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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

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19 JUNE 1986

USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 1, January-February 1986

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ENGLISH SUMMARY OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 218-221

[Text] MILITARY PRESENCE OF IMPERIALISM IN AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARY EXPANSION

I.O. Ivanov, V.Ya Vybornov, V.Ya. Lebedev

A series of three articles deals with imperialist military bases in Afro-Asian countries. It examines their role in the global strategy of imperialism. Imperialists encounter considerable political and economic obstacles in establishing their bases. The population and governments of respective countries raise their voice against foreign bases and troops in their territory, in particular against the stationing of nuclear arms. It is for this reason that new bases are established, as a rule, in poorly inhabited islands. The USA are forced to yield concessions, change the legal status of their bases.

The article touches upon complex military bodies established by imperialists in the region (the American SENCOCOM, [forces of rapid deployment ], the French [la force d'action rapide]). It also raises the issue of agreements and contacts between imperialist states and those of Asia and Africa, their joint maneuvers, etc.

The local opposition to the imperialist military expansion is discussed with a special reference to the struggle of governments and masses of the island states of the Indian Ocean. This is the struggle against the imperialist military presence, for the lessening of tension, for the declaration of the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, for the establishment of the system of collective security, etc.

EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA BY FOREIGN PRIVATE CAPITAL

V.K. Vigand

The deterioration of the economic situation in the most of African countries hinders the exploitation of their natural resources and labor by foreign investors. Their activities in Africa are distinguished by shifting from direct investments to banking loans as the predominant form of capital export to Africa. Accordingly, not profits and dividends, but interest became the main form of exploitation of its countries.



The article singles out three periods in the export of private foreign capital to Africa: from independence to the mid-1970's, then a short transition period and starting from the early 1980's the recent period of debt crisis of Africa. Taking advantage of the weakened state of Africa's economy, the monopolistic capital intensified the grip on all African countries and its activities acquired usurious characteristics. Drawing the conclusion, the article points out that the evident shift in the form of capital inflow from direct investments to banking loans worsened the exploitation of African countries. It is the author's contention that an acceptable political approach should be found to the debt crisis of Africa, as well as to the liquidation of unequal position in the international capitalist division of labor.

#### CASTE IN BIHAR STATE POLITICS (INDIA)

Ye.S. Yurlova

The independent development of India was accompanied by an awakening and involvement into politics of the lower strata. Traditional ideas and institutions have been playing a marked role in this process. The growing political role of the caste is accountable for by the following reasons. Being deeply rooted in mass consciousness as an organization with an established mechanism of social manipulations, the caste has been well integrated into the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. In such a socially and economically backward state as Bihar (the second largest state in terms of population), the caste is still being a major category of social differentiation. It is playing an important role in the party politics.

Formerly, there had been four highest castes, Brahmans, Kayasthas, Rajputs and Bhumihars which challenged one another in their claims for political leadership in Bihar. However, since the mid-1960's the so-called backward castes of cultivators have grown more active politically. The long-running anti-zamindar struggle of cultivators has brought these castes together and the land reforms of the 1950's have made them stronger. The elite of these castes has turned from tenants into landowners. With the passage of time and thanks to the government policy encouraging agricultural capitalism they have become rich farmers. Having gained in strength economically, the elite of the backward castes challenged the domination of the highest castes in the leadership of the state organization of the Indian National Congress in the 1967 elections and claimed its share of political power. The victory of the Janata coalition in the 1977 elections demonstrated the growing political influence of the backward castes. Having taken advantage of their position in the Legislative Assembly of Bihar, they have succeeded in 1978 (for the first time since the attainment of independence) to modify the provision regarding the reservation of jobs in their favor. After a hard struggle they have taken an upper hand over Brahmans and Kayasthas but not Rajputs and Bhumihars whose power is still based on landowning.

It is the author's contention that the political struggle in the guise of caste rivalry constitutes an important segment of the class struggle in Bihar. In the context of the general socio-economic backwardness, unfinished bourgeois transformation of the precapitalist relations of production and relatively undeveloped party and political structure of today, for a long time to come the caste, in all probability, will serve as an instrument of mobilization and a ready-made form of political struggle often substantially deforming and distorting its genuine social and class essence.

## SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC: RESTRUCTURING OF STATE MECHANISM OF APARTHEID REGIME

K.A. Lisenkov

The ever deteriorating situation in South Africa in the past decade is accounted for both by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system and the contradictions of the regime of apartheid.

The change of the situation at home and in the international arena made the ruling circles of Pretoria modify their policy. The article examines the reasons, aims and forms of this modification. It analyzes the steps taken by the regime to resolve the crisis within the leadership on the issue of the strategy to preserve the privileged position of the white minority. This program, worked out under the guidance of the then Minister of Defense P. Botha, came to be known as the "total strategy". It has been formulated by the elite of the armed forces. Having taken in 1978 the office of the prime minister, P. Botha reorganized the administration. As a result of this reform the military started to play a considerably greater role in the decision-making process. The Council of State Security has become a central body in this process.

The article also considers the enhanced alliance of the political leadership with the monopoly capital of South Africa. The government appealed to the large corporations for help in implementing the "total strategy". In exchange for this support a number of measures were introduced to raise the profit of the leading companies.

The article reaches the conclusion that the military and monopoly circles enjoy a considerable influence and are a decisive factor in formulating the policy of the regime. The government of South Africa has turned into a kind of military committee to run the companies of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

## INTERNAL POLICY OF ISRAEL'S RULING CIRCLES

V.V. Benevolenskiy, T.A. Karasova

The article analyzes the consequences of the reactionary policy of the Zionist ruling circles of Israel. It is demonstrated that the expansionist goals of the Israeli foreign policy transformed Israel into a tool of the reactionary forces of world imperialism to pursue imperialist policy in the Middle East. The deep economic and political crisis was the outcome of the aggressive policy of the Israeli ruling circles. It brought about, first and foremost, a dramatic deterioration of the standard of living, encroachment upon the democratic rights and liberties (limited, as they are), exacerbation of social contradictions and escalation of the reactionary policy of the ruling circles. The power in the country is controlled by the big bourgeoisie. It represents the interests of the military and industrial complex. This state of affairs runs counter to the interests of the masses at large. Their position has been deteriorating in the context of militarization of the national economy, racial suppression and the dictate of the orthodox Jewish clergy.

The article reaches the conclusion that the profound economic and political crisis is a direct outcome of the anti-national and adventurist policy of the Israeli rulers. It is characterized by chauvinism, national aggressiveness and service to the aggressive imperialist forces in the international arena. These characteristics pave the way for the further encroachment upon the democratic rights, intensify the moral degradation of the Israeli society and promote the activities of fascist and pro-fascist Zionist parties and groups. The policy of the ruling Zionist circles fans sentiments of extremism and terrorism of the Jewish population and creates a threat of fascism. This anti-national policy is opposed by democratic, peace-loving national forces headed by the Communist Party of Israel.

#### LI DA AND MARXIST SOCIOLOGY IN CHINA

V.G. Burov

The article deals with the theoretical activity of Li Da (1889-1966). One of the first Chinese communist, Li Da tried to show unacceptability of the bourgeois ideology to China, to counter it with the scientific understanding of social processes. The article analyzes in greater detail "The Modern Sociology" and "The Fundamentals of Sociology" of Li Da. These two books popularize the fundamentals of Marxist sociology and dialectical materialism. They also characterize the Marxists attitude to various bourgeois ideologies.

The article emphasizes that the theoretical activity of Li Da was not without errors. His works contained a number of erroneous and disputable assessments. At times, the ideas he elaborated suffered from being out of touch with the Chinese realities. The application of Marxist principles in an insufficiently skillful way was typical of the first Chinese adherents of Marxism. The specific features of the evolution of the Communist movement in China are responsible for this.

Despite all this Li Da has made a considerable contribution to the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. Suffice it to say that in the 1920's "The Modern Sociology" was one of the first Marxist books in China which dealt with the fundamentals of the scientific sociology.

#### IRANIAN CULTURE IN LIGHT OF RITUAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Sh.M. Shukurov

Iranian Moslem literature and fine arts are analyzed to discuss the problem of the interpretation of the Iranian culture. The article focuses on the ritual and mythological tradition of the Iranian heritage with a special reference to the "Shahnamah" by Firdousi and its numerous illustrations. It emphasizes the fundamental role played by the Jashne-e sada ritual and the battle of the King with the Dragon. The article notes that in many ways the Iranian Moslem culture evolved in conformity with the norms laid down by the ritual.

Along with reflections on the ancient Iranian ritual the article examines a known formula of comparative mythology and religion "Knowledge--Word--Action" and its impact on the formation of Moslem culture.

## TEACHINGS AND RELIGIONS OF EAST ASIA IN MEDIEVAL PERIOD

A.S. Martynov, Ye.B. Porshneva

The article argues that the culture of the medieval East Asia belongs to an absolutely different type than that of the medieval Europe. This suggestion is based on the distinction in the interpretation of religions and their respective position in the ideology of the two parts of the Eurasian continent. In the East Asia the Chinese influence gave rise to the interpretation of religions as "teachings". This approach, actually, camouflaged the fact that in the Far Eastern societies it was the institution of monarchy, and namely the most sacralized personalities (not founders of religion but heads of state) which came to be the pinnacles of sacrality. This arrangement of the scale of values produced a pragmatic approach to religious systems of view. The latter were rather expected to be a help in educating people in a proper manner than a way to solve the essential problems of being. Enjoying a higher social and sacral status, the monarchy took a utilitarian attitude towards religions and accepted the right to monopoly of neither of them. Hence, the East Asian countries came to witness the emergence of a pluralistic system of religious beliefs. The traditional Chinese triad, i.e. Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, was an especially distinct expression of this system. The triad had to tackle two major tasks: to prove to the state its usefulness in running the country and adopt a certain policy towards the sea of popular beliefs. It was here that the ways of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism diverged. Whereas Confucianism tried to act as a filter between the pressure of popular beliefs and the official pantheon of the state. Buddhism and Taoism gave preference to the syncretic trend. This synthesis, however, had its limits, for the popular beliefs included those which the state believed to be seditious. The latter comprised in the first place the beliefs of popular sects. Focusing their attention on the problem of "salvation", these sects took practical steps to achieve it.

Within the given framework of the ideological views their teaching and their very existence was an overt challenge to the Emperor's prerogatives and the functions of the state. The official culture of "the great tradition" preferred therefore to ignore them. The sidetracking of fundamental religious problems to the periphery of culture had a twofold consequence. The official culture received an opportunity to progress along the purely non-religious lines, for it was not burdened with theological problems. The latter, however, having been sidetracked to the periphery, have turned into a rather explosive element.

## ON SECRET DETACHMENTS OF KWANTUNG ARMY

S.V. Chugrov

The article analyzes the links between the developing of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the USA of today and the activities of the top secret units of the Japanese Imperial Army engaged in the developing of the chemical and germ warfare techniques and testing them on prisoners of war during the Second World War.

The swift thrust of the Soviet Army against the Kwantung grouping foiled the monstrous plans of the large-scale chemical and bacteriological warfare. The Japanese laboratories in Manchuria and other parts of China were blown up. But the bulk of the personnel of the special units was shipped back to Japan, the most "valuable" materials and documents were passed to the U.S. occupational forces.

General Ishii of Unit 731 and other officers of the Japanese special units agreed to hand over to the USA secret materials dealing with chemical and bacteriological weapons.

In exchange for their willingness to cooperate, the criminals were not tried by military tribunal.

The documents of the Second World War, which had been found in the Japanese and American archives, and the Japanese publications of the 1980's provide conclusive evidence, that the poisoning substances and bacteriological weapons were repeatedly used by the Kwantung Army. Apart from this, they supply information of new Japanese top secret units which were engaged in the developing of chemical and bacteriological weapons. They also confirm that the Japanese experience was later passed to the USA.

#### EVOLUTION OF COMPOSITION PATTERNS IN MONGOLIAN ARCHITECTURE

V.N. Tkachyov

The article deals with patterns of the formation of the architectural environment of the nomadic society from the early nomads to the late Mongolian feudalism. It is demonstrated that the evolution of social hierarchy modifies the patterns of the architectural space arrangement, for the most part around the headquarters of chiefs and objects of religious worship. It also shows the way the concentric planning of houses is superseded by complex axis compositions reflecting multi-stage feudal patterns, the dramatic composition of the Buddhist worship.

