited figures such as these: over 450,000 specialists and skilled workers have been trained for African countries in all types of studies. Approximately 100 various educational institutions on the African continent have been constructed and outfitted with the assistance of Soviet organizations, including 10 higher educational institutions.

The USSR is devoting ever greater attention to helping Africa develop its agriculture: work is underway in 16 countries on 155 projects, of which over 60 have already been put into operation. During the 1986-1990 period further increases in the scale of this area of cooperation are planned.

That is the main line for development of Soviet-African relations. Conference participants were highly approving of the current status and outlook for economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the newly-liberated countries of Africa.

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Summing up the results of this scientific-political conference, An. A. Gromyko said, expressing the opinion of its participants: "The results of our work testify to profound interest on the part of all participants in this forum in further strengthening Soviet-African friendship and developing cooperation in various areas. The foundation for that cooperation -- as many delegates have noted -- is the common desire to work actively against aggression and violence, racism and interference in the internal affairs of other states, as well as our vital interest in preventing nuclear war, preserving and



strengthening peace and guaranteeing freedom, independence and equality for all peoples. Active interaction between African countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is an important stabilizing factor in the international situation as a whole and in the common struggle to preserve peace and security for the peoples of the world and promote the triumph of the principle of 'disarmament for development'. One important achievement of our conference is further expansion of such cooperation."

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### U.S. DEFICIT'S EFFECT ON WORLD ECONOMY, THIRD WORLD DEBT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 pp 32-35

[Article by S. Bylinyak, doctor of economic sciences, and Ya. Melkumov, under the rubric "Economist's Forum": "The U.S. National Debt and The Debt Crisis In Developing Countries"]

[Text] The new redaction of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states: "Under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, which unites the forces of the monopolies and the state, the conflict between tremendously expanding productive forces and capitalist production relations is becoming ever more acute. There is occurring an intensification of the internal instability of the economy, which is expressed by a slowdown in its overall growth rates and by an interweaving and deepening of its cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become chronic illnesses, and budget deficits and national debts have reached colossal proportions."

Among the leading capitalist countries the United States has the greatest amount of budget deficits, which is leading to rapid growth of its national debt. Since the Reagan Administration took office this debt has doubled, reaching a total of two trillion dollars. A considerable portion of this debt is financed by foreign loans by means of a redistribution of world credits in favor of the United States and to the detriment of other states, including developing countries.

In addition, since the United States has maintained its leadership within the world capitalist production system, since American multinational corporations hold the leading positions in the export of investment capital and technology and many American multinational corporations are among the largest in the world, and since the dollar performs the role of primary reserve and accounting currency of foreign exchange, a shift in the internal proportions of the U.S. economic and financial realm has far-reaching effects, and not just on the United States. Specifically, the growth of the U.S. national debt is one of the causes of a worsening of the debt and solvency crisis in developing countries in the 1980's.

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At the midpoint of the current decade, the foreign debt of the developing portion of the world, according to some estimates, had reached one trillion dollars. Yet only 15 years before, in 1970, it was 70 billion dollars. Payments to service this debt increased by a factor of more than 20 during the 1970-1984 period, reaching 125 billion dollars.

Whereas during the second half of the 1960's only seven developing countries needed to defer their payments (with the approval of their creditors) to later dates, and during the first half of the 1970's this number was only six, from 1983 through 1984 a total of 32 countries did so. Furthermore, during the 1975-1982 period the sum of developing countries' refinanced debt was less than 22 billion dollars, but during the 1983-1984 period it was already 167 billion dollars, of which over 150 billion were debts to banks, primarily to major banks with a far-flung multinational financial network. These data eloquently bespeak the growing tension which is tied to the catastrophic growth of indebtedness in the developing world.

Review of debt obligations is customarily carried out on a compromise basis requiring mutual concessions by both creditors and debtors. In this process it is, of course, the developing countries which bear the brunt of the losses. Nevertheless the banks, which handle the lion's share of extended debts, do make some "sacrifices." As a result, their resources, not without intervention by the International Monetary Fund, have become tied up with peripheral debtors to a much greater degree than they would have liked. Today banks are offering many developing countries so-called "involuntary loans" for strictly defined purposes, including the refinancing of debts. In some cases the banks also suffer direct losses. However, the sums lost are not yet large by comparison with the profits received, as attested to by the figures given above concerning the growth of payments by debtor nations.

But of course debtor nations as well, in accordance with IMF requirements, are required to behave in a certain manner. Above all they are given the task of paying the interest on their loans punctually. If any country is unable to adhere to its agreements, the IMF places "stabilizing programs" upon it, regardless of national specificity. These provide for incentives for foreign capital, reduction of state current and capital expenditures, the relinquishing of state enterprises into private hands, elimination of state control over pricing, price formation according to market laws, and a wage freeze, which under inflationary conditions leads to a decline in the people's standard of living. Generally, in order to establish control over the economies of developing countries neocolonialism utilizes their debt servitude. Such dependence has come to be a very powerful weapon in the hands of imperialism. Moreover, the debt crisis, once its acute outbreak had been overcome, has become advantageous to the West, although, as noted above, debtor nations are not always able to meet their obligations on time, and banks must even write off a certain portion of the debts.

When the economic situation of developing states improved somewhat in 1984, political circles in the leading capitalist powers stated: all the worst is behind us, the debt situation is under strict control. However, it seems that the following warning, from the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, is much closer to reality: "The problems of poor countries which are major debtors are

entering a new stage, one which could be better, but which could also be worse than that which preceded it."

What is the essence of the current debt situation, which has entered a new phase? At the price of economic decline and incredible social sacrifices, some developing countries have succeeded in to a considerable extent balancing out their international accounts, reducing budget deficits and, in a number of cases, slowing down inflation. However, the social situation in places where production has slowed and in some cases stopped altogether, and where workers' standard of living has declined, has worsened to an extreme. Demonstrations, strikes and all sorts of actions directed against the economic policy forced upon debtors by the IMF have become more frequent. These actions have also often taken on marked anti-American overtones, since it is no secret that the IMF, which is controlled by the United States, pursues policies which have been approved by the White House. "The huge indebtedness of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to industrially developed capitalist states has become one of the important channels of the former's exploitation by imperialism, in particular American imperialism. At the same time resistance to this policy of robbery and piracy on the part of the peoples of those countries is growing," states the new redaction of the CPSU Program.<sup>2</sup>

Fearing even more serious social upheavals and political repercussions in countries which are important to the United States in military-political and economic terms, Washington has been forced to take the initiative in developing measures which will make it possible to get the debt crisis under control.

At the regular annual meeting of the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in October 1985, U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James Baker presented a list of these urgent measures. The essence of this program is as follows. The United States appealed to debtor nations to do everything possible to speed up progress in order to restore the confidence of private creditors. At the same time the United States agreed to the idea that serious corrections should be made to the policy of strict economy which had been pursued by the IMF with the objective of balancing international accounts. But in order to do so additional resources would be needed. Therefore Baker appealed to banks to "show great patience" and expand credit first of all to those developing countries which are experiencing the most acute economic difficulties. Over a period of three years banks should offer those countries -- of which in Baker's opinion there are 15 -- credits totalling 20 billion dollars. According to this new plan, loans by the World Bank and the Interamerican Development Bank would be increased (to nine billion dollars).

Thus far, despite widespread publicity and a tremendous resonance to the Baker plan, this is merely a general outline of what, according to the U.S. Administration, should be done to get the debt crisis under control. It is no coincidence that this plan has often been called an "initiative"; that term no doubt best describes the nature of the proposals made. Furthermore, this

"initiative" runs counter to Reagan Administration policy, which continues to pursue a course of expansion of the arms race, which leads to growth of the budget deficit and an increase in U.S. national indebtedness both to U.S. citizens and to foreign states.

"Our deficit, when compared to our limited powers of accumulation," admits P. Volcker, chairman of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Federal Reserve, "has reached threatening proportions and is a significant drain on world savings... We have virtually ceased to extend credit abroad, and we have become a debtor nation."