The article elucidates the logic of the formation of the three-dimensional composition of yurta-like constructions. These constructions came to be the nucleus of the Mongolian architecture of the last centuries.

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## U.S., WEST EUROPEAN FOREIGN MILITARY BASE SYSTEM SCORED

### Asia and Pacific Sites

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 3-8

[Article by V.Ya. Vybornov: "Bases of Imperialist Aggression in Asia and Oceania" under the general heading "Imperialism's Military Presence in Asian and African Countries and the Struggle of the Peoples Against Military Expansion"\*]

[Excerpts] In the realization of the military-strategic doctrine of American imperialism a big place is assigned, as is known, the creation of military bases and facilities on others' territory. Currently the United States has more than 1,500 such bases and facilities located in 32 states. They permanently house over half a million U.S. servicemen.<sup>1</sup> U.S. imperialism avails itself in the deployment of military bases of the support of other imperialist states, primarily Great Britain and France. The United States has deployed over 300 military bases and facilities in countries of Asia and Oceania. In a vast area abutting the eastern and southern borders of the USSR and the borders of other socialist states the Americans have created approximately 100 air bases and airfields prepared for the deployment of warplanes, equipped approximately 30 naval bases and ports for the admittance of warships and deployed over 50 weapons, nuclear included, dumps and 100 troop-control centers, tracking, reconnaissance and communications stations and such.

Within the framework of imperialism's global strategy Great Britain and France continue to maintain military bases and forces on the territory of countries of Asia and Oceania. The number of British forces in the Far East and in Southeast Asia is over 15,000. The largest subunits are in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, and there are small garrisons on archipelagos of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Many islands have been converted into air and naval bases, and some have become proving grounds for testing new types of weapons. The British so-called overseas territories represent a reserve of considerable importance for the deployment thereon of military bases and facilities, American included; Great Britain's granting to the United States of the islands of Aldabra, Farquhar, Gan and Diego Garcia testifies to the latter. French

\* The collection of articles has common numbering for the footnotes.



imperialism has created a number of military facilities in the Mozambique Channel (the islands of Mayotte and Glorieuses) and east of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean (the island of Reunion and others). The French military authorities are conducting tests of a new generation of nuclear weapons on Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific. Within the framework of the resumption of military coordination with NATO and the defense of its "interests" on the overseas territories the French Government has created a "rapid-action force,"<sup>2</sup> whose strength it is contemplated raising by 1988 to 47,000 men.

Thus the imperialist states, primarily the United States, Great Britain and France, have created a deeply echeloned (from Japan to Oman and from Turkey to Australia) system of military bases, arms dumps and troop-control and communications centers which they are constantly supplementing with new components and bringing into line with the latest means of warfare and the changing correlation of forces in the world arena.

After WWII through the end of the 1950's, when there were a relatively limited number of nuclear warheads, the United States put the emphasis in its plans on bomber aviation's massed assault on the territory of the USSR and its allies. For this it had created a system of air and naval bases in direct proximity to the Soviet borders. However, when the monopoly of nuclear weapons was lost and its territory became accessible to a retaliatory nuclear strike as a result of the creation of ICBM's in the USSR, throughout the 1960's the United States undertook work on modernization of the existing bases and began to build at an accelerated pace space-based monitoring stations, radio and radio engineering reconnaissance centers, communications stations via artificial Earth satellites, including those serving nuclear missile-carrying submarines, and also military control centers and arms, munitions and fuel-lubricant dumps. The military facilities came not only to be deployed in proximity to the borders of the countries of the socialist community but also echeloned in depth.

Table. American Military Bases and Facilities in Countries of Asia and Oceania

<u>Country/Area</u>	<u>Number</u>
Japan	119
South Korea	141
Taiwan	11
Philippines	42
Thailand	4
Islands in the West Pacific	4
Australia	34
Pakistan	4
Saudi Arabia	1
Oman	2
Turkey	40

Sources: R.G. Simonyan, "Military Blocs of Imperialism," Moscow, 1976; V.A. Mironov, A.V. Torkunov, "South Korea--Base of Imperialism in the Far East," Moscow, 1979; ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE Nos 8, 10, 1977; Nos 2, 8, 1978: "Whence the Threat to Peace"; "Defense Report," Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981; AS-SAFIR, 22 April 1979; MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL, 22 June 1979; AFRICA REPORT, Sep-Oct 1979, Washington; THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, 1 October 1979; THE NEW YORK TIMES, 23 April 1980.

The huge scale of military preparations and the unleashing and the prolonged pursuit of military adventures, the most indicative of which was the aggressive war in Vietnam--all this was connected with considerable strain on the American economy. The U.S. leadership deemed it necessary at the start of the 1970's to move toward the extensive enlistment of other capitalist countries in participation in material-financial support for the military bases and facilities on their territory. As a result there was a change in the legal position of some of them in a number of countries of Asia and Oceania: individual bases and facilities were formally transferred to the ownership of the national governments, others came to be considered to be under joint control. In exchange for negligible concessions to the local authorities on questions of the legal status of the bases, a certain increase in the rent for the areas of land which it occupied, admittance to the bases of local personnel and so forth the United States acquired the right to use national military bases and facilities in countries of Asia and Oceania, particularly in the event of special circumstances. The United States began to restore the breaches in the system of its military bases made as a result of the military defeat in Indochina by creating new and speeding up the construction of military facilities planned earlier in the Pacific and Indian oceans, on the islands of Yap, Palau, Diego Garcia and others. In addition, its activity in involving countries with reactionary regimes (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Israel) in aggressive actions intensified. There were also changes in the strategy of use of the bases: they now become strong points of aggressive actions not only against states of the socialist community but also against other countries with progressive political systems and all national liberation forces in the emergent countries.

Under President J. Carter even the United States began to increase the pace of military preparations for the purpose of achieving military-technical superiority over the USSR, embarked on the creation of new weapons of both "global" and "limited" nuclear wars, stepped up U.S. and NATO preparations for war against the Warsaw Pact countries and employed military force against developing states. The aggressive thrust of the United States' military-political course became particularly obvious under the present administration, which was not slow manifesting itself in the further development of the American system of military bases and facilities. Negotiations were stepped up with a number of states of Asia and Oceania concerning the granting to the United States of new areas for the construction of military facilities, and the military bases were entrusted with the function of strong points for the RDF. Both at the old bases and those being newly created the construction of arms and munitions dumps began and "floating weapons dumps" came to be created on specially equipped ships. The deployment of new nuclear assault weapons, including cruise missiles, F-16 fighter bombers and so forth, began at a number of bases.

However, the correlation of forces on the international scene has been changing in recent decades not to the benefit of imperialism. Whereas earlier the deployment of American bases and facilities on the territory of countries of Asia and Oceania represented no great difficulty for the United States, now it was connected with overcoming definite political and economic difficulties. The majority of countries were manifestly unwilling to have American bases on their territory, demanded substantial payment for the use of areas of land and established restrictions of a legal nature; the local population displayed a dislike of the Americans, an increasingly strong antiwar movement developed and so forth. For this reason there was a change in the structure of the

United States' military bases and facilities: hitherto they had been designed, as a rule, for accommodating one branch of the armed forces, now, however, for comprehensive use. Among the "first-generation" bases we may put, for example, the Yokote (Honshu Island) and Kadena (Okinawa Island) air bases in Japan and the Clark Air Base in the Philippines and the Yokosuka and Sasebo naval bases in Japan and Subic Bay in the Philippines. The island of Diego Garcia (Chagos archipelago) in the Indian Ocean, which has been converted into the main strong point of the U.S. armed forces: both an air base and a naval base have been built and arms and ammunition, including nuclear, dumps and control and communications stations have been deployed here, may serve as a typical example of the newly built bases.

Another distinguishing feature of the newly built military bases and facilities is the fact that they are being set up, as a rule, on sparsely inhabited islands like, for example, Yap, Palau (Western Pacific), Aldabra and Farquhar (north of Madagascar), Gan (the southernmost in the Maldives archipelago) and Diego Garcia or on sparsely populated terrain like, for example, the U.S. air base of Misawa in the north of Honshu in Japan. This has been brought about by the unfavorable internal political climate in the countries where they are deployed; the goal of lessening the repercussions of a retaliatory strike against the bases is pursued also.

The measures connected with the United States' creation in 1980 of the RDF have imparted particular danger to the use of the military bases and facilities in Asia and Oceania. Intended for operations "in strategically important areas of vital interest to the United States" situated on some "arc of crisis" drawn by American reactionary political pundits and militarists from West Africa via the Near and Middle East through Southeast Asia, this force is aimed at suppression of the peoples' liberation movement. Consisting of formations and units of various types and arms of the service, the RDF uses primarily bases of a comprehensive nature, where heavy arms, ammunition and munitions are stored for it in advance.

In January 1983 the Americans set up a joint central command (CENCOM) with permanent headquarters in peacetime at MacDill Base (Florida) for coordinating the operations of American forces in the Near and Middle East and northern East Africa. The effective strength of this powerful group with total numbers of approximately 250,000 men includes formations, units and subunits of the army, air force, navy and marines. The combat-ready highly mobile formations of the 18th Airborne Corps (82d Airborne and 101st Air Assault divisions), 11 tactical aviation squadrons and 1 U.S. Navy carrier group constitute the basis of the forces subordinate to the CENCOM. It is planned allocating the command altogether by the end of the 1980's up to 5 army divisions and 2 divisions of marines with two "air wings,"<sup>4</sup> no less than 7 tactical aviation wings and 2 wings of strategic (B-52 bomber) aviation, 3 carrier groups and a considerable number of combat and rear support units (subunits).<sup>5</sup>

Whereas in the Near and Middle East the Americans are only just creating a springboard for the deployment of a sizable contingent of their forces, in the Far East such a springboard may be considered to already have been created. Both the length of the preparation of this theater of war and the

measures and plans pertaining to the deployment of new weapons systems here, including nuclear first-strike weapons--cruise missiles, Pershing 2's and submarines with the Trident 1/S-4 and, subsequently Trident 2/D-5 systems-- and also the frequency, scale and focus of the military exercises testify to this. A ramified system of radar stations, communications and control centers with space-based components and arms and munitions, including nuclear warheads, dumps have been set up here. As Japan's Prime Minister Y. Nakasone was forced to officially acknowledge, "at least five U.S. military bases on the country's territory, including Misawa (Northern Honshu), Yokote (suburb of Tokyo) and Kadena (Okinawa Island), are also designed, apart from anything else, to transmit the U.S. President's order concerning the launching of a nuclear strike to the operational subunits, aircraft, ships and nuclear submarines."<sup>9</sup> On the basis of an analysis of documents of the American and Japanese command members of parliament from the Japanese CP and the Japanese Socialist Party concluded that "Japan is an integral part of the global system of the Pentagon's nuclear strategy and the forward line for waging a nuclear war in the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean."<sup>10</sup>

An important component of the global system of the United States' nuclear strategy are the bases on islands in the South Pacific, particularly in Australia, which constitutes the rear line for waging global nuclear war. Pertaining primarily to the global communications and control system here are the Pine Gap joint space-based defense research center (in Alice Springs), the Woomera main military space communications station, the Harold E. Holt naval communications station (Western Australia) and others.<sup>11</sup>

An analysis of the measures pertaining to modernization of the bases and their systems as a whole permits the conclusion that currently they are being entrusted with the following assignments: participation in the preparation and realization of a general nuclear assault in a general nuclear war; a preemptive nuclear strike in a "limited" nuclear war; the creation of springboards for waging war with conventional weapons; and suppression by the armed path of the revolutionary and national liberation movements of the peoples. American imperialism's new plans and measures pertaining to the creation of an antimissile defense system with space-based components are evidently altering appreciably and supplementing the functions of the military bases and facilities on foreign territory. With the commissioning of a new generation of satellites for exercising reconnaissance, navigation and control functions and also space stations with on-board weapons they could be given assignments of control of combat operations in space and against targets in the air and on the ground. Even now 18 satellites of the NAVSTAR system are intended for adjusting the flight of American missiles and other weapons systems. Radar installations for gathering information on targets in space and on their possible destruction are already operating on Kwajalein Atoll and also on the Philippines. The creation of a space-tracking system using optical means is being completed for this same purpose. The commissioning of all the stations of this system is scheduled for 1988.