Whereas in 1980 (the last year in which the Carter Administration was in office) the balance of international accounts for current U.S. operations showed a small positive, in 1985 the deficit had reached, according to preliminary estimates, 110 billion dollars. That means that the United States, which received goods and services from abroad on credit, consumed considerably more physical resources than it produced. For comparison we should note that the deficit in the current operations balance for all developing countries which import oil was lower than that of the United States by roughly a factor of three. And if we take into account the fact that some of them, including some of those on the list of the "poorest" 15 countries according to Baker, ended up with positive trade balances, the question automatically arises: who is lending to whom? In 1985, for the first time since World War I, the United States became a net debtor in the international arena, i.e. the sum of the country's foreign assets is today less than the sum of its foreign debts. Its net debt was 60 billion dollars, and by the end of this decade, according to projections by the influential U.S. firm Morgan Guarantee Trust Company, will exceed 400 billion.

Why has the United States during the years of this decade, which coincides with a Republican administration in power, brought the budget deficit to such a catastrophic state and why has the U.S. Government gone in debt for such large amounts? A brief answer to this question is as follows: the current situation is a direct result of the militarist policy and economic course which have come to be known as "Reaganomics."

As is well known, during the 1960's and 1970's there occurred a decline in the United States's economic role around the world and a corresponding increase in the strength of two other imperialist "power centers": Japan and Western Europe. When it came into office the Reagan Administration set itself the objective of restoring America's former might. The basis of its economic strategy was the concept of "supply-side economics." Realization of this concept was linked to initiative by private business and the market mechanism, in the functioning of which the state should interfere as little as possible. Therefore taxes on business income were cut, as were taxes on the richest levels of society. In the opinion of the authors of this strategy, reduction of the budget deficit would reduce competition between the state and the private sector while mobilizing financial resources.

However, due to the rapid rate at which military expenditures increased, this economic strategy was prone to internal contradictions. Projections promising

a fast rate of economic growth proved to be false. Thus the idea of a balanced budget died in its infancy. Furthermore, as a result of the arms race the disparity between government income and expenditures began to grow rapidly. For the 1985-86 fiscal year the Federal budget deficit reached a record sum of 203 billion dollars (in 1980-81 it had been 60 billion dollars), while military expenditures were 286 billion dollars, having increased by a factor of two over the same period.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the growth of nonproductive, primarily military, expenditures, the growing demand by the private sector for borrowed capital to finance the structural realignment which was taking place in U.S. industry and the policy of fiscal and credit limitations, designed to hold down the uncontrolled inflation which had lasted for many years, provoked an unprecedented surge in interest rates on bank loans.<sup>4</sup> As a result, there formed yet another nodal point of contradictions within the world capitalist economy, contradictions from which developing countries suffer as well.

The interest rate on the American capital market has a direct effect on the international market rates. In addition, it is in the United States that the basic operations connected with private bank loans to developing countries are performed. Thus the fruits of "Reaganomics" and the arms race had a ruinous effect on debtor countries. An increase in the interest rate by only a single point cost them from three to four billion dollars in additional payments.<sup>5</sup>

For American borrowers an increase in interest rates is not fraught with such dramatic results. This is due to the peculiarities of American financial legislation and the tax breaks which entrepreneurial activity enjoys in the United States. American firms have an opportunity to deduct interest payments from their taxable income. In addition, as already noted, the Reagan Administration conducted a reform, as a result of which the actual level of corporations' tax liability was reduced by almost one-third. In other words, American borrowers have a mechanism for amortizing the negative effect of an increase in interest rates, one of which developing countries are deprived. Is this not a graphic illustration of how the brunt of the world economic crisis is being placed on the shoulders of young states?

The high level of interest rates in the United States also encourages "capital flight" from developing countries. A paradoxical situation has arisen: young states are acquiring more and more foreign loans in order to finance the outflow of their own national capital, motivated by the search for large profits, to the U.S. money market. Western officials place the blame for this outflow on the developing countries themselves. But are the latter fully able to deal with this misfortune, which is caused by the market mechanism of the world capitalist economy, and primarily by that of the United States?

A substantial portion of foreign financial resources enter the United States either in the form of payments on debts to American creditors or as the result of the above-mentioned "capital flight." According to estimates by UN experts, approximately one-half of the pure inflow comes from developing

countries and international financial centers which are located on the periphery. As the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE has noted in this connection, "America spends large sums on armaments without paying hard currency out of the Treasury for them. She proposes to borrow two billion dollars a week abroad."

This punning of financial resources into the United States forces young states to put off the construction of projects which are important to their national economies. At the same time the share of foreign loans as a percentage of the financing for national capital investments has declined significantly. Whereas during the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's 12-13 percent of these capital investments were financed from foreign sources, this figure was only three percent in 1984 and according to all indicators even less in 1985. For countries which are especially closely tied to Western banks, this index fell from 23 percent in 1981 to one percent in 1984.

The flow of capital to the United States which has been stimulated by high interest rates has led to a sharp increase in the dollar exchange rate. In March 1985 its rate of exchange in relation to the currencies of its main trading partners was 50 percent higher than in 1980.<sup>6</sup> This had occurred because investors from various countries were buying dollars with their own currency in order to invest them in highly profitable American assets. As a result, imported goods became cheaper on the U.S. market, which to a certain degree help hold down inflation. However, for developing countries this meant a sharp reduction in the price of the raw materials which they export.

The problem is that world prices for raw materials are usually set in dollars. An increase in the dollar exchange rate in relation to the Japanese and Western European currencies would mean that the importers of "dollar" goods will pay less, but as a result, according to the laws of supply and demand, the demand for those goods will also decrease. In addition, high interest rates led to an increase in the losses incurred in connection with storage of stocks of raw materials, since this stockpiling is usually financed on credit. Consumers of raw materials attempted to reduce their stockpiles to the minimum possible level, which naturally had a negative effect on exporters' prices. As a consequence of this and other factors, the prices of many types of raw materials (as compared to the prices for finished goods) were at their lowest level of the postwar period during the first half of the 1980's.

A higher dollar exchange rate, which encourages a decrease in the price of imported goods sold on the American market, at the same time undermines the competitiveness of American products. This has given new impetus to protectionist sentiments in the United States. The U.S. Congress is currently reviewing no less than 300 bills providing for protectionist measures against U.S. trade partners, including some developing countries. Many of them are already suffering major losses as a result of American protectionism. Thus,

in September 1984 a true attack on textiles exported to the United States was launched under the pretext that their goods did not meet accepted packaging and labeling standards. However, such actions are actually primarily the result of domestic policy concerns. The import limitations went into effect two months prior to the presidential elections, guaranteeing President Reagan the votes of the influential circles which have an interest in a protectionist policy.

New protectionist measures which are harmful to textile exporters (Argentina, Indonesia, Malaysia, Peru, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Turkey) were adopted in 1985. Under the pretext of combatting state-subsidized exports from the countries listed above, strict economic sanctions were levied against them. However, the very concept of subsidies was defined very arbitrarily by the American authorities. Subsidies were taken to include, specifically, assistance to exporters by state organizations in the field of advertising and marketing of goods on foreign markets, as well as reduced rates for electric power, as was the case, for example, in Thailand.

\* \* \*

The U.S. continues to finance its budget deficit and negative balance of payments at the expense of other countries. The U.S. national debt is also increasing under the burden of excessive military expenditures. But how long can this go on? Confidence in the United States as a debtor is decreasing. And that is fraught with serious danger for the world capitalist economy, its peripheral areas included.

Yes, if confidence in the United States as a debtor completely disappears, then foreign investors will begin to call in their money, all the more so since a considerable portion of the loans are in the form of short-term obligations. The dollar will fall, and in order to prevent it from falling further, American banks will be forced to raise interest rates once again. In that situation developing countries will have to pay even larger payments on their interest. They are completely incapable of bearing such a burden, and the entire international banking system will be threatened. The reality of such a projection is confirmed by the anxious statements of many government officials in the West (including some in America itself). Among them are P. Volcker, head of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, and K. O. Pöhl, president of the West German Bundesbank.

Awareness of impending catastrophe induced the U.S. Congress to adopt the so-called Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act in December 1985; this bill envisions a balanced budget by 1991. However, the Reagan Administration is of the opinion that this law runs counter to the U.S. Constitution. Nevertheless, in February 1986 Ronald Reagan presented a 1986-87 budget plan (beginning on 1 October) in which the deficit was 144 billion dollars (as opposed to more than 200 billion for the current year). The negative budget balance, accordance to this plan, will be reduced entirely through cuts in domestic programs. On the other hand, it is planned that military allocations will be increased by 12 percent. A substantial increase in government income is projected. These estimates are based on relatively high growth rates of the GNP: 3.5 percent in 1986 and four percent in 1987. However, such growth rates seem unlikely.



There is only one real way to fight the U.S. deficit and national debt: reduce military expenditures, which have reached approximately 28 percent of all budget allocations. The USSR's peace initiatives, which are aimed at reducing the level of tension and military confrontation and the size of nuclear and conventional arsenals, have opened up an opportunity to resolve urgent political and economic problems facing the peoples of the world.

"The poverty situation in developing countries," states the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Party Congress, "is a very major worldwide problem. This and nothing else is the true source of many conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America."<sup>7</sup> A reduction of military expenditures could be a force which would help solve the problems of both the American economy and the world capitalist economy, point the way to a real solution to the debt crisis and lessen economic and social tension in the developing world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Novaya redaktsiya." [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, New Redaction], Moscow, 1986, p 13.
2. Ibid., p 19.
3. Calculated on the basis of data from "MEMO: Ekonomicheskoye polozheniye kapitalisticheskikh i razvivayushchikhsya stran. Obzor za 1981 i nachalo 1981 goda" [MEMO: The Economic Status of Capitalist and Developing Countries, Summary of 1980 and the Beginning of 1981], 6 February and 7 February 1986.
4. It is true that since 1985 the U.S. bank lending rate has begun to come down somewhat. However, as before it remains high. The interest rate of the U.S. Federal Reserve System was 8.5 percent in December 1983, 7.5 percent in December 1985 and seven percent in April 1986.
5. For example, in 1982 (the period of the most acute flare-up of the debt crisis) interest payments on developing countries' debt had increased by a factor of three as compared to 1978, although the debt itself increased by a factor of only 1.5 over the same period.
6. Subsequently, for a number of reasons, the dollar exchange rate relative to other currencies began to drop -- rather unevenly, it is true. Thus, by April 1986 it had fallen 30 percent against the Japanese yen and 15 percent against the English pound. However, according to some estimates, the dollar exchange rate (in terms of its buying power) remains higher than is economically justified.

7. M. S. Gorbachev, "Politicheskiy doklad Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS XXVII syezdu Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz" [Political Report By the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", Moscow, 1986, p 21.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON POLITICAL PARTY STRUCTURE IN MAGHREB REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 p 62

[Review by N. Kosukhin, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "Book World": "Political Parties: History and Theory"]

[Text] V. I. Maksimenko, "Politicheskiye partii v perekhodnom obshchestve (Marokko, Alzhir, Tunis: 20-80-ye gody XX veka)" [Political Parties In a Transitional Society (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia: From the 1920's to the 1980's)], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1985, 232 pages.

This new book by V. Maksimenko is an attempt to study the formation of political parties and party systems on the basis of comparative historical material from three Muslim Arab countries: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Setting himself the task of examining the political development of societies in the Maghreb through the prism of party relations, the author has advanced a thesis concerning the three stages and three types of political development of social structures in postcolonial societies.

The first stage of political development -- from the birth of modern political structures to the formation of an independent national state -- takes places under colonial domination, the second -- from the attainment of a national state entity to the collapse of the class compromise upon which formed the basis of the ruling bloc's existence -- occurs during the period of the first postcolonial power crisis. In the author's opinion, the countries of the Maghreb entered the newest or third stage of political development in the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's.

Party structures in countries in the Maghreb were formed against various social backdrops. These were a feudal-monarchical regime in Morocco, a bourgeois democratic regime in Tunisia and a revolutionary democratic regime in Algeria. Multilevel and multicolored[?] empirical and historical material provide an opportunity to study the specific characteristics and special features of the formation of party structures in this particular region of North Africa.

However, this is not a systematic presentation of the political history of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The author focuses his attention on that which he defines as the crucial, critical points in party evolution: the origin of parties, the occurrence of divisions within them, mergers, and the appearance of coalitions and factions. This monograph attaches primary importance to the national state entity (the "pervofenomen" [primary phenomenon] of a state" -- one of the ad hoc neologisms of which the author unfortunately makes frequent use). Of secondary importance is the ruling bloc, which expresses the postcolonial class compromise. The force which determines the ruling bloc's social nature is regarded in this book as the fundamental bearer of national integration. In Morocco this force was the military-feudal-absolutist monarchy, steeped in political culture and a defender of the concept of the unity of "the throne" and "the nation." In Tunisia it was the nationalist social democratic party headed by charismatic leaders who favored national unity on the basis of "[dusturovskiy?] socialism." And in Algeria it was the army, which had been hardened in the liberation revolution, was disciplined and was primarily of peasant origin.

The main task set by the author, and one which he was largely successful in dealing with, was to define the "stadial nature of political development in a mixed society through the prism of party relations" (p 6). This book examines party evolution in the countries of the Maghreb not on the basis of the simple sum of geographical findings. It is instead an attempt to find a comparative historical basis for establishing a typology of political development.

Of course, not all the theses in this monograph can be accepted unconditionally. This applies, for example, to the claim that the Algerian revolution "put the brakes on itself" on 19 June 1965. It seems that the author also overestimates the role of Habib Bourguiba in the political history of Tunisia, particularly in recent years. He is hardly a figure on a par with Gandhi and Ataturk (p 149).

It is asserted in this monograph that parties and party systems in countries in the Maghreb (the Moroccan multi-party system; the presence of various social orientations within the one-party systems of Tunisia and Algeria) are largely functions of state power. Here the author betrays historicism in favor of sociological analysis, although on the whole he has attempted to maintain the proper balance between historical and sociological approaches in this study. This is not a coincidence: in organizing a large body of historical material, the author proceeded not so much upon the requirements of complete historical description as upon two hypotheses of a sociological nature: 1) the party is a condition and indicator of political development and 2) the class content of party politics is always manifested most clearly at culminating moments in history.

Despite the very diverse and complex structure of his research materials, his high analytical standards and attention to historical detail helped the author write a book which is worthy of experts' serious attention.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON ETHIOPIA'S REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 pp 62-63

[Review by A. Vinogradov under the rubric "Book World": "The Dynamism of Revolutionary Transformation"]

[Text] "10 let efiopskoy revolyutsii." [Ten Years of Ethiopian Revolution], edited by N. I. Gavrilov; Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1986, 139 pages.

The collective monograph reviewed here attracts attention primarily on account of the broad scope of materials which it examines and the clarity of its authors' positions. They have succeeded in graphically illustrating, on the one hand, the present level of development of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, and, on the other, the real difficulties facing that country today.

In their study of the crucial problems of Ethiopian society, the authors point out the basic internal and external factors which have made possible the Ethiopian people's achievements under the very difficult socioeconomic and political conditions of the 1970's and 1980's. Primarily these are: the popular nature of the Ethiopian revolution, its high level of dynamism, consistency in the implementation of transformations in the most important realms of social life, a decisive transition to a noncapitalist path of development, close ties between the revolutionary leadership and the broad masses of the people, reliance upon the people in the struggle against domestic and foreign counterrevolution, and the comprehensive assistance rendered by the socialist world in bringing about these progressive transformations.