Concealing the aggressive essence of the "star wars" program with "defensive" rhetoric, the Reagan administration and the Pentagon are at the same time developing scenarios in accordance with which military satellites of the enemy are to be destroyed at the first stage in order to "blind and deafen him" and then an attack with ICBM's, strategic bombers, Pershings and cruise missiles

is to be launched. And the "space shield" is designed to ward off a retaliatory assault. The adventurism of such scenarios, indeed, of the entire program of an antimissile defense system, is obvious. But also obvious is the tremendous danger emanating from imperialism's militarist preparations, from the deployment of military bases and facilities on foreign territory included.

Supported by all peace-loving forces, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are counterposing to the aggressive policy of the United States and other imperialist countries and the buildup of military preparations in Asia and the Pacific and Indian oceans assertive action to ensure peace and security in the region. Advocating a constructive and mutually acceptable solution of the existing problems, the socialist states have put forward a whole set of specific initiatives in this field. Their proposals concerning the implementation of confidence-building measures in the Far East, the conclusion of a convention on mutual nonaggression in relations between states of Asia and the Pacific, conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and the convening of an international conference on this question and others would effectively contribute to the strengthening of peace in the region.

Recognizing the danger of the imperialists' actions aimed at converting the Asian region into an arena of military-political confrontation with the socialist and emergent states, the peoples of the region actively support the USSR's peace-loving policy in the region and are struggling resolutely against the military preparations of the imperialist powers.

#### African Bases Listed

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 9-14

[Article by V.Ya. Lebedev: "Military-Political Aspects of Imperialist Expansion in Africa (1980's)"]

[Excerpts] Having included Africa in the sphere of its "vital interests," American imperialism is developing considerable militarist assertiveness on the continent, putting the main emphasis recently on an increase in its military presence here. A large number of American military bases and other military facilities and several new strategic springboards--in Northeast, East and North Africa and in the south of the continent--has been created in a number of African countries. The 300,000-strong RDF, the military contingents of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc in the Sinai peninsula in the guise of the "Multinational Force" and also groupings of warships of the United States and other NATO countries are, in the plans of the NATO command, to rely on these springboards. The practice of conducting military exercises and maneuvers in the region (Bright Star--1980, 1981, 1983, 1985--Jade Tiger--1983--Shadow Hawk--1983--and others), which makes it possible to keep fully combat-ready units of the West's armed forces here for a long time and assimilate in practice areas of possible combat operations, is becoming increasingly widespread.

Importance is attached to imperialism's attempts to intensify the "bloc confrontation" by way of the creation of new coalition ties in Africa. The United States intends involving a number of East African countries in a military-political alliance and taking advantage of the aspiration of the North African Arab states to unification to this end. Nor has the question of the formation of a military bloc in the area of the South Atlantic with the participation of South Africa been removed from the agenda. Attempts at the organization of regional military alliances on the basis of the economic organizations which exist here are continuing in West and Central Africa under the aegis of France. The strategic designs of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States, concern primarily the African countries which are headed by pro-Western regimes and which occupy a strategically favorable position, possess major sources of raw material and have a relatively developed military infrastructure: equipped military bases, airfields, sea ports, a communications systems and so forth. We will describe imperialism's military-political measures in individual regions of the continent.

East Africa is important for the United States and other NATO countries primarily as a military-strategic springboard for realization of their interventionist plans in the Near East. A squadron of naval forces of the United States, Great Britain, France and the FRG consisting of several dozen warships (including carriers) and auxiliary vessels is permanently in the waters of the Indian Ocean adjacent to the region. This naval grouping is periodically reinforced on a variety of pretexts, as was the case, for example, in the fall of 1984 in the Red Sea area (at the time of the notorious "mine crisis"). The United States has been hastily completing the construction of a military base on the island of Diego Garcia and creating and modernizing bases and other military facilities in Egypt, Somalia and Kenya and, until recently, in Sudan.

American forces have used repeatedly, during exercises included, the Egyptian military bases of Cairo West, Qena, Aswan, Luxor and Ras Banas. Some \$106 million was allocated for modernization of the latter.<sup>12</sup> The question of conversion of the Ras Banas base into an intermediate point for the transfer of American forces to the Near East region is at the settlement stage. In addition, according to data of the Arab press, it is contemplated locating American weapons stores in the area of the Farafra Oasis and in the vicinity of Mersa Matruh and an electronic tracking center for processing information obtained from American satellites not far from El Alamein. In the 1981 fiscal year the United States allocated the Arab Republic of Egypt \$550 million, in 1982 some \$900 million and in 1983-1985 some \$1.3 billion annually.<sup>13</sup> In the period 1975-1984 the value of the U.S. military exports to Egypt amounted to \$6.5 billion.<sup>14</sup> For the 1986 fiscal year Egypt has requested from the United States by way of assistance \$3.15 billion,<sup>15</sup> of which it is planned spending \$1.7 billion on military needs. Within the framework of credit which has already been announced the United States is supplying this country with aircraft, tanks, armored personnel carriers, missile launchers and military patrol craft. The plan for the development of Egypt's armed forces for 1982-1986, which was coordinated with the Pentagon, provides for additional supplies of the latest American arms systems, aircraft with the Hawkeye system, F-16's and M60A3 tanks. The United States and Egypt are also cooperating actively in the sphere of military industry and in the realm of the use of nuclear energy. The Pentagon is organizing the training of personnel for Egypt's armed forces.

Egypt is also being granted considerable military assistance by Great Britain (it is supplying missile-firing patrol craft, hovercraft, helicopters and air defense missiles and sending military advisers), France (it is selling the latest Mirage 2000 aircraft, helicopters, air defense missiles and submarines), the FRG and certain other NATO countries.

Until recently the United States had been displaying heightened interest in Sudan, which occupies a favorable strategic position. Washington had developed the greatest assertiveness in this direction in the period beginning the start of the 1980's through the removal from office in April 1985 of the Nimeiri regime. The United States spent large amounts on assistance (including military) to Sudan.<sup>17</sup> The new regime in Sudan is evidently not disposed to continue the former policy of cooperation with the United States. Khartoum turned down the Pentagon's offer for it to take part in conjunction with the American armed forces in the Bright Star-85 military maneuvers on Egyptian territory.

The United States is paying great attention to an extension of military ties to Somalia. In accordance with an agreement concluded in 1980, the White House allocated Somalia \$40 million for purchases of weapons and military equipment, particularly AA guns, radar apparatus and such, in exchange for the Somali leadership's readiness to put its military bases in Berbera and Mogadishu at the disposal of the American armed forces. The Pentagon is also allocating a substantial sum for the modernization of the above-mentioned bases. Thus the most extended runway in Africa capable of taking all types of modern aircraft is being installed at the airfield in Berbera. The Arab press has also reported that in accordance with a secret clause of the agreement the Pentagon acquired the right to the use of a further four airfields on Somali territory.<sup>18</sup> Servicemen of the Somali Army regularly undergo training in the United States, American military instructors are sent to Mogadishu and joint exercises are conducted on Somali territory. U.S. warships, nuclear-powered aircraft carriers included, have become regular visitors to this country's shores.

The White House is attempting to enlist Kenya and Djibouti in cooperation in the military sphere. In exchange for increased military assistance to Kenya the U.S. armed forces have gained access to the naval base in the port of Mombasa and the air bases at Embakasi, Nanyuki and Wadjir. According to Western press data, in addition to the aircraft which Kenya has already obtained helicopters fitted with antitank guided missiles and other military equipment in a sum total of \$30 million will be delivered to this country. The bases intended for use by the Americans will be modernized, and the Pentagon has allocated \$60 million, furthermore, for modernization of the port and airfield in Mombasa alone.<sup>20</sup> In 1981 subunits of U.S. marines took part in maneuvers on Kenyan territory, and U.S. marines were landed on the Kenyan coast in 1983 during the Shadow Hawk exercises.<sup>21</sup> Visits to Kenya by American warships of all classes have become frequent.

Kenya is also being rendered active military assistance by Great Britain, which is sending its military advisers and selling this country combat equipment (attack aircraft). Four-five British Army battalions undergo "special training" in Kenya every year.<sup>22</sup>

The White House notes with satisfaction the Israeli leadership's endeavor to establish closer relations with Kenya. This country has been visited by various Israeli officials recently. In addition, Israel's espionage network is being introduced here in the guise of specialists and dealers. As the Lebanese press reported, documents captured by Iranian students in the American Embassy in Tehran at the end of 1979 testify that the Israelis maintain active ties to the intelligence authorities of such African countries as South Africa, Zaire and Kenya.<sup>23</sup>

As far as Djibouti is concerned, the United States has imposed on this country an agreement concerning the "limited" use of its port by American ships and forces. The Americans' penetration of this small country is being curbed by the powerful influence of France, whose military contingent here runs to more than 3,000 men.

The marked increase in recent years in the United States' military-political penetration of a number of North African countries (particularly Morocco and Tunisia) is explained by factors of both a global and regional nature. Considering the advantageous military-strategic position of these countries (primarily Morocco, which controls the entrance to the Mediterranean), the Pentagon is using their territory for the location of airfields and their numerous seaports and bases for the anchorage of U.S. warships.

The Pentagon is paying considerable attention to the development of military cooperation with Morocco. The United States' diplomatic activity in this country is being accompanied by a show of "military muscle"--warships' calls at Morocco's ports and naval bases and exercises of the United States' armed forces on the country's territory. An agreement was concluded between the United States and Morocco in 1982 on military cooperation. The agreement determines the possibility of the "temporary" deployment of U.S. servicemen on Moroccan territory. In particular, the military airfield at Sidi Slimane has been converted into a U.S. aviation transshipment base at a time of transfer of the RDF.<sup>24</sup> The Western press has also mentioned other military facilities which are becoming accessible to the Pentagon (Kenitra, Tangier, Sidi Yahya, Benguerir, Ben Slimane and El Aioun).<sup>25</sup> The U.S. Administration is rendering Rabat considerable economic and military assistance. The journal AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL announced its decision to sell Morocco a large consignment of aircraft and helicopters, tanks and missiles for a sum total of more than \$200 million. The MAP Agency reported that in 1983 American assistance to Morocco amounted to \$100 million. Merely in the period 1975 to 1984 the United States granted Morocco military assistance for a sum total of more than \$500 million. As U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger declared, Washington attaches "tremendous significance" to the development of relations with Morocco--"a friendly country which is very close to the United States".<sup>26</sup>

The White House is endeavoring to strengthen its military relations with Tunisia also, military facilities on whose territory it needs to control shipping lanes in the Mediterranean. American military assistance to Tunisia in recent years has grown sharply--from \$15 million in 1981 to \$140 million in 1983.<sup>27</sup>



Thus Morocco and Tunisia are attractive to the United States as strong points for transfer of the interventionist RDF to the Near East and deep into Africa. The United States is endeavoring to create in the Mediterranean favorable conditions for the operations of the U.S. 6th Fleet and its assault forces. Furthermore, the United States is hoping, operating via Morocco and Tunisia, to impart a military thrust to the regional organization of Arab states.

Besides huge reserves in the south of the continent of strategic raw material and colossal opportunities for capital investments, South Africa is of special significance to the United States and a number of imperialist powers as a dependable bastion in the struggle against the national liberation movement and as a "trampoline" for economic expansion into African countries. From the viewpoint of Western military experts, on the other hand, South Africa is a strategically important springboard for a stimulation of U.S. and NATO naval forces in the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean.

With the consent of the Pretoria regime NATO states have begun the active development of South Africa's naval bases and ports. This country's main naval base--Simonstown--has been converted under the leadership of Western specialists into the most modern in the region. Considerable attention is being given to modernization of the bases on the east coast of South Africa (Durban, Richards Bay), nor has the Namibian port of Walvis Bay on the west coast been forgotten. The United States and other NATO countries are already using the giant South African center for communications and radioelectronic reconnaissance, which caters for observation of more than 50 countries, located in Silvermain, near Simonstown. Its computers contain statistical data on approximately 20,000 warships and merchant vessels from 85 states.<sup>28</sup>

South Africa is being pulled into SATO--the South Atlantic military bloc long planned by the Pentagon and the NATO military leadership. The first steps pertaining to the creation of SATO, in which Washington intends enlisting, besides Great Britain and South Africa, Chile and Paraguay, for example, have already been taken. The infrastructure of the bloc which is being set up is to incorporate the military facilities on the Falklands (Malvinas) and also the islands of Ascension, Tristan da Cunha and Gough, which also belong to Great Britain, at Cape Horn and Punta Arenas (Chile), on the coast of South Africa and even on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.<sup>29</sup> South Africa is being entrusted with a most important role in the implementation of these plans. A special group has been set up in CENCOM headquarters which has been entrusted with the elaboration of plans for the transfer of American forces to areas beyond this command's "zone of responsibility".