One important characteristic of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia during the period covered by this book is, in the authors' opinion, the nature of class struggle, which is more acute than in other African countries of a socialist orientation. This book underscores the fact that the revolution in Ethiopia developed in a situation in which it had inherited extreme socioeconomic and cultural backwardness and urgent unresolved ethnic and

religious problems from the deposed regime. Coming from these beginnings, the Ethiopian leadership is not rushing the process of constructing the foundations of socialism, but is instead pursuing a policy aimed at gradual formation of the socioeconomic preconditions for a subsequent transition to socialist construction (p 11).

This collection devotes particular attention to the multifaceted Soviet-Ethiopian economic, cultural and scientific ties, which have a long and rich history. Noting the exceptional importance of aid from socialist states, the authors of this collection point out that the deepening of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, its special characteristics and its successes are above all the result of the country's laws of internal development. The book highlights the tremendous role of the political superstructure as a factor which has had an active influence on "productive forces and public forms of labor organization for the purpose of bringing them into line with the requirements of noncapitalist development" (p 47).

Particular attention is devoted to an analysis of the creation and activities of the Ethiopian Workers Party, which is guided by the ideas of scientific socialism. The authors follow the evolution of the views of Ethiopia's revolutionary democrats from the ideas of national "Ethiopian" socialism to full acknowledgement and active utilization of the principles of scientific socialism as applied to specific situations. It seems that this interesting monograph would profit greatly if the authors would include the philosophical-sociological aspect of comprehending the phenomenon of revolution in Ethiopia among the questions examined in their work.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### U.S. AUTHOR'S BOOK REVIEWING U.S. MILITARY STRATEGY CRITIQUED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 9, Sep 86 p 63

[Review by Sh. Breus under the rubric "Book World": "The United States: A Tougher Foreign Policy Course"]

[Text] Jeffrey Record, "Revising U.S. Military Strategy: Tailoring Means to Ends," Washington, 1985, 105 pages.

At the beginning of the 1980's the United States of America abandoned the detente process and began to pursue a much tougher global foreign policy course. This was expressed through active utilization of the element of force in international relations, expansion of the arms race, and a widescale restructuring of general purpose forces. Washington began a regular reexamination of the United States' military and political strategies in such regions as the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

This work by Jeffrey Record, one of the representatives of the "New Right" on the current American political scene, is an attempt to justify a further increase in the activism of the United States' imperialist strategy.

The author painstakingly analyzes the development of U.S. general purpose forces from the postwar years to the beginning of the 1980's. Continual increases in the size of general purpose forces were necessitated by the expansion of the United States' military and political obligations abroad, on the one hand, and by the impossibility of further use of nuclear blackmail against the peoples of the world on the other. In the author's opinion the most important reason was the incompatibility between the ambitions of American military strategy and the capabilities of the American military machine which, as J. Record points out, led to systematic nonfulfillment by



general purpose forces of the tasks set for them by military strategists. Thus, for example, the author writes that military operations "in Vietnam required a considerably greater number of forces than the United States had planend..." (p 26). In fact the main reason for the failure of American aggression in Vietnam lay not with the number of U.S. intervention forces, as J. Record attempts to depict it, but rather was the result of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the foreign occupiers and of the large amount of aid rendered Vietnam by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Aware that the military capabilities of imperialism in the realm of general purpose forces are steadily declining, J. Record accuses U.S. allies of a lack of willingness to make a more substantial contribution to the "common defense" while the United States "continues to bear a disproportionately large share of joint military expenditures."

However, that which the author calls "duties toward the allies," "joint defense" and "an interest in peace and stability" are in fact efforts by the United States, disguised by nice-sounding phrases, to subordinate the interests of its allies to its own political ambitions. On this subject J. Record states quite frankly: "For 40 years," he writes, "the United States has deployed a substantial portion of its ground forces and tactical aviation abroad not as a sign of kindness toward its overseas allies and friends, but rather in order to increase American military might and secure American interests with the support of a system of military and political alliances" (p 49). In doing so he cynically emphasizes that it is 'always more advantageous to fight overseas rather than close to home'."

J. Record does not see the outlook for development in a reduction of American obligations abroad, nor in a renunciation of the function of "world policeman," which America took upon itself after World War II, but rather in further expansion of armaments, substantial increases in general purpose forces and the "inclusion" of these forces in the requirements of present-day American strategy. This point of view coincides with the official position of the Reagan Administration.

Nevertheless the United States' capacity to overcome the difficulties faced by its military strategy seems highly doubtful. And the problem is not at all that the United States, as the author of this book asserts, is spending too little on defense. Even more growth in the size of its general purpose forces would not permit the United States to achieve a dominant position in the world. In this connection it is appropriate to recall that the reduction in "American obligations" abroad which took place during the 1970's, and which J. Records regards as a period of "weakness", was by no means voluntary. The realities of international affairs -- a change in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism, between the United States and its allies and between imperialism and developing countries, and the establishment of strategic parity -- presented the U.S. Administration with the necessity of taking certain steps to lessen international tension.

During the first half of the 1980's these realities have become even more acute. The economic and military might of countries in the Warsaw Pact is growing, the national liberation movement in the "third world" is expanding, the political and economic independence of U.S. allies is increasing and, most importantly, there is occurring a fundamental change in the political, economic and psychological situation around the world. It comes as no surprise that the difficulties of the U.S. Administration, including those in the realm of military strategy, are increasing with each passing year. The author of this book sees a solution to these problems in a rapid increase in the size of American general purpose forces, active utilization of allied armed forces, a more clear-cut intra-NATO division of military duties, and a greater economic contribution by U.S. allies to the development of armed forces. Nevertheless it is quite obvious that the rational way lies not through further expansion of armaments and incitement of international tensions, but rather through arms limitations and a reduction of American obligations abroad.

J. Record's attempt to justify and establish a foundation for the American foreign policy course, which is aimed at achieving unilateral advantages over the Soviet Union both in the realm of general purpose forces and in the realm of strategic and space weapons, is unconvincing.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. OFFICIALS' IGNORANCE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE CRITICIZED

PM111509 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 Nov 86 p 7

[Article by A. Aleksandrov under the rubric "Beyond the Facts": "'Amateurs' in Russian Philology"]

[Text] How many diplomats from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow do you think can speak Russian? Speak fluently, without stuttering or pausing for a long time between words...

You won't believe it. No more than five. In the entire embassy? Yes. In the entire embassy.

Here's another question. How many diplomats on the State Department staff dealing with questions of relations with the Soviet Union have a reasonable knowledge of Russian?

The answer is two.

It is perfectly in order to ask: But can we give credence to these data?

We can. They are taken from a study carried out by the State Department itself. The study was carried out over a long period of around 6 months, and it was conducted with care. So the possibility of any substantial inaccuracies is virtually eliminated. The aim of the study was to clarify the situation as regards knowledge of foreign languages among employees of the U.S. foreign policy department. Not all languages, but the four which are considered not only the most difficult but also, according to the WASHINGTON POST, the "most important for implementing policy in the sphere of relations between the great powers, in the sphere of international trade, and in relation to the Near East situation."

The four languages are Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian. As regards the situation concerning knowledge of Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese the WASHINGTON POST, commenting on the results of the study, did not give specific figures but preferred to restrict itself to a general, albeit highly significant remark: "The United States is experiencing a serious shortage of diplomats who know foreign languages."

Never mind: With Russianists or Sovietologists--call them what you will--the situation is more or less clear. In case it is not quite clear, I will cite some more figures and one quotation. Here they are:

According to figures from the modern language association, there are only 28,000 Russian students in the United States, whereas in the Soviet Union 10 million people are studying English.

"As for Russian," Ambassador Monteagle Stearns, a high-ranking State Department representative, said, "nobody on our staff knows Russian the way the diplomat from the Soviet Embassy in Washington who addressed hearings at a congressional committee knows English."