As already mentioned, France retains considerable military-political influence in West and Central Africa. A French military contingent numbering up to 10,000-12,000 men is currently deployed at permanent bases located mainly in countries of precisely this region: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Gabon and the Central African Republic, with which Paris has defense treaties and military-technical cooperation agreements. From August 1983 through November 1984 approximately 3,000 French soldiers were in Chad. Following their withdrawal (partly to the neighboring Central African Republic), more than 100 French military advisers remained in the country. Furthermore, assistance to the Ndjamena regime in the form of weapons and other military resources

has been increased. France's agreement with Togo and Cameroon provides for French forces' right to use local airfields and military bases. Military-technical assistance is being granted Niger. Besides these countries, French military advisers, as the journal JEUNE AFRIQUE reported, are in Mauritania, Congo, Zaire, Ruanda and Burundi and also in North African states--Morocco and Tunisia<sup>30</sup>--which is being used to spread French influence to the national armies and for meddling in these countries' internal affairs. France is currently creating a "rapid-action force". France retains second place (behind the United States) in terms of weapons exports, and, furthermore, the main recipients of French weapons are African countries.

Like the United States, France regularly conducts in many countries of the continent maneuvers of its armed forces (in Djibouti, for example) and also joint military exercises. In the period 1982-1985 such exercises were conducted in Senegal, Gabon, Morocco, Ivory Coast and Togo. It is significant that while displaying distrust in many aspects of Paris' foreign policy in Africa, Washington officials are nonetheless at one with it in support of the reactionary regimes preserved in countries of this continent (an example of which is American support for France's operations in Chad).

Together with its own military presence in many countries of West and Central Africa France is exerting efforts in order to create on the basis of the economic organizations which exist in the region military-political alliances on the pretext of a unification of forces to counteract "the two competing superpowers in Africa". This applies primarily to the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS) and the West African Economic Community (CEAO). A treaty on nonaggression and mutual assistance in defense of the CEAO countries, which was joined by Togo, was concluded in 1977, and in 1981 some 13 of the 16 ECOWAS members signed a protocol on mutual assistance on defense issues. And although the question of the formation of military organizations within the framework of the said societies has yet to be finally settled (owing to disagreements between certain CEAO and ECOWAS members), it can be assumed that they will be created nonetheless.

So, at the present time practically the entire African continent is becoming a target of imperialist expansion. The Western powers headed by the United States are stepping up their militarist activity here, increasing their own military presence, creating strong points and strategic springboards and endeavoring to pull many African countries into military-political blocs. The Nigerian journal TIMES INTERNATIONAL wrote in this connection: "The imperialist states' African policy is being determined by the Reagan administration's course of confrontation with the forces of peace and progress. The West is carrying out subversive activity against progressive governments and national liberation movements and supporting racist South Africa. The United States is persistently igniting conflicts in Africa, attempting to use them in its own interests."<sup>31</sup> Such actions of the imperialist states are a direct threat to the peoples of the African continent. Other essential goals are being pursued here also: the imperialist powers' establishment of control over the African countries' natural resources and attacks on the national liberation movement and progressive regimes.

The imperialist powers' military-political assertiveness in Africa is giving rise to the growing concern of the peoples of the continent. Their endeavor to ward off the military danger looming over the African countries is growing and assuming an increasingly distinct nature. This endeavor was expressed, in particular, in the Lome declaration on security, disarmament and development in Africa adopted in August 1985. The participants in the meeting in Lome advocated a uniform approach to the solution of the problems threatening peace and security in the region and the speediest creation of a UN peace and disarmament center. The action program formulated in Lome contains corresponding recommendations to the OAU and the governments of African countries.

#### Indian Ocean Islands

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 15-20

[Article by I.O. Ivanov: "Island Indian Ocean African States Against the Military Preparations of Imperialism"]

[Excerpts] Madagascar, Mauritius, the Seychelles and the Comoros form a special subregion of Africa which differs from the continent in many respects (singularities of historical development, specific features of socioeconomic problems and ethnic "dissimilarity"). This subregion's strategic position is of exceptional importance. Having found themselves in the orbit of the policy of militarization being pursued by the West, these states, like the peoples of other Afro-Asian countries, actively support peace and a relaxation of international tension and oppose the arms race. Their leaders view the problem of safeguarding their countries' security in the context of international and regional security and recognize the urgent need for a continuation of the process of the relaxation of international tension.

The peoples of the island countries used the detente process to step up the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. It was in this period that national-democratic revolutions on Madagascar and the Seychelles began and intensified and that the positions of the Western monopolies were seriously squeezed. The trade union movement of Mauritius strengthened, and the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) leftwing party was formed and consolidated its positions. It was in the years of detente that Madagascar succeeded in overcoming dependence on France in the military sphere.

The Democratic Republic of Madagascar and the Republic of Seychelles are struggling in defense of peace and for removal of the threat of nuclear war. In the United Nations and the nonaligned movement and at various international forums they are among the states which aspire to effectively influence an easing of the international situation. "There is today no more important task than preventing nuclear war and preserving and consolidating peace in the world," Madagascar President D. Ratsiraka, in particular, emphasized. "This applies not only to the great powers but all states."<sup>32</sup> "The Seychelles People's Progressive Front believes that peace should reign in the Indian Ocean and throughout the world, which will enable the Seychelles and other developing countries to channel all their resources into their countries' development and will make possible the true prosperity of our peoples," Seychelles President F.A. Rene said.<sup>33</sup> The progressive forces of the subregion see clearly who is

to blame for the exacerbation of the international situation. "The policy of the imperialist powers is aimed at undermining peace and security and is threatening the very existence of modern civilization," S. Randriananja, deputy chairman of the Madagascar Popular National Assembly, emphasized. "It is essential to be vigilant in the face of the intrigues of the forces of neocolonialism and reaction, which are endeavoring to pull the developing countries into aggressive military blocs."<sup>34</sup>

Their standpoints pertaining to problems of demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, which have currently assumed global significance, predetermine primarily the island states' growing role in international relations. The important strategic position of Madagascar, Mauritius, the Seychelles and the Comoros is determined by the fact that, given the current development of combat equipment, such areas as the Persian Gulf, Southern Africa, Southwest Asia and the entire East African coast are proving easily attainable from their territory. The island states' effective struggle to liquidate the imperialist states' military bases on their national territory and in contiguous areas cannot fail to contribute to an improvement in the political and military climate in the region. This struggle is impeding to a certain extent the attempts by the United States and its allies to upset the military-strategic balance of forces with the socialist world. Thus Madagascar's 1974 decision concerning the liquidation of France's military presence on the island had important consequences. It undermined to a certain extent French imperialism's influence in this part of the Indian Ocean.

Madagascar, the Seychelles, Mauritius and the Comoros fully support the idea of the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace--a specific plan of measures in the political and military spheres aimed at the winding down here of all forms of militarist activity. Objectively this position represents an alternative to the policy of the United States and its allies of the spurring of international tension and exacerbation of military confrontation in the Indian Ocean. The positions of Madagascar and the Seychelles on this question are close to those of the socialist countries. They demand the speediest adoption of practical measures aimed at liquidation of the foreign military presence, a lowering of the level of confrontation and the curbing of the arms race in the Indian Ocean basin.

These countries' delegations in the United Nations and its bodies resolutely expose the proposition concerning the need for Western countries to defend the ocean's shipping lanes and "the need to defend the oil supply routes" which Washington is using as a pretext for increasing its military power in the region. "Do the problems really amount to protecting the routes along which oil is shipped, and if so, against whom do they need to be defended?" a declaration of the Seychelles made at a meeting of the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean asks. "A reasonable consensus on the question of the defense of these routes, which, it is claimed, are endangered, could be reached within the framework of negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations. The majority of countries of the region are prepared to reach any agreement guaranteeing rights to free passage in the open seas."<sup>39</sup> "Under the conditions of the existence of the appropriate treaties and agreements," Madagascar President D. Ratsiraka emphasized, "there would be no point or use sending entire fleets to this region and creating military bases there."<sup>40</sup>

The creation of the CENCOM was seen by the given region's progressive forces as the United States' endeavor to increase military-political confrontation in the Indian Ocean basin. "This step of Washington's," the Malagasy newspaper IMONGO VAOVAO wrote, "testifies to the United States' hegemonist pretensions in a vast area incorporating many Near East and African countries, a considerable part of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.... The United States has impudently flouted the sovereignty of independent states."<sup>41</sup>

While supporting the demand for the creation of a zone of peace Mauritius and the Comoros are, however, less assertive on this issue and occupy a hesitant or wait-and-see position. Although back in 1980 the developing countries of the basin excluded from official documents of their conference and meetings the erroneous proposition concerning "superpower rivalry" as the source of tension in the Indian Ocean, the Comoros and Mauritius continue under pressure from the West to put the policy of the imperialist and socialist countries in the region on a single footing. Inventions concerning the "hegemonism of the superpowers and their aspiration to control the seas and oceans" were reflected, in particular, in resolutions of the constituent congress of the Comoros' ruling "Ujima" Party.<sup>42</sup> Such a position is objectively impeding the coordinated, effective actions of the developing and socialist countries for demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

The presence in the region of foreign military bases is, naturally, giving rise to the island countries' particular concern. "We must demand first of all the liquidation of all military bases in the Indian Ocean," Seychelles President F.A. Rene said at a 1978 conference of progressive parties of the Indian Ocean. "This is the key problem."<sup>43</sup> "A gradual and controlled reduction in forces and arms deployed in the Indian Ocean and the liquidation of all foreign military bases created on the territory or in the waters of all coastal states represent measures ensuing from the zone of peace concept. They are provided for in Resolution 2832 (of the UN General Assembly 26th Session). The countries of the region demand their implementation," the Madagascar delegation at a session of the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean emphasized in a statement.<sup>44</sup> The Comoros and Mauritius support the liquidation of the military bases of extraregional states. These demands pertain primarily to the U.S. naval base on Diego Garcia, which is in direct proximity to the island states and which is a direct threat to their sovereignty and stability.

Another important element of the military presence against which the zone of peace concept is aimed is the presence in the Indian Ocean of naval fleets of nonlittoral states. The United States' policy of increasing the naval assault groupings in the basin on the pretext of the right to "freedom of the open seas" is being sharply assailed by the progressive forces of the subregion. The Madagascar representative on the Special Committee, for example, emphatically protested the extension of the concept of freedom of navigation on the open seas to the operations of a navy. "Must we respect the exercise of a right whose practical result consists of the creation in our region of a balance of terror threatening our security,"<sup>45</sup> he asked. The Seychelles leadership also draws a sharp distinction between free peaceful navigation and escalation of the

naval presence. "The right to free and unhindered peaceful use of the zone by foreign ships remains invariable in accordance with the rules and principles of international law. Foreign warships and aircraft may not be based in the Indian Ocean or patrol it for the purpose of creating any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of any littoral or continental state of the Indian Ocean in defiance of the aims and principles of the UN Charter," a document distributed by the Seychelles delegation on the Special Committee emphasized.<sup>46</sup> All the island states advocate the adoption of practical measures which would guarantee freedom of merchant shipping in the region, but exclude the use of naval forces.

The island states are emphatically opposed to the Western powers' attempts to enlist the region in the nuclear arms race. "The entire zone should be free of nuclear weapons," a document distributed in the Special Committee by the Seychelles delegation pointed out.<sup>47</sup> "Madagascar supports the idea of the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from it... It is insistently proposed that states with nuclear weapons undertake not to build nuclear bases in the Indian Ocean and not conduct tests of nuclear weapons there."<sup>48</sup> The position of the USSR and its consent not to create nuclear bases in this region, not to use the Indian Ocean for nuclear weapons tests, not to deploy nuclear weapons there on a permanent basis and to abide strictly by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty are highly appreciated by all the island states.

All the island states support the creation in the region of a system of collective security without military alliances in which the countries of the basin would participate. This formulation of the question has an obvious antibloc focus and enjoys the support of the socialist states. An analysis of the actions of the countries of the subregion permits the conclusion that at least Madagascar and the Seychelles are actively seeking specific ways to create a collective security system in the basin. "By means of regional and, possibly, other cooperation it is essential to develop and create a system of general collective security. For the purpose of ensuring implementation of a convention converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace it will be necessary, when it is completed, to form UN observer forces," a document submitted to a session of the Special Committee by the Seychelles delegation observed.<sup>49</sup> All the island states advocate the conclusion of an international convention guaranteeing oil shipments in the Indian Ocean, which would permit a reduction in the military activity of extraregional powers.

An important area of the island states' diplomatic activity in the 1970's and 1980's has been the struggle for the speediest realization of an international conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo, which is designed to formulate practical measures pertaining to realization of the UN declaration on conversion of the region into a zone of peace. Pursuing a policy of frustrating the international negotiations on the Indian Ocean, the United States has put forward a whole set of prior conditions and is also attempting to substitute for the proposals of the nonaligned countries and the UN declaration its own concept of "guaranteeing security". Washington has declared that the concept set forth in the Final Document of the Conference on Littoral and Continental States (1979) is "outdated". The United States is putting forward a "set of principles" which does not contain constructive standpoints and is characterized by many

states as the embodiment of an aspiration to impose on the region a "code of conduct" beneficial to the United States. By references to the need to "protect shipping lanes," the "unsolved nature of the Afghan question" and the "need for an improvement in the political climate" the United States is blocking the efforts of the developing and socialist countries pertaining to implementation of the UN decisions. The attempts by the United States and its allies to concentrate the committee's work on the Afghan events, develop anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan propaganda and make the convening of the conference conditional on the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan are being sharply rebuked by the progressive countries. "The Madagascar delegation does not share the opinion that the so-called Afghanistan issue is a reason not to convene the conference in Colombo."50

The assertive anti-imperialist activity of Madagascar and the Seychelles on the question of the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is an important positive factor in international relations pertaining to problems of the region. Madagascar put forward a proposal for a top-level international conference on interested states in Antananarivo. The authors of the initiative believe that this conference should complement UN efforts to demilitarize the basin; it is in no way intended to substitute for the meeting in Colombo but, on the contrary, to contribute to the convening thereof.

The island states' struggle for a settlement of the existing conflicts by peaceful political means should be considered important for an improvement in the atmosphere in the region. Madagascar engaged in assertive action to put a stop to Somali aggression against Ethiopia in 1977. Since the first days of the Iran-Iraq conflict the Madagascar leadership has appealed to the belligerents to cease combat operations and has offered mediation services. The Seychelles government has addressed similar appeals to Iraq and Iran.

The movement against the imperialist policy of militarization of the Indian Ocean and for peace and the easing of tension in the region is attracting to its orbit broad strata of the public of the island states. The progressive political parties have a particular role here. The revolutionary-democratic parties in power in Madagascar and the Seychelles and also the MMM Party, which has significant representation in parliament, consider struggle to strengthen regional and international security one of their principal tasks. Conferences of progressive parties and organizations of the islands of the southwest part of the Indian Ocean, in which forces of the left of Reunion also participate, have been conducted regularly since 1978. These meetings are becoming a serious factor of interstate relations in the region. The main subjects examined at the conferences--the struggle for peace in the region and against the imperialist policy of the military use of the countries located there, problems of strengthening cooperation and the complete decolonization of this part of the basin--correspond to the most important national interests of all the states in question.

A significant role in this struggle also belongs to the trade unions and the youth, women's and other progressive organizations of the island countries. There are meetings of union activists, journalists and religious figures of these countries, who are raising their voice for the strengthening of security and the cooperation of the peoples in the name of peace and social progress.

The public of the island states is severely condemning Washington's militarist, hegemonist policy in the Indian Ocean and on the African continent.

The active peace-loving positions on problems of the Indian Ocean, on the solution of which the countries of the subregion have a chance to exert a certain influence, are predetermining these states' ever increasing role on the world scene. The struggle for the liquidation of the military bases of the imperialist powers on seized national territory and in adjacent areas is having a positive impact on an improvement in the political and military climate in the region.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Whence the Threat to Peace," Moscow, 1984, p 58.
2. PRAVDA, 5 February 1985.
4. A U.S. "air wing" consists, as a rule, of four squadrons and, depending on designation, could have up to 100 and more aircraft.
5. ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE No 3, 1983, p 9.
9. PRAVDA, 10 February 1985.
10. Ibid.
11. "Defence Report". Australian Government Publishing Service, 1970-1978.
12. ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE No 6, 1984, p 16.
13. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 6 August 1981; INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 14 June 1984.
14. "Whence the Threat to Peace," p 55.
15. THE WASHINGTON POST, 30 January 1985.
17. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 19 March 1985; TIME, 15 April 1985.
18. IZVESTIYA, 20 September 1981.
20. NEWSDAY, 25 February 1982.
21. THE TIMES, 24 May 1982.
22. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 11 March 1982.
23. AS-SHAB, Beirut, 16 April 1981.
24. THE TIMES, 24 May 1984.
25. LE MATIN, 22 March 1982.



26. IZVESTIYA, 31 May 1984.
27. ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE No 6, 1984, p 16.
28. NEW AFRICAN, January 1981.
29. IZVESTIYA, 17 August 1984; NEW STATESMAN, 24 January 1985.
30. Quoted from NOVOYE VREMYA No 22, 1983, p 10.
31. Quoted from ZARUBEZHNOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE No 6, 1984, p 20.
32. PRAVDA, 12 January 1984.
33. "Report of the Secretary General to the Third Annual National Congress of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front," 1981, Gouvernement Press-Seychelles, p 22.
34. IMONGO VAOVAO, 29 October 1983.
39. UN Doc, No A/AC 159/SR. 140, 21 June 1982, p 5.
40. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 19 September 1981.
41. IMONGO VAOVAO, 24 January 1983.
42. MAHIRATRA, 8 May 1983.
43. NATION, 28 April 1978.
44. UN Doc, No A/AC. 159/L. 26/Add. 10, 9 September 1980, p 3.
45. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159L. 26/Add. 9, 3 August 1980, p 12.
46. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159/L. 26/Add. 8, 3 September 1980, p 5.
47. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159/L. 26/Add. 8, 3 September 1980, p 4.
48. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159/SR. 216, 11 July 1983, p 10.
49. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159/L. 26/Add. 8, 3 September 1980, p 4.
50. UN Doc. No A/AC. 159/SR. 181, 16 March 1984, p 5.

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WESTERN, JAPANESE ECONOMIC LINKS WITH ASEAN NATIONS DETAILED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press  
14 Jan 86) pp 102-108

[Article by A.I. Antonov: "ASEAN in the Strategy of Imperialism"]

[Text] ASEAN, as declared repeatedly by the states which constitute it, aims at promoting the cultural, social and economic development of the participants. The experience of the association's practical activity shows that this organization has scored certain successes in the political sphere and less than modest successes in the sphere of economic cooperation. The participants are formulating a uniform position on many international political and economic problems, but intraregional economic cooperation is only in the initial phase of its development. Thus plans for the construction of five joint industrial enterprises (one per country), which were to have been commissioned by 1980, were not fulfilled. And the commodity turnover of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore within the ASEAN framework constitutes only 15 percent of their total commodity turnover.<sup>1</sup>

The imperialist states regard the countries of the region as a profitable sphere of capital investment, new forms and methods of neocolonialism are being tested on them and attempts are being made to portray their socioeconomic development as an example of progress in the developing world. The relatively high growth rate of the economy, its certain stability, the change in the structure of the gross domestic product toward an increase in the share of industry therein and the emergence of new sectors of industry--all this evidence of a certain success of the ASEAN countries has become grounds for bourgeois economists asserting the allegedly "salutary" role of the international monopolies in the life of developing states and the profitability for the emergent countries of relations of "interdependence" with the imperialist states.

The economic significance of the ASEAN countries is characterized by the following data. These countries cater for 80 percent of the world production of rubber, 80 percent of hemp, 75 percent of tropical hardwood tree species, 60 percent of palm oil and 50 percent of coconuts.<sup>2</sup> The ASEAN countries account for a considerable proportion of the world production of oil and natural gas, tin and copper and of sugar, coffee, rice, spices and tobacco. These countries are at the crossroads of world shipping lanes and air routes. Their population is more than 250 million, and this makes them an important market for sales of modern producer and consumer goods.

The aspiration of imperialist states, primarily the United States, to pull the ASEAN countries into their military-political adventures in Southeast Asia has intensified in recent years. Besides Japan and South Korea, Washington would like to enlist the states of the association also in the creation of a militarist alliance in the Pacific. The United States is increasing arms supplies to this part of the world, thereby attempting to exacerbate the situation in Southeast Asia and lead the ASEAN countries toward direct confrontation with the socialist states of Indochina.

Japan's ruling circles are rendering the United States' efforts pertaining to the creation of a militarist alliance in the region active support. Meeting with leaders of ASEAN countries, Prime Minister Nakasone urged on them that "military danger" on the part of the USSR and other socialist countries was looming over these countries.<sup>3</sup>

In order to tie the ASEAN countries more tightly to the capitalist world the imperialists are paying considerable attention to economic cooperation with them. Imperialism's plans are aimed at weaving the states of the association into the world capitalist economic system as a quite developed, but dependent part thereof. The neocolonialists are taking advantage here of the ASEAN states' acute need for financial resources, the latest technology and so forth.

Foreign capital has become a highly important component of the ASEAN states' reproduction process. At the start of the 1980's the proportion of foreign investments in total capital investments constituted 69 percent in Singapore, 55.7 percent in the Philippines, 56.9 percent in Indonesia, 54.8 percent in Malaysia and 29.1 percent in Thailand<sup>4</sup> (according to other data, this proportion was even higher: 86 percent in Singapore, 70 percent in Malaysia<sup>5</sup>). Favorable investment conditions have been created for the activity of foreign capital in the ASEAN countries: complete freedom to export profits, incentives in the sphere of fiscal policy and low taxation rates. Special privileges are accorded capital invested in export-oriented sectors and import-substituting production. Agreements on guarantees of private investments against nationalization have been concluded with the developed capitalist countries.

The external financing of the ASEAN countries' socioeconomic development is attended by many and increasingly intensifying contradictions. On the one hand the intensive attraction of foreign capital is essential for this development, on the other, the domination of foreign capital is giving rise to the dissatisfaction of broad public strata and even the national bourgeoisie of the ASEAN countries, which are demanding a limitation of the activity of the transnational corporations [TNC]. The contradictory attitude of the governments of the states of the region toward foreign capital and the policy of "Indonesization," "Malayziation," "Philippinization" and so forth are encountering the resistance of foreign capital. Under these conditions the governments are endeavoring to regulate the arrival of foreign investments and their distribution per various sectors of the economy. For example, in the Philippines certain sectors have been earmarked into which it is permitted to channel foreign investments. As a whole, however, the role of foreign capital in the economy of the countries is growing: in projects in whose creation foreign capital was attracted its share grew from 24.4 percent at the end of the 1960's to 56.7 percent in the latter half of the 1970's. In

Thailand measures have been adopted to reduce the share of Japanese capital in the joint ventures operating in the country: it had declined from 80 percent in the mid-1960's to 45 percent at the start of the 1980's.<sup>6</sup> In Indonesia the set task is that of reducing foreign capital investments' share of national development to 20 percent, the proportion of Japanese capital in present-day textile industry being in excess of 80 percent.<sup>7</sup>

A special place among the ASEAN countries in policy in respect of foreign capital is occupied by Singapore. The government of this republic regards external financing as a main source of socioeconomic development. At the end of the 1970's foreign enterprises accounted for over 73 percent of Singapore's total industrial production and over 84 percent of exports.<sup>8</sup> The international banks have turned Singapore into a world center of financial and entrepreneurial activity. Over 200 financial organizations have chosen it as their headquarters: from here they are expanding throughout Asia. Dollar turnover on the Singapore market grew from 30 million in 1968 to 112 billion at the end of 1983.<sup>9</sup>

Over 5,000 American firms, a large part of which is operating precisely in the ASEAN countries, are performing their operations in Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup> American investments in the economy of these states constitute approximately \$8 billion, occupying second place behind Japanese investments.<sup>11</sup> In Malaysia more than 20 American corporations have invested approximately \$400 million in electronic-computer production oriented almost exclusively toward the U.S. domestic market.<sup>12</sup> Nineteen American oil companies are operating in Indonesia, controlling 80 percent of the country's oil production.<sup>13</sup> Three TNC dominate Thailand's petroleum products' market--Caltex, Shell and Exxon.