Indeed, I can testify to that. The speech, transmitted "live," as they say, on CNN television channels, created a real furor. Both for the clarity with which the Soviet diplomat replied to the very complex, subtle, and sometimes downright provocative questions regarding the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and for the impeccable English. I can also testify that his standard of language knowledge is no exception at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. In any event it is impossible to even conceive of a situation in which only two or, let us suppose, five people in our embassy or, let us say, at our Consulate General in San Francisco could speak English fluently. And yet in the American Embassy in Moscow that is precisely the situation--according to the State Department itself.

...General Vernon Walters (Retired), former deputy director of the CIA and now U.S. permanent UN representative, emphasizes with pride in any autobiographical information: "I know several foreign languages fluently." There is a list of the languages, which includes Russian. Russian was mentioned again in information distributed at the Washington foreign press center before the start of one of Walters' press conferences. I intercepted the retired general 5 minutes before the press conference, addressing him in Russian: "Hello, how are you?" The answer came back, also in Russian, but then, when I said that I would be asking questions in Russian at the press conference, the general became irritable. "Better not," he begged. "Why?" "There's no point." And he tried to add something else, then waved his arm and went into English. And it was clear that the general was afraid that his Russian would not prove to be what he had claimed it to be in his autobiographical notes and that the myth would crumble.

Good luck to the general. He is a veteran, a soldier, he is used to obeying orders and not making policy. But there is a question to which SOVETSKAYA KULTURA has already turned its attention before: Does not the catastrophic shortage of Russian specialists affect the way U.S. policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is formulated and conducted?

It turns out that the administration has an abundance of this type of "Sovietologist" who does not know the language. And moreover Sovietologists at the level where it is not simply a question of obeying orders and

instructions but of participating--and participating directly--in shaping policy.

I am by no means alleging that if enough Americans studied Russian a bit more actively, relations between the great powers would change and move onto a firmer and more stabler footing. That, alas, is not so.

But we must not belittle the importance of a qualified Sovietologist. Ultimately specialist advice and the promptings of a skilled and expert specialist would help the head of the Washington administration not to make a fool of himself with statements such as "...there is no word for 'freedom' in Russian" or "as Nikolay Lenin laid down in his 10 commandments." Who knows: Perhaps if it were not for this conviction about the existence of "10 commandments of communism" there might not be the belief that the Soviet Union is the "empire of evil" and must be talked to only "from a position of strength."

Indeed, how could we know? Who is to do the prompting, if the entire State Department has only two employees who deal daily with questions of relations with the Soviet Union and who know Russian. And they know it only reasonably well...

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. SANCTIONS ON TRADE WITH USSR BACKFIRE

LD292121 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 29 Dec 86

[Text] New York, 29 Dec (TASS)--Tass correspondent Vladimir Kikilo reports:

The U.S. attempts to cobble together a united anti-Soviet front of economic bans on trade with the USSR have actually failed and backfired at U.S. economic interests.

This conclusions is drawn today by the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES which analysed the after-effects of the discriminating restrictions imposed by Washington on the export of oil and gas equipment to the USSR eight years ago.

"European and Japanese suppliers have picked up business that might have otherwise gone to American exporters," This has produced deplorable results for the U.S. oil and gas industry. According to figures from the U.S. Petroleum Equipment Suppliers Association, the American share of total Western exports of such equipment has fallen from 25 percent to less than two percent since the time when measures were enforced to control exports to the USSR.

"The U.S. petroleum equipment and services industry has lost literally hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of jobs as a result of the oil and gas control," says a statement from the industry trade association to the Commerce Department published by the newspaper.

What makes the situation grow still worse is that the U.S. oil industry is now plagued by the crisis sparked by the dramatic slump in prices of oil on the world market. Drilling expenditures in the United States have fallen by 70 percent this year.

"Despite the decline in world oil prices," the NEW YORK TIMES reports, "the Soviet Union maintains ambitious plans for oil and gas development." The current "five-year plan calls for an additional 10 percent increase in 1986-90 capital investment budget for oil and gas. Drilling in Western Siberia is expected to increase by 25 percent this year."

Experts are of one mind that measures to control exports to the Soviet Union have failed to slow down somewhat oil and gas production growth rates. Jan Vanous, a director of "Planecon, Inc.," a research organisation, said that Soviet oil production went up three percent this year. The Soviet Union has demonstrated that it can do it alone, he said.

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### U.S., SOVIET FISHERMEN COOPERATE SUCCESSFULLY

PM241419 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Dec 86 p 3

[V. Fridyev report under the "Business Ties" rubric: "On the Ocean Expanses"]

[Text] Nakhodka-Vladivostok--Despite efforts by the opponents of detente in the United States, reality shows convincingly every day that the two countries' business people can make an important contribution to creating an atmosphere of the greatest benefit to the cause of peace. Firm, stable trade and economic ties between our countries must become a positive factor in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is now 8 years since fruitful cooperations between Soviet and American fishermen began in the Pacific.

"When in 1978 we were arguing the need for joint work with you," Barry Fisher, the senior captain in the company and one of its founders, recalls, "very many people were opposed to the idea. But we held our ground."

Barry Fisher and James Talbot, the chief investor of capital on the American side, are realists. They appreciated that the introduction of 200-mile economic zones put fishing into the sole hands of home fishermen and promised sizable catches, and consequently profits. But U.S. shore enterprises could not have coped with hundreds of thousands of tons of raw fish from coastal waters.

Businessmen carefully calculated the options, mindful that the USSR has the world's most powerful processing fleet. The limitation of fishing activity within 200-mile zones had also hit it and reduced the supply of raw materiel. It was necessary to get together, Talbot and Fisher decided.

Similar calculations were also made in the "Dalryba" and "Sovryba" All-Union Associations.

The need for more powerful trawlers provided hundreds of jobs in the ship-building and ship repair industry of the U.S. northwest and in the U.S. fishing fleet. Fishermen saw for themselves how reliable their Soviet partners are. And tens of thousands of tons of fish caught off the American coast were supplied to the USSR's domestic market.

"I have been working with you for 5 years now," David (Dzhinks), flag officer of the hake-fishing group, said. "We work in harmony together and trust one another. I began fishing with you with great fears. How come I was all of a sudden with communists?! There have been no conflicts during these years, I have become friends with many Soviet fishermen, and my son proudly wears a Soviet fisherman's fur hat in the winter."

"The company now has a high reputation on our side of the water," Barry Fisher added. "It is a reliable business, with good earnings."

There were 3 days of intense talks in Nakhodka. I was able to attend them and to see for myself how difficult it is to find a single viewpoint. Concessions were hard won. The Soviet and U.S. captains scrupulously discussed every word before signing the joint work protocol for 1987.

The partners pledged to fulfill the company's allocated quota ahead of schedule and to begin 1987 joint operations much earlier.

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CSO: 1825/060



## WESTERN EUROPE

### 'EUREKA' CONFERENCE ENDS 'KEEN' DISCUSSIONS

LD182135 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Text] Stockholm December 18 TASS--Special TASS correspondents Albert Balebanov and Nikolay Vukolov report:

The fourth European intergovernmental conference on the Eureka programme, which provides for the development of advanced technologies, ended here on Thursday after keen discussions. It was attended by foreign and research ministers of 19 West European countries who discussed such matters as further financing the programme, expanding the market for hightech products and attracting medium and smaller companies into participation in this programme.

Speaking before pressmen Tage Peterson, minister of industry of Sweden and president of the conference, said that the ministers failed to settle finally the question of financing the Eureka programme. This calls in question the prospects of cooperation among West European partners who approved at the conference 37 new research projects on advanced technology. This brought the total of Eureka research projects to 109 and their costs to 3.5 billion European Monetary Units (EMU).

The question of marketing hightech products continues to be very acute with the USA and Japan still having a monopoly on them in the world markets. This does not suit the interests of Eureka partners who want to make West European industry more competitive.