Successfully rivaling the United States in the economic expansion in the ASEAN countries is Japan, which has invested approximately \$10 billion in the ASEAN countries.<sup>14</sup> In 1977 then Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda promised to grant the ASEAN countries, together with increased investments in the economy, credit totaling \$1 billion for the construction of joint regional projects of the association. Fukuda made this granting of aid conditional on a number of things: in particular, the Japanese Government insisted that the orders connected with realization of the planned programs be placed with Japanese firms.<sup>15</sup> At that time these demands were turned down by the governments of countries of the association. Today Japanese capital has penetrated all sectors of the economy of the association's states, having subordinated their development to a large extent to its own interests. "Japan," (Lau Teyk Sun), professor at Singapore University states, "has achieved by peaceful means what it wished to achieve by war--economic domination in Asia."<sup>16</sup>

The profits obtained by the TNC of the United States and other imperialist powers in the ASEAN countries are huge. Thus the total income of U.S. companies in 1980-1983 in these countries constituted approximately \$11 billion, but \$12.3 billion in 1983 alone. Particularly big revenue in 1983 was derived from investments in Indonesia's oil industry--\$1.3 billion.<sup>17</sup> In Malaysia the net profit from foreign capital investments, including loan interest, transferred abroad annually has risen to \$1.4 billion or approximately 5 percent of the country's GNP.<sup>18</sup> In Indonesia certain Japanese firms are obtaining profit 10 times greater than invested capital.<sup>19</sup>

Joint ventures with the participation of national--private or state--and foreign capital became prevalent in the ASEAN countries in the 1970's. Thus the number of firms in which Japanese capital participated in the ASEAN countries grew from 400 in 1970 to 3,200 in 1980.<sup>20</sup> The international monopolies readily participate in joint ventures in the sectors of the economy which are the most progressive or which produce profit rapidly. The monopolies try here to play down their role in the mixed enterprises and frequently portray it as something temporary, characterizing it here virtually as disinterested assistance to the partners. The general manager of the Japanese-Indonesian "Inalum" Plant declared, for example: "We are promoting the Indonesians as quickly as possible. Sooner or later all of us Japanese will return home."<sup>21</sup> But, to judge by the efforts which the Japanese, American and West European firms are making to ensconce themselves in the ASEAN countries, this "voluntary departure" would seem unlikely. In practice the foreign investors of capital are impeding in every way possible the promotion of national personnel in the joint ventures. Basically, all administrative positions at these enterprises are held by foreign specialists.

The creation of "free enterprise zones" ("free trade zones," "export assistance zones," "tax-free zones" and so forth) serves as a form of the penetration of the TNC and subordination to their interests of the ASEAN countries' socioeconomic development. The essence of these "zones" is everywhere the same. The governments set aside special areas (on the boundaries of big cities, on the grounds of seaports, close to international airports and so forth, as a rule) which acquire the rights of a kind of economic extraterritoriality. Elements of an infrastructure are created, subsidies for the rendering of certain services are allocated and the training of manpower is sometimes organized here for the activity of the TNC. The "zones" are actual states within a state with their own laws and practices, where international monopolies boss the show. What attracts foreign investors to these capitalist enclaves, where processes with a substantial proportion of manual labor are developed, in the main? "The abundance of productive, young, trained, easily educable and comparatively cheap manpower," Malaysian brochures write about the benefits which capital investment promises here. "Workers can be hired for 3 Malaysian dollars per day"; "strikes are banned as soon as a conflict is referred to the courts". No minimum wage is established in the "zones," and it is on average 10 times less than in West European countries, the length of the work day, however, is 50 percent greater, and spending on social needs is four times lower.<sup>22</sup>

The governments of the ASEAN countries nurture the hope that, having obtained all these privileges, the international monopolies will convert the "zones" into some "industrial oases" and that by way of integration in local economic life, the placing of orders with national producers and the transfer of technology and S&T knowhow the "zones" will be an accelerator of economic development. Proceeding from these considerations, the Philippines, for example, plans increasing the number of "zones" to 14 by 1986; 8 "zones" have been created in Malaysia, of which 5 had been fully assimilated by 1982.<sup>23</sup> The international financial institutions, which are under the control of the imperialist powers, are making the financing of certain of Indonesia's industrial projects conditional upon a rapid increase in the expansion of such "zones".

The facts show, however, that the setting aside of "free enterprise zones" is not leading to any appreciable benefits for the countries creating them. The profit derived in them is settling in the accounts of the TNC which have entrenched themselves here and which, when the period of tax concessions has expired, liquidate their enterprises or begin to conceal the profit, employing the transfer price mechanism. As a result there is no simple answer to the question of whether the new investments in a country's economy exceed the TNC profit transferred to the base countries. Thus data pertaining to the Philippines adduced in a UN study show that direct payments to investors in the form of profit for compensation exceed capital investments by \$2.67 million.<sup>24</sup> The capitalist enclaves not only have not been integrated in the economic structure of the ASEAN countries but have contributed to an increased discrepancy in the level of development of the productive forces in different spheres of material production and, in particular, to the increased lag of the traditional sectors of the economy. The skills acquired by the workers on assembly lines in the "zones" will be of no great significance, Malaysian scholars believe, for the remaining sectors of the economy. Although approximately half of Malaysian exports is produced in the "free enterprise zones," in reality this indicator is confusing inasmuch as the share of the participation of Malaysia proper in these exports constitutes less than one-third of their nominal value. Such facts enabled UN specialists to conclude that foreign investors' contribution to the development of the exports of the ASEAN countries (with the exception of Singapore) is comparatively small.<sup>25</sup>

The economic crisis which has embraced the world capitalist economic system has struck primarily at the developing countries, which have adopted the prescriptions of socioeconomic development suggested by the imperialists. Nor has this crisis bypassed the ASEAN countries, among which the Philippines has suffered particularly. Whereas in the 1970's the country's economic development, which was based on the priority growth of the export sectors of industry, proceeded at a relatively high rate, in 1983 the country's GNP increased only 1.4 percent--the lowest indicator in the past 20 years.<sup>26</sup> According to certain data, 1983 was a record year for the Philippines in terms of the growth of unemployment, which extended to 30 percent of the country's work force,<sup>27</sup> and the number of bankruptcies--110 large enterprises with a total share capital of \$5.1 billion were ruined.<sup>28</sup> The country's leadership is having to assist dozens of firms, but the government has extremely few resources. A factor fettering the government's actions in this sphere are the terms imposed on the country by the IMF at the time loans (totaling \$650 million) were granted the Philippines: strict limitations on the size of the budget deficit, devaluation of the peso and other so-called austerity measures. At the start of 1983 the government was forced to take over the bankrupt Construction and Development Corporation of the Philippines, which was bringing the country more foreign currency than other companies and providing 20,000 jobs. The (Marindyuk) Mining and Industrial Corporation (the debts of this mining company have risen to \$985 million), Delta Motors (a national company engaged in auto assembly from parts supplied by the Japanese Toyota Company), the Philippine Blooming Mills steel company, the (Pikorp) Paper Company and others are in dire need of government support.<sup>29</sup> There has been a considerable increase in recent years in the number of bankrupt companies in Indonesia also. Thus 80 enterprises have been closed and approximately 10,000 workers dismissed in Bandung.<sup>30</sup>

The crisis has been reflected particularly severely in the ASEAN countries' currency-finance position. The collapse of the system of fixed currency exchange rates, the United States' artificially high interest rates, galloping inflation---all this has exerted a negative influence on the terms of the extension of credit and loans to the developing countries, to the states of the association included. The fall in the prices of their traditional export commodities has contributed to a sharp growth of the trade deficit, and this has led to a huge increase in the foreign debt. The Philippines, for example, is now among the biggest debtors to international financial institutions. In 1984 the Philippines' foreign debt amounted to \$26 billion, that of Indonesia to \$22 billion, of Malaysia to \$13.4 billion and Thailand to approximately \$12 billion.<sup>31</sup> In 1983 the Philippines spent approximately 80 percent of the proceeds from exports merely on paying off the interest on credit which had been obtained earlier.<sup>32</sup> As a result of two devaluations of the peso in 1983 its purchasing power declined 50 percent against the dollar.<sup>33</sup> In 1984 Indonesia gave out more than \$1 billion to pay off credit.<sup>34</sup> The debt of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand has assumed dangerous proportions and reflects their increased economic dependency. The international financial institutions are already openly meddling in these states' economic policy. Thus at the start of 1984 Indonesia was granted a loan of \$750 million only after it had devalued the rupiah, sharply cut back on consumer subsidies and postponed the implementation of capital projects totaling \$20 billion.<sup>35</sup>

The dependence of the ASEAN countries' socioeconomic development on the imperialist states is now assuming various forms: S&T dependence, dependence on the influx of foreign capital, on the further development of international trade, on the production activity of the international monopolies on the territory of the host countries and so forth. These forms are modified and interwoven in a specific-historical situation. But as a result the exploitation of this group of states on the part of imperialism is being intensified and facilitated.

The apologists of capitalism assert that foreign capital is contributing to an upturn of the living standard of broad strata of the population of the developing states. However, the situation in the ASEAN countries proves the opposite: they represent an impressive example of insoluble social contradictions and contrasts. Splendid, well-protected neighborhoods in which the local bourgeoisie lives have been built in the capitals of these states. The shopping centers and homes in them are on a par with those in the developed capitalist countries. At the same time, however, according to a study conducted by the World Bank, 40 percent of the population in the Philippines, for example, is living in poverty.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the 1970's the income of the poor in this country, who constitute approximately 75 percent of its population, was continuing to decline, while 5 percent of the population received approximately one-third of all personal income.<sup>37</sup> The FINANCIAL TIMES writes about Indonesia that, despite the rapid economic growth, "poverty in this country is horrifying".<sup>38</sup> Approximately 30 percent of Malaysians is living below the poverty line.<sup>39</sup> Fifty percent of children in Thailand suffering from malnutrition. Retail prices of basic necessities are growing constantly in the ASEAN countries. Thus in January 1984 the price index in Indonesia constituted 299.11 (April 1977-March 1978=100).<sup>40</sup> Such is the result of the emergent countries' development along the capitalist path on the basis of the attraction of the capital of the imperialist states.

During the visit to ASEAN countries in 1983 Nakasone served up a "program of friendship for the 21st century," within the framework of which an expansion of youth exchange between states of the region and Japan was proposed. Explaining the purpose of the "program," Japan's prime minister said: "When these young people, who have numerous friends in this area, become stronger, gain confidence and take their rightful place at the center of their societies, relations of cooperation between Japan and the ASEAN countries will really be strengthened and will become a driving force of a new Asian culture, which will point the way to the future to the whole world."<sup>41</sup> With the aid of such "friendship programs" the imperialist countries are propagandizing the "Western way of life," to which, the apologists of capitalism believe, the developing countries should aspire. Striving for a stimulation of cultural cooperation with the ASEAN countries and expanding the training of skilled personnel for them, the imperialists are pursuing a strategically important goal--creating in these countries a pro-imperialist stratum of social support for foreign capital's further penetration of the states of the region. The youth, raised in a spirit of reverence for the "flourishing" bourgeois world, is to be, in the design of ruling circles of the developed capitalist countries, a conduit of bourgeois ideology, and this will ultimately contribute to the ASEAN countries' further integration in the world capitalist economic system.