The military aspect of the Eureka programme was not openly discussed at the present conference. But there are intentions, as West European journalists say, to use this programme for military purposes.

Ingvar Carlsson, the prime minister of Sweden, speaking at a press conference here, said the results of research should not be used for military purposes.

The conferees decided to allocate 1 million EMU for the budget of the Eureka international secretariat for 1987. In the next nine months the organisation will be presided over by Spain. It was decided to hold the fifth European intergovernmental conference on Eureka programme in Madrid next September.

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CSO: 1825/058

## WESTERN EUROPE

### FRG CDU-CSU FOREIGN POLICIES VIEWED

PM251012 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 86 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Mikhaylov: "Onward, Back to Front: The Foreign Policy Principles of the CDU/CSU"]

[Text] The echo of Reykjavik, speeding over the continents, gave the vision of a nuclear-free world unprecedentedly clear outlines of reality. It profoundly affected the peoples' ideas on who is who in present-day international life. This can be sensed in a European country like the FRG, where the concentration of lethal weapons has reached an unprecedented scale.

There are many symptoms of the development of a new psychological atmosphere there. The slogans on the "threat from the East" and the arms race being the "fault" of the USSR, slogans which have become established over the decades, are gradually fading. The unpredictability of the U.S. course and Washington's disregard for Europe's security interests are giving rise to increasing concern. According to figures from the (Emnid) public opinion institute, 61 percent of the population does not doubt the seriousness of the USSR's intentions to pursue a policy of detente.

You would expect this to be gratifying to the FRG ruling circles, who have assured us repeatedly that they have nothing on their minds except the development of good, mutually advantageous ties with their Eastern neighbors. But recent events cast doubt on these intentions. Substantial grounds for this are provided by the program put forward by the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU] bloc, the conservative bloc which leads the ruling coalition. True, the program is supposed to orient the party toward the struggle to retain power at the parliamentary elections scheduled for early next year. But according to CDU General Secretary Geissler, its principles go far beyond the bounds of that task, and will form the "foundations" of the party's policy for the next 4 years.

What foreign policy paths, in the opinion of the program's authors, should the FRG follow? Onto which side of the scales do they intend to put the country's considerable potential in the present complex, tense situation? The CDU/CSU document contains propositions on the desire for "mutual understanding, confidence, and cooperation" with the socialist countries, first and foremost the USSR. But this road is immediately blocked by artificial obstacles.

Progress along it is made dependent on whether or not the socialist countries adopt capitalist ideas about human rights and freedoms. Moreover, without the "transplantation" of bourgeois views, the program says, "there can be no genuine peace" at all.

So should the socialist countries introduce unemployment for many millions of people? Start persecuting communists, condemning Protestants and Catholics for their sacred right to call for peace, as is the practice in the FRG and other "free" Western states? Or will the CDU/CSU perhaps prescribe for us the "creed" which they propagandize at every step in the FRG--"if you have property, you are a man; if not, you are nothing"?! The authors of the program can hardly be so naive as to suppose that our socialist society will return to "free" enterprise. Evidently the most important thing, for the CDU/CSU leaders, is to revive the spirit of ideological and political confrontation in international relations, with all its pernicious consequences. And at the same time to distract the population from the gross flouting of civil rights and freedoms in the FRG itself, stop the development of a new psychological atmosphere, and create an atmosphere permitting unhampered participation in the arms race.

At the insistence of Strauss, leader of the extreme right, the program includes revanchist provisions which call into question the territorial and political realities in Europe. It is claimed that the "Eastern treaties" are not a recognition of borders, and that the "German question is open" still. "Today," CSU General Secretary Tandler said, explaining the program, "there are no grounds for speaking of the binding force of the Eastern treaties." How are we to understand that? Even Strauss has stated repeatedly that the treaties should be observed. Or have some people in the FRG taken as a model the conduct of the U.S. Administration, which flouts its SALT II commitments and the ABM Treaty?

The program also revives the thesis dating from "cold war" times, according to which the FRG is the "representative of all Germans," including those who "still live in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where communism rules." There is really no limit to the mania of great-German chauvinism!

The thrust of the CDU/CSU program was perhaps most accurately summarized by the CSU general secretary, who described it as a revival of the "legacy of Konrad Adenauer." But the days of that apostle of revanche have long gone. So do his "heirs" really suppose that you can move forward very far, back to front? Have they really forgotten how, in the first postwar decades of that kind of "rule," the CDU/CSU led the country into an impasse of international isolation and turned it into a threat to peace in Europe?

Of course, in evaluating this program account should also be taken of the old criterion put forward by Bismarck, who stated that people never tell so many lies as after hunting and before an election. But the authors themselves define it as evidence of a departure from the principle of continuity in policy, from the course of the preceding governments, who paved the way for a new policy in relations with the East European neighbors.

Is this departure final? It is well known that the program's adoption was preceded by long-drawn-out discussions between the CDU and the Bavarian CSU, as well as battles within those parties between moderates and the most reactionary grouping, which has become known in the country as the "steel helmet" after the militarist organization of the Weimar period. Their differences have been stifled for the time being--it is necessary to demonstrate "unity" before the elections. But the differences remain. The future will tell how they will affect the formation of FRG foreign policy. And the surrounding world will not be indifferent to the question of whether the forces of the past prevail in Bonn, or whether the new way of political thinking will make its way through.

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CSO: 1825/56

WESTERN EUROPE

SWEDISH-SOVIET JOINT TOOL-MAKING PLANT

LD282148 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 28 Nov 86

[Text] Leningrad, 28 Nov (TASS)--A tool-making plant in Orsha, Belorussia, will be the first Soviet-Swedish joint enterprise. Well-known Sandvik will be the pioneer of the new form of cooperation, introduced as part of the Soviet economy's restructuring, among Swedish firms.

Christer Casell, Sandvik's chief representative in the USSR, told newsmen that the Orsha plant will produce unit and modular systems.

"Under the agreement, our share will be 49 percent as against 51 percent of the Soviet part of the investment," Casell said. "The profits will be distributed accordingly. We are prepared to invest part of our profits in production development."

"The experience of Sandvik's long-standing cooperation with Soviet partners gives grounds for optimism in the new sphere of relations," the Swedish representative said.

Sandvik's press conference was held on the firm's premises at the international "Svarka-86" (Welding-86) exhibition, currently held in Leningrad. More than 100 firms from 18 countries are taking part in the exhibition.

Sandvik is showing here filler materials and electrodes for robotised welding plants.

"Leningrad's leading industrial enterprises, Electrosila, Izhorskiy Zavod, Russkiy diesel and others, traditionally are among the major buyers of products manufactured by Sandvik and other Swedish firms," Casell said.

"Sandvik is now holding negotiations with the Soviet side on its participation in the construction here of a new plant to produce ship engines. We pin great hopes also on the development of frontier trade," he said.

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CSO: 1825/55

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

MOSCOW URGES RESTORATION OF CHINESE-VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP

OW011228 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 26 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, according to wire reports, public opinions in Asian countries attach great importance to Soviet proposals on settling problems of the Asian-Pacific region. In his commentary on the essence of the Soviet comprehensive program for dealing with these problems, station observer Vasiliyev says:

It is a regret that Asia is increasingly becoming a place for military and political confrontations. This has prompted many Asian countries to repeatedly offer proposals for settling conflicts and strengthening peace and stability in Asia.

Stopping imperialist interference in the Cambodian affairs will lead to settlement of the so-called Cambodian issue and will rebuild peace on that ancient land. The settlement of the Cambodian issue depends, to a large extent, on Vietnam-China relations. Friendship between the people of the two neighboring countries, which was an important factor of peace in that region, led to the doom of the imperialist beasts. Restoring this friendship, turning Vietnam-China border into a peaceful and good-neighborly one, resuming comradely dialog, and removing unnecessary distrust are of great importance to the peoples of the two countries as well as other countries in that region. A folk adage says: It is impossible to clap with one hand. Both countries should be sincere. The Soviet leadership feels that the favorable occasion for restoring past friendship between China and Vietnam has come.