However, the propagandized development of the ASEAN countries' "interdependent" cooperation with the imperialist powers is encountering insurmountable obstacles. The ASEAN countries' aspiration to economic independence cannot be crowned with success under the conditions of the capitalist division of labor, the basis of which is the permanent reproduction of relations of dependence and exploitation of the weak by the strong. It is for this reason that liberation from financial enslavement and the pursuit of an independent economic policy, which would put external financing at the service of national interests, are becoming increasingly insistent demands of the progressive community of the ASEAN countries. Yet the imperialists are not disposed to yield their positions. In addition, in the latter half of the 1970's they erected new economic barriers in the way of the penetration by the products of the young national states' of foreign markets, and no exceptions were made for the ASEAN countries. Thus the imperialists are shifting the difficulties engendered by the crisis onto their weaker partners, and this is inevitably leading to an exacerbation of contradictions between the ASEAN states and the developed capitalist countries. The results of the meeting of economics ministers of the ASEAN states in Bangkok in 1980, for example, testified to this. The Thai prime minister appealed thereat for the countries of the association to "show themselves to the world as a real economic alliance."<sup>42</sup> Rebukes have been heard constantly at ASEAN economics minister conferences in recent years of the imperialist states, which by a policy of protectionism and discrimination in the trade sphere are destabilizing the socioeconomic development of the countries of the region. Thus, in the estimation of R. (sic) Ongpin, minister of industry and trade of the Philippines, as a result of the United States' discriminatory measures his country lost more than \$1.3 billion in the period 1976-1981.<sup>43</sup> A recent manifestation of U.S. protectionist policy was Washington's imposition of additional taxes on and a reduction in the quota of textile commodities from Asian states, including the ASEAN countries.



The results of ASEAN's struggle for economic independence are extremely contradictory. The solution of certain technical-economic problems of socioeconomic progress in these states has been achieved to the detriment of social development. The creation of new enterprises and even sectors of production based on equipment and technology obtained from the developed capitalist countries is being effected by way of the ruthless exploitation of the working people of the ASEAN countries and is leading to increased social tension.

An entire set of factors is currently operating in the world which are objectively impeding imperialism's economic exploitation of the ASEAN countries. Among them are the existence and confrontation of the two opposite socioeconomic systems, in the course of which the role of socialism on the international scene is growing; the possibilities of the developing countries' access to the achievements of the S&T revolution, which are now no longer the monopoly of the imperialist states, have broadened in this connection; and the common struggle of the emergent countries for a new international economic order is intensifying. The negative consequences of the military-political and economic cooperation with the imperialist powers are becoming obvious for increasingly broad public circles of the ASEAN countries. This is why calls are being heard increasingly often in the countries of the association for a reexamination of relations with the developed capitalist countries and, in particular, for use of the possibilities of mutually profitable cooperation with Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which would strengthen the ASEAN countries' positions in the struggle for economic independence.

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## WWII JAPANESE ARMY DETACHMENTS' ALLEGED USE OF CBW RECOUNTED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 109-114

[Article by S.V. Chugrov: "Secret Detachments of the Kwantung Army"]

[Text] Militarist Japan's preparations for chemical and bacteriological warfare were frustrated in August 1945 as a result of the Soviet Army's rout of Japan's war machine in Northeast China. In order to cover up the tracks of these preparations the Japanese war criminals blew up the secret laboratories, crushed equipment under the tracks of tanks and burned archives.<sup>1</sup> Here, seemingly, is where the history of the secret subunits could be brought to a close. However, certain recent events force us to turn once again to the history of WWII.

The Japanese Education Ministry's intention to expunge from new editions of school history textbooks all mentions of the crimes committed in the 1930's-1940's by the Kwantung Army's Unit 731 became known in 1984. Officials of the ministry were particularly unhappy with the assertion contained in the aids that it was only the offensive of the Soviet armed forces in Manchuria in August 1945 which had put an end to the preparation of weapons of mass annihilation.

The Education Ministry's intensions were opposed by the well-known Japanese historian Saboro Ienaga, who declared that the banned section of the textbooks concerning Unit 731 was based on documents and the strictly verified testimony of eyewitnesses. The Education Ministry insisted, however, that the documents proving that fanatically cruel experiments had been performed on living people were insufficient and that mention thereof in textbooks "may not correspond to reality". On behalf of the authors of the history textbooks Professor Ienaga announced that he intended instituting proceedings in the Tokyo Court for the purpose of canceling the Education Ministry's decision.<sup>2</sup>

The debate which sprang up in connection with the secret units stimulated a search for the documents. The documents of WWII and the occupation period turned up by Japanese historians in American and Japanese archives permit new conclusions to be drawn.

First, the material which was found contains information on hitherto unknown Japanese secret subunits engaged in the development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Second, they corroborate the use of such weapons

against the Chinese Army and the peaceful population. And, finally, they testify that following Japan's defeat the results of Japanese specialists' secret research in the sphere of chemical and bacteriological warfare were put at the disposal of the United States and stimulated similar American research.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the new documentary evidence, we should briefly recall what is known on this question from documents which have already been published. The history of the "Directorate for Water Supply and Prophylaxis of the Units of the Kwantung Army," better known as Unit 731, has been studied in the greatest detail. Soviet legal experts and historians made a big contribution to the analysis of Japanese secret documents and the determination of the actual role of this special subunit of the Imperial Army.<sup>3</sup> The results of the investigation made it possible to conduct legal proceedings against the war criminals in Khabarovsk from 25 through 30 December 1949. The minutes of the sessions, material of the investigation and the documentary evidence were published in 1950.<sup>4</sup> It is known from the material of the Khabarovsk legal proceedings that shortly after the seizure of Manchuria Japan organized on its territory a bacteriological laboratory which was incorporated in the Japanese Kwantung Army and headed by Shiro Ishii, who was subsequently a lieutenant general of the medical service. Research was conducted in this laboratory in the sphere of the use of bacteria of highly infectious diseases for conducting bacteriological warfare. Unit 731 was deployed in the area of Pingfang Station, 20 kilometers from Harbin. In 1939 a military camp was built there around which a prohibited zone was established. The unit was assigned an air unit and, at Anda Station, a special proving ground.

It was determined in the course of the investigation from the confessions of the accused war criminals that "Unit 731 had been organized for the purpose of preparing for bacteriological warfare, mainly against the Soviet Union, and also against the Mongolian People's Republic and China."<sup>5</sup> Proceeding from the available data on the capacity of the equipment for cultivating bacteria, the expert finding determined that in a single production cycle lasting only a few days this equipment could cater for the production just in Unit 731 alone of no less than 30 quadrillion microbes.<sup>6</sup> Pathogens of plague, cholera, typhoid fever, anthrax and other diseases were produced in similar quantities for the purpose of the mass extermination of people. Particular attention was paid to study of the most efficient methods of the use of bacteriological weapons. Three main methods of the use of bacteriological weapons were confirmed and adopted, that is, the scattering of bacteria from aircraft, the dropping of bacteriological bombs and, finally, the sabotage method.<sup>7</sup>

For verifying the effect of bacteriological weapons experiments were conducted systematically on living people. According to the confession of the accused Kioshi Kawasima, captured Chinese patriots and Russians whom the Japanese counterintelligence authorities had condemned to extermination were the material for this.<sup>8</sup> Bacteriological weapon tests under field conditions, close to a combat situation, were carried out at the proving ground near Anda Station. Those subjected to the experiments were tied in the field to iron posts, after which the effect of various bacteriological shells and devices was tested on them.

"If a prisoner, despite his infection with lethal bacteria, recovered," the accused Kawasima testified, "this did not save him from repeat experiments, which continued until death from infection. The persons who were infected were treated, various methods of treatment being studied, fed normally and, after they had conclusively recovered, were used for the next experiment, being infected with another type of bacteria."<sup>9</sup>

Over 3,000 persons--Chinese, Russians, Koreans, Americans--were killed by the "scientific associates of Unit 731". Besides experiments in infection with dangerous infectious diseases, other studies of the possibilities of the human organism were conducted also: people's livers were destroyed by prolonged X-raying, they were injected with the blood of animals, were deprived of water and food, were subjected to experiments involving the freezing and desiccation of the organism, were dissected alive and made to experience the effect of various toxic substances.

A particular place in the material pertaining to the case of the Japanese war criminals is occupied by the evidence of sabotage actions involving bacteriological weapons. Among them is a document of the Imperial Staff Army Second Section of 20 January 1944 headed "Raiding Subversive Warfare Tactics". Paragraph 83 of the document says, in particular: "As weapons for destroying enemy personnel during a secret assault operation use is made of chemicals, bacteria or explosives with timing mechanisms.... Upon completion of the job it is best to leave no traces by which it could be determined that the operation had been carried out by our sabotage unit. If this is impossible, it is essential to achieve the greatest effect in the first operation."<sup>10</sup>

In the course of operations in China the Japanese aggressors employed bacteriological weapons on several occasions. A special group headed by Unit 731 Chief Ishii was dispatched in the summer of 1940 into the area of combat operations in Central China. Enemy territory was infected close to the city of Ningbo from Unit 731 aircraft with plague-carrying fleas, as a result of which a plague epidemic erupted there.<sup>11</sup> In 1941 Unit 731 conducted sabotage in the city of (Chande), infecting the territory with plague-carrying fleas. A further expedition was organized in 1942 in Central China at the time of the retreat of the Japanese forces.<sup>12</sup>

The experiments conducted in Unit 731 are described in detail in the multivolume investigation proceedings. Less well known are the events which followed the blowing up of the "research complex" at Pingfang Station, which was carried out by the Japanese command following the development on 9 August 1945 of the rapid advance of Soviet forces in Manchuria.

General Ishii and his immediate entourage flew from Manchuria to the Korean city of Pusan and thence, having transferred to a destroyer, arrived in Japan. Then, fearing retribution, General Ishii went into hiding in Chiba Prefecture, where he was picked up by counterintelligence officers of the American army of occupation.<sup>13</sup>

Pentagon Document 002 "Report on the Japanese Army's Activity in Preparing for Bacteriological Warfare" was declassified some time ago in the United States. It became known therefrom, inter alia, that "the first investigation of the Japanese Army's activity pertaining to the preparation of bacteriological weapons was conducted in September-October 1945 by Lt Col M. Sanders and Lt (G. Yangs)."14

Taking this document as a basis, in 1983 a correspondent of the Japanese newspaper ASAHI turned up Sanders in New York. Certain details of the participation of Gen D. MacArthur, commander of U.S. occupational forces in Japan, in a deal with the criminals became known from his words. "I and General (Uolbi) went to see MacArthur," Sanders recounted. "Addressing him, (Uolbi) said that if Ishii and his subordinates did not obtain assurances that proceedings would not be brought against them, we would get to know nothing about the nature of the activity of Unit 731. Could Sanders give them such assurances? he asked. MacArthur immediately gave the appropriate authorization."15

The documents discovered in American archives by Keiichi Tsuneyoshi, professor at Nagasaki University, confirm that General MacArthur struck a deal with the Japanese war criminals, having received the appropriate instructions from superior officers in Washington. "After the war the United States resolved to take steps to get hold of the information and technological knowledge concerning the research in the weapons sphere, particularly data on the Japanese methods of conducting bacteriological warfare from Japan, and also data on the nerve gases which Nazi Germany had,"16 Professor Tsuneyoshi claims.

The U.S. Command obtained experimental data from officers of Unit 731 and also officers of a similar subunit known by the name of Unit 1466. During the war this unit dropped by air fleas infected with bubonic plague over cities of South China, which led, according to Tsuneyoshi, to a "partial, but unprecedented" success in the history of bacteriological weapons.

A document of the U.S. Subcommittee for the Far East unearthed by Professor Tsuneyoshi observes that "the data on bacteriological warfare should be of far greater interest to Washington than the punishment of Japanese war criminals."17 The authors of this document claimed that no information concerning Unit 731 should be made available to the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo inasmuch as this, they believed, would be harmful to U.S. security. It follows, as Professor Tsuneyoshi observes, from the documents that the U.S. occupational authorities, which had gotten their hands not only on voluminous information concerning Unit 731 but its commander, Ishii, himself, had from the very outset set themselves the task of preventing a leak of this information to the allies, primarily the Soviet Union.

Such documents were found not only in American archives. In the summer of 1984 historians from Tokyo's Keio Gijutsu University discovered in one of the capital's second-hand bookshops two time-yellowed files containing documents stamped "Top Secret". They contained, inter alia, reports of experiments carried out on living people, who had been forced to drink solutions saturated with a high concentration of poisonous substances. Such documents were at the disposal of the American prosecutor at the Tokyo trial, but the American side did not avail itself of them.18

Material appeared in 1983 which exposed the criminal activity of the hitherto unknown top-secret subunit Unit 1855, which operated under the official name of "Quarantine Unit for Supplying Water to the Japanese Army in Northern China". The headquarters of this subunit of the Kwantung Army were in Beijing, with branches in Taiywan, Tianjin, Xian and Zhangjiakou. The unit has been formed in 1940 and operated right up until the urgent flight from the advancing Soviet forces.<sup>19</sup> Unit 1855 was commanded by Eiji Nishimura, colonel of the medical service. Preparations had been conducted in the Beijing center for an operation--creation of a plague zone on the Philippine island of Leyte. The plan of the operation provided for the scattering from the air of 15 tons of fleas infected with plague bacilli. It had been contemplated stuffing special ceramic bombs of Ishii's system with the plague-carrying fleas. As an alternative it was proposed scattering the bacilli carriers from the air from containers. It may be claimed that the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan on the side of the allied forces fundamentally changed the military situation and saved the people of the Philippines from wide-scale sabotage.