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CSO: 4005/256

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

JAPAN'S OKITA ON PROSPECTS FOR JOINT VENTURES

OW180459 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Text] The 17th International Symposium on Environmental Protection was recently held in Moscow. Former Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita, chairman of the Domestic and Foreign Policy Research Institute and president of the International University, took part in the symposium as one of 22 participants. Mr Okita is also an expert on Japanese-Soviet economic relations. Mr Okita granted the following interview to a Radio Moscow reporter:

[Begin recording] [Okita] One purpose of my visit, at the invitation of the Soviet academy, was to exchange views on economic problems.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr Okita, you have had talks with many politicians and economic experts. Was developing future Soviet-Japanese cooperation the main topic of discussion?

[Okita] Yes, I discussed the issue a little, but mostly, I was informed of the principles on which current Soviet domestic policies are being carried out. I heard their explanations and exchanged views. This was the purpose of my visit. When I met with Deputy Premier Kamentsev, he explained the Soviet position regarding direct relations with Japan, such as in trade and joint ventures. However, my primary job was to hear their views on various economic reforms now under way in the Soviet Union.

[Reporter] Do you think that joint ventures have bright prospects?

[Okita] Various relevant rules are expected to be announced within this year to prepare for the start of joint ventures next year. Large ventures are unlikely to be started in the initial stage. It appears that the two sides will carry out small- and medium-sized mutually acceptable ventures in the beginning. For example, there is likely to be a discussion regarding fisheries. At any rate, the plan is to accumulate experience and gradually develop joint undertakings. This is a new attempt for both Soviet and Japanese enterprises. Therefore, they must develop their ventures gradually through the accumulation of experience.

[Reporter] What are the prospects for Japan-USSR economic cooperation?

[Okita] In the past, Japan imported a lot of natural resources. However, Japan is no longer as dependent on natural resources as in the past because of changes in its industrial structure. Industries dependent on natural resources such as minerals and coal will no longer be developed in Japan. Therefore, I believe that there will be no considerable increase in the import of natural resources from the Soviet Union in the future. Under a recent new policy, the Soviet Union will no longer seek to produce everything by itself. It is seeking to produce popular goods and export them, but it is also seeking to import commodities from foreign countries when their domestic production is not favorable. The Soviet Union now seems to have the concept of international division of labor. In particular, as far as Soviet civilian industry is concerned, it has thus far been less competitive on foreign markets. However, government officials and economists are now likely to gear their thinking toward producing competitive goods in terms of quality and price for sale to foreign countries. In this context, it seems possible to develop new types of trade between the two countries.

[Reporter] This is my last question. When was your last visit to Moscow?

[Okita] My last visit was 12 or 13 years ago. I visited the Soviet Union 3 times before that. I feel a considerable change in the Soviet Union. I feel I have gained brighter impressions than before. I believe people can now exchange views freely. [End recording]

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CSO: 1825/062



SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SOVIET FLIGHT MECHANIC INTERVIEWED ON EVENTS IN MACHEL CRASH

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by special correspondent V. Yunisov: "Who Caused the Crash?"]

[Text] The real causes of the crash of the TU-134 carrying Mozambique president Samora Machel are still unknown. Our correspondent met with flight mechanic Vladimir Novoselov. He is the sole surviving crewman of the tragic flight.

Sestroretsk Hospital No 40. The rehabilitation ward. As a rule, patients move around here on crutches or wheelchairs--their injuries are serious. A ramp--a staircase without stairs covered with soft linoleum--was built for convenience. I took this ramp to the third floor.

The nurse pushed Novoselov's wheelchair over. Rising on his crutches, he entered ward twenty-eight slowly but rather confidently. As he approached the bed he stumbled accidentally, and pain contorted his scarred face.

"So you came to write about me? Why should you? I'm no hero. I was just lucky to survive. But what kind of luck is that, to outlast four of your friends?"

Vladimir Novoselov, 37, is a communist, and he has a wife and two children. He was born in the rayon center of Verkhnyaya Poyma, near Arkhangelsk. He graduated from the Yegoryevsk Aircraft Maintenance School, and was assigned to the Leningrad Civil Aviation Administration. He worked as an aircraft maintenance technician, but he longed for the sky. Several years later, therefore, he cross-trained as a flight mechanic, and began flying aboard TU-134s. He needed to learn more, and so he registered for the correspondence faculty of the Moscow Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers. Since 1978 he has been serving as a flight engineer. He has clocked over 6,000 hours. Last year in Mozambique, when the flight mechanic of the presidential TU-134 fell ill, the administration of the Leningrad Combined Aviation Detachment quickly and surely settled on Novoselov--a top-class specialist.

Vladimir moved to Maputo in May 1985. His wife Nadya, Lenchka and Anton joined him a couple of months later. So began their new life. The crew consisted of excellent airmen, life-loving people. Pilot Yuriy Novodran had

flown in aviation for 25 years. The copilot was Igor Kartamyshev, the navigator was Oleg Kudryashov, and the radio operator was Anatoliy Shulipov.

Not only did they fly together, but also their families did things together. They lived in the same building, sharing a common entrance. They celebrated all holidays and birthdays together. The TU-134 crew was perhaps the friendliest in the All-Union Aviaeksport Association in Maputo. I am not trying to say that the IL-62 pilots spent less time off together, or did things together less. But you must agree that the more people fly together, the tighter a group they become and the more they care for each other as fellow airmen. The wives of "One-Three-Four's" crew had to wait more often for their husbands than did the wives of the IL-62 crew. President Samora Machel and members of the Mozambique government flew aboard the IL-62 only for long-distance nonstop trips abroad. Novodran's crew did more of the routine flying.

I read one of the notes in Novoselov's daily log, which he maintained meticulously and carefully: They flew just the president's children nine times in the last few months. The defense minister, other prominent officials of the FRELIMO party and government officials often flew. The geography of the TU-134's flights was just as extensive as Africa itself: Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe. In a word, the "hottest spots" of the continent. Samora Machel was a sworn enemy of the apartheid and racism imposed by Mozambique's next-door neighbor, the Republic of South Africa.

On 19 October the TU-134 took off for what was to be the last time. The airplane crashed on South African territory.

"What in your opinion caused the crash?" I asked Novoselov.

The flight mechanic pulled out a cigarette. Novoselov looked troubled:

"I'm certain this was no accident--it was sabotage. The South Africans planned it. Samora Machel, the president, was a thorn in their side."

Stopping to take a pill, Vladimir went on with his story:

"Machel's meeting with the presidents of Zaire, Angola and Zambia was confidential. Several craft carrying the other presidents gathered together in a certain place. Samora Machel stepped down from the TU-134 and climbed into another airplane. In the evening of that same day, around six o'clock, he arrived in Lusaka. He looked extremely tired, but as always, he hid his tiredness: He joked, he laughed. I can't remember a single trip when this lively, ever-optimistic person did not enter the cockpit and ask us how things were going and how we were feeling."

The airplane climbed to altitude and turned toward Maputo. It carried the crew and 43 passengers. The altimeter read 11,400 meters over Zambia. The TU-134 descended to 10,600 on crossing the border into Mozambique. Novodran ordered radio operator Tolya Shulipov to contact Maputo Airport.

"Charlie-Nine, Charlie-Alpha-Alpha," the radio operator radioed our airplane's call sign. "Permission to descend."

"Permission granted."

It was perfect flying weather. I remember the sparse, shredded clouds and the lights of the African villages like it was yesterday. Let me stress that there were no rain clouds, none of the thunderheads the South Africans say there were. Maputo was in front of us and to the left. Somewhere not at all far to the right was the border between Mozambique and South Africa.

Novodran asked his copilot to check out the right hemisphere. "Everything's all right, Commander," Igor assured him. We descended slowly. Altitude 5,200, then 3,000. Maputo was 113 kilometers away. Novodran turned off the autopilot and took control of the aircraft. Yuriy Viktorovich was an excellent pilot. Even navigator Kudryashov and radio operator Shulipov, who had clocked 13,000-14,000 hours each in the air, could not recall a commander with more experience than Novodran.

Our airplane was flying at 170°. The landing gear was not yet down; nor were the flaps. They had not yet prepared to land. It was still too early.

The altitude was less than 1,000 meters. The last thing I remember was the number 970 on the dial. And then, nothing.

A few minutes later the TU-134 struck a mountain on South African territory.

The racist puppet government of South Africa never gave a minute's rest to the country after the revolutionary transformations that began within it in 1975, when Samora Machel became president of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique. It armed bands of the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in the cities and provinces of this country. Weapons were ferried over to them by their masters from South African territory. Nadya, Novoselov's wife, recalled that shots fired by MNR bands could be heard very often even in Maputo. The bandits committed acts of terrorism, they poisoned the water in the Limpopo River, and they demolished electric power plants. They desired one thing--to sow panic in the population and topple the democratic order in the end. "I remember there was shooting even on the beach at Maputo, where we went once with the children to swim," Nadya recalls.

The president and the government took severe measures against the bands, and against those who abetted them. In the early 1980s Machel deported a group of American "diplomats" from Mozambique territory. The CIA has never been able to forgive the president for this. An attempt was made on his life on 25 November of last year. But there is nothing surprising in this. South African leaders choked with rage whenever they learned that Machel was making a trip to some country friendly to Mozambique aboard his TU-134. Pretoria equipped the MNR bands with weapons, constantly accusing Maputo of creating bases for the African National Congress of South Africa. Once South African Defense Minister M. Malan expressed his sentiments openly: He made physical threats against Machel.

The facts surrounding the crash of the TU-134 in South Africa's Natal Province demonstrate that the pilots of the Soviet crew had been forced off their course by a powerful portable radio beacon set up on South African territory. Radar manned by the South African air force followed the flight of the TU-134 closely, from the moment it took off from Lusaka.

Let us assume for a moment that South Africa is right in its assertion that it did not force the airplane off course with an electronic radio beacon. Why, then, did this country's air force not warn the crew that its airplane was violating the state border? This would have been, after all, a very convenient incident with which to initiate a new campaign against Mozambique. UPI reported something even stranger: It took a long time for the police to show up after Fernandu Manuel Zhoau, an officer in the president's bodyguard who survived the crash, managed to reach the nearest village and telephone the police for help. It took 6 hours for the crash to be reported by South Africa to Mozambique! Moreover according to the coordinates communicated by the South Africans, the airplane had supposedly crashed in Swaziland.

A cameraman from the Telecine television company said that surviving passengers were very amazed by the behavior of policemen at the crash site. Rather than rendering first aid to the groaning and bleeding casualties, they asked:

"Is this what's left of the president's airplane?"

"Yes," replied the few who had the fortune to survive. "The president's body is over here."

Paying no attention to the casualties, the policemen picked up everything they could lay their hands on--diplomatic mail, documents, money.

South Africa's leaders had dishonest answers for all accusations: The pilots had supposedly strayed, or there was "zero visibility." In a word, the racists are thinking up more and more new causes for the crash, if only to divert suspicion away from an electronic radio beacon. A government commission from our country and representatives of the ICAO are on their way to Maputo right now. The destiny of the four "black boxes" which South African leaders are still reluctant to return to either Mozambique or the Soviet Union is being resolved. They do not wish to return the boxes because they fear the truth that the Type 10 magnetic tape might tell about the last conversations of the crew and the last readings of the TU-134's instruments and apparatus.

Novoselov came to in a military hospital in Pretoria. Two days after the crash. Tangled in a web of wires with a cast on his right leg and with a horrendous headache, he slowly opened his eyes and saw his wife. There were tears in her eyes.

"I came from Maputo, Vova; Lenchka and Antoshka send their best. What's the matter, don't you recognize me?"

"Where am I?"

"In Pretoria, in a hospital. Your plane crashed," his wife explained.

"Where are my friends?"

"They are no more, understand?"

"And Machel too?"

"Yes."

"It was very hard to look at him," Nadezhda recalled. "His face was swollen, there were numerous injuries over his whole body, and his eyes were empty and lifeless. To him, it was a miscarriage of justice that he was still alive."

Even there, in the hospital bed, Novoselov could sense the apartheid and racism. Because of the color of their skin, the eight surviving passengers of the TU-134 were denied treatment by the South Africans. But he, "Mister Novoselov," was paid a great deal of respect: He was taken care of by several nurses, and he was visited by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Roelof Botha. Yes, that same refined and falsely intelligent Botha, who declared literally just a few days ago that the TU-134 crashed because the crew had been drinking before the flight. The INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE managed to pick up this "brilliant" idea of Botha's. Here is what that newspaper said in its 3 November issue: "Autopsies revealed alcohol in at least two of the crewmen." Lies of the worst kind. Samples of the analyzed blood of the deceased pilots delivered to Leningrad showed that to be so. Novoselov found a color photograph of himself and a headline across the entire front of a Pretoria newspaper: "Russians Thank Pretoria for Rescued Flight Mechanic."

It would have been surprising if South African doctors had not rendered assistance to the survivor of the crash. Giving aid to the wounded is the duty of every physician. But the South Africans offered this fact up as something heroic.

A few days later Novoselov was transferred to Maputo. And from there to Leningrad, to his motherland.

He is gradually improving, and learning how to walk. For the moment only on the hospital ramp. But things would get better. Vladimir figured out the total time of his recuperation: He felt certain that he would be flying again in a year. For himself, and for those who honorably fulfilled their international duty, and who are now at peace in a Leningrad cemetery. What would life be without flying? One must live. Death will not conquer.

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CSO: 1807/90

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIONS FOLLOWING MACHEL CRASH DESCRIBED

#### Eyewitness Account

LD101147 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 10 Nov 86

[Text] Maputo November 10 TASS--Special groups of South African military police, who arrived at the site of the crash of the plane carrying the Mozambican president, had known well what plane it was, Vasco Langa of the protocol service of Mozambique's Foreign Ministry has disclosed.

Langa accompanied Samora Machel on the fatal flight on the night of October 19/20. In an interview with Mozambique's AIM news agency, he said that three groups of armed men with flashlights appeared near the crash site 15 minutes after the accident.

Talking in Afrikaans, they repeated one question, "Where is Samora Machel?" After ascertaining Machel's death, the police picked all documents they could find and took them away.

Under previous versions, police arrived at the scene only several hours after the crash.

In grave condition, Langa was brought to a South African hospital where he was subjected to sessions of exhausting interrogation that lasted five days.

Pretoria officials were interested in the content of Machel's talks with the Zimbabwean leaders. One of the interrogators, a South African Air Force major, persistently sought to wrest from him mendacious confessions that would have cast aspersions on the pilots.

Langa, who worked with the crew during the flight by transmitting radio messages to Maputo via the plane's radio station, categorically rejected the racists' slanderous accusations.

Langa disclosed that South African officials resorted to crude blackmail in a bid to coerce him to betrayal and joining the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR).

"They threatened to deny me necessary medical aid unless I agreed to join the MNR," he said.

## Pretoria Blocks Investigation

LD121359 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Text] Pretoria has actually blocked the work of experts from the Soviet Union, Mozambique and South Africa investigating the causes of the plane crash in which the president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, was killed. This has been reported at a Moscow news conference by a spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation. He said South Africa had not submitted the readings of special devices from the crashed plane. He ruled out the possibility of a mistake by the crew, and said the accident could have been caused by shelling from earth, an explosion on board or strong radio interference. This is proved by the fact that the plane suddenly changed the chosen course and flew in the direction of mountains. It fell in the territory of South Africa.

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CSO: 1812/26

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