"Quarantine detachments for water supply" in Central China with headquarters in Nanking, in South China with headquarters in Kwangtung Province and in the "southern areas" with headquarters in Singapore have become known now besides Unit 731 and the Beijing Unit 1855. These subunits had their respective branches. There was close interaction between the units. For example, the Beijing unit regularly received documents and financial resources from Unit 731. Stimulation of the breeding of bacilli carriers and preparation of the operation to turn the island of Leyte into a plague zone began with the secondment to Unit 1855 of a specialist from Unit 731.<sup>20</sup>

The information obtained from the discovered archive documents supplements appreciably the general picture, which has, as a whole, been known since the time of the Khabarovsk trial. The new documents reveal Tokyo's preparations for chemical warfare in far more detail.

In the summer of 1984 there appeared in the newspaper AKAHATA the confessions of a former major of the Japanese Imperial Army's chemical forces who had taken part in experiments on living people which had been conducted when new types of poison gases were being created. This person, who was unwilling to give his name, recounted that from 1943 through 1945 he observed experiments being carried out on Chinese, Koreans and POW's of other nationalities in order to determine the "effective dose" of mustard gas, prussic acid and other toxic substances and also "to verify the operation of different kinds of gas masks".<sup>21</sup> The major had served in the top-secret Unit 516, which had been stationed in the city of Tsitsihar. "The unfortunate people were pinioned to metal crosses in special gas chambers with glass walls. Then the chambers were filled with gases or suspensions of liquid toxins," this eyewitness claims. Specialists watched the agony of the victims, recording the symptoms of poisoning and the time of the onset of death on film. Approximately 50 persons died in the "experiments" daily.<sup>22</sup> It follows from this major's confessions that on the eve of the smashing of Japanese militarism the leadership of Unit 516 had received orders from the command for the utmost acceleration of research in the sphere of the use of poison gases, on which, in all probability, hopes were being put in the attempts to change the course of the war.



It is known from the majority of documents of the Imperial Army pertaining to chemical weapons that Japan had organized the extensive production of toxic substances. But it does not, as a rule, unequivocally follow from them that they had been used under combat conditions.

Certain official documents making it possible to assert that toxic substances were used repeatedly by the Japanese Army in China have helped resolve the doubts. One such 70-page document entitled "Certain Facts of the Use of Methods of Chemical Warfare During the China Incident" was recently discovered by (Kentaro Avaya), professor at Tokyo's Rikkyo University, in materials of the National Archives pertaining to the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo.<sup>23</sup>

This document describes in detail 56 operations involving the use of poison gases conducted in China from 1938 through 1942. According to the report of the operations, special subunits disguised as corps orderlies or as terrain decontamination patrols released up to 10,000 shells containing mustard gas or other gases. The document, which had been compiled by the Narasino School-- a military establishment created in 1933 for training the personnel and creating the equipment necessary for conducting chemical warfare--also contains information on meteorological and topographical conditions, on the numbers and type of forces which participated on both sides and also on the results of this activity. Maps of the terrain are appended to the document. "All this leaves no doubt or possibility of conjecture," Professor (Avaya) claims. "It is a first-rate document compiled by the specialists themselves."<sup>24</sup>

The documents discovered by Professor (Avaya) also indicate that approximately 18,000 shells containing the emetic diphenyl cyanarsine gas were used during the crossing of a river in Shansi Province in March 1939. The Japanese historian asserts on the basis of an analysis of the documents that the Kwantung Army used poison gases locally on 1,312 occasions throughout the 9 years beginning 1937. He also emphasized that facts corroborating this at the disposal of the American prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal in Tokyo were not submitted to the court.<sup>25</sup>

And one further persuasive document. A microfilm with a copy of a report on the use of chemical shells in the course of operations in China was discovered in the U.S. Library of Congress by Prof Toshiaki Yoshimi in the fall of 1984. It adduces information about the fact that at the time of the fighting for Wuhan alone the Japanese occupation army carried out 345 gas attacks, using over 42,000 shells packed with toxic substances.<sup>26</sup>

Thus the new documents confirm the conclusions drawn by legal experts and historians earlier that militarist Japan used chemical and bacteriological weapons on a broad scale in violation of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925, "Prohibition of the Use in War of Suffocating Poisonous or Other Such Gases and Bacteriological Weapons," which it had signed.

After the war Washington's military specialists viewed the material of the special Kwantung Army subunits which had been handed over not as proof of the crimes perpetrated by Japanese militarism but as valuable material for their own development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Hushing up the facts of genocide carried out by the Imperial Army against the peoples of Asia

and taking under its protection the "experimenters" from the Japanese secret subunits, the United States gained an opportunity to develop chemical and bacteriological weapons more successfully. The exposures which have appeared in the press recently and the documents discovered by Japanese historians in WWII archives have yet to become a subject of in-depth scientific study. But they are particularly relevant now, when Washington is blocking efforts aimed at the complete prohibition and liquidation of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

#### FOOTNOTES

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2. AKAHATA, 29 January 1984.
3. According to a number of Soviet experts, the historian and linguist V.M. Konstantinov, who was engaged in an analysis of documents of the Kwantung Army, was one of the first to decipher the key documents which figured at the Khabarovsk trial. It was he particularly who guessed that the term "special consignments" meant people whom the Japanese gendarmerie in Manchuria had sent to Unit 731 for "experiments" to be performed on them. See AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 6, 1983, p 45.
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USSR-CONGO COLLOQUIUM ON AFRICAN SOCIALIST-ORIENTED STATES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 136-139

[Report by M.M. Avsenev, Ye.N. Korendyasov and N.D. Kosukhin on Brazzaville colloquium]

[Text] The fifth bilateral colloquium (Brazzaville, 1985) was held within the framework of the plan of party ties between the CPSU and the Congolese Workers Party (CWP) and was devoted to the subject "Questions of the Theory and Practice of a Socialist Orientation of African Countries and the Groundlessness of Bourgeois and Reformist Concepts of Socioeconomic Development".

The Soviet delegation delivered the following papers at the colloquium: "Marxism-Leninism on the Singularities of the Transition of Developing Countries to Socialism" by V.G. Solodovnikov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (head of the delegation), "The Socialist International and Africa" by Ye.N. Korendyasov, "The Experience of Noncapitalist Development of Countries of a Socialist Orientation" by N.D. Kosukhin, "Critique of Bourgeois Theories of the Emergent States' Socioeconomic Development" by M.M. Avsenev and "Certain Aspects of the Soviet Experience of Economic Building" by N.A. Markov.

S. Goma-Futu, K. Mierassa and D. Abibi, secretaries of the CWP Central Committee, and K. Muamba and E. Okombi, members of the CWP Central Committee, spoke on the Congolese side. P. Nze, member of the CWP Central Committee Politburo, spoke at the opening and closing of the colloquium.

The main result of the colloquium's work was the coincidence of viewpoints of its participants on the question of the approach to determination of the tasks and content of the transitional stage of the developing countries' struggle for a socialist development path. Certain differences in terminology were ascertained. The Congolese participants in the colloquium prefer not to use in reference to their country the "socialist orientation" concept, believing that the People's Republic of Congo is experiencing the stage of national, democratic and popular revolution. However, the discussion showed that the class content and criteria of the two positions are identical. The participants in the colloquium concluded that the process of socialist orientation may begin under the leadership of revolutionary-democratic parties even, but only Marxist-Leninist parties can lead the peoples to socialism. The discussion also helped ascertain in greater depth the class content and driving forces in countries which have embarked on the path of a socialist orientation and the nature and forms of class contradictions and the class struggle in Congolese society.

S. Goma-Futu's paper was devoted to the national, democratic and popular revolution in Congo and contained an attempt to theoretically substantiate the Congolese experience of transition to socialism. The speaker observed that the country's socioeconomic structure is highly heterogeneous and that the capitalist production mode is predominant therein. The material-technical base for the transition to socialist revolution is as yet insufficiently developed; the working class is small, and the level of its political consciousness is as yet not high.

The revolutionaries of Congo, S. Goma-Futu emphasized, are confronted with the need to create a revolutionary party of the new type which would serve as the main guarantor of the continuation of the revolution and the building in the future of socialism. In the speaker's opinion, the CWP should be regarded as a party of the new type, considering its class nature as a party of the working class and implement of the proletariat's struggle for the overthrow of the domination of capital and the establishment of its dictatorship; its ideology--the ideology of the proletariat--Marxism-Leninism, by which it is guided in its activity; and its tactics and strategy, the basis of which is the ultimate goal--socialism. At the current stage, proceeding from the main contradiction between French imperialism and the Congolese people, by virtue of which Congo's economy had developed in the interests of international capital and for the satisfaction of its needs, the CWP has adopted a new strategy "based on internal impulses and internal resources and oriented toward satisfaction of internal needs." This strategy, which corresponds to the stage of national, democratic and popular revolution, presupposes: priority of the state sector, which is to be predominant in the economy; the temporary participation of enterprises of the mixed and private sectors; diversification of foreign partners; and control over accumulation in the private sector and over the technology employed when admitting private investments.

Currently the CWP and the state and the people are faced with important economic tasks (implementation of measures to limit the foreign private sector, an improvement in planning, creation of their own currency, temporary encouragement of the participation of private national capital in economic development, modernization of the traditional sector and its integration in the overall economic mechanism, strengthening of the state sector, democratization of the machinery of state and stimulation of the working people's participation in control of the economy and in social life via local councils).

The main place in K. Mierassa's paper "People's Democracy. Material-Technical Base for the Transition to Socialism" was devoted to questions of the organization of planning in Congo. He observed that although the first development plan had been elaborated immediately following the 1963 August revolution, the active struggle to strengthen the revolutionary power in the period 1964-1972 prevented due attention being paid to a systematic improvement of the methods of compilation and realization of socioeconomic programs. As of 1972, when the CWP Program was adopted, the technology and methods of planning under the party's leadership have been improved consistently and the participation of the people's masses in socioeconomic decision-making has been more efficient. The highest authority in the planning sphere is the party, exercising its functions via the Central Committee Planning Commission, the regional planning commissions and the National Planning Council.

The speaker characterized the main tasks of the 3-year development plan (1975-1977), the 2-year program of government activity (1978-1979), the supplementary program for 1980, which continued the accomplishment of the tasks of the 2-year plan, and the transitional program for 1981, which "imparted a base" to the realization of the 1982-1986 plan. The 1982-1986 five-year plan is designed to improve the country's existing economic structure. The set task is that of creating the necessary infrastructure as the prerequisite for the development of other sectors, particularly the production and distribution sectors. The plan provides for an improvement in the location of the productive forces, development of territory for the purpose of the creation of a single economic area, the creation of a strong industrial "oil" sector and an improvement in the people's living conditions.

In the section of the paper devoted to the development of territory by way of an improvement in the infrastructure S. Mierassa observed that two-thirds of the country's population lives on 10 percent of its territory and that almost all economic activity is concentrated in the south with two enclaves (Brazzaville and Pointe-Noir). This situation is giving rise to serious difficulties in the development of agriculture and contributing to a reduction in agricultural production and the drift of the rural population to the big cities, which are not capable of absorbing it. In the period 1960-1980 the rural population increased 12.3 percent; the population of Brazzaville 28.1 percent and of Pointe-Noir 25.4 percent.

The plan provides for the annual programming of investments. In order to take account of the changes in different economic conditions it is envisaged employing a "sliding" plan. Control over planning has been systematic as of the Third Special CWP Congress (1979).

Despite the difficulties and a number of unresolved tasks, the first 3 years of fulfillment of the plan were marked by certain achievements.

D. Abibi's paper was devoted to problems of the cultural revolution. The paper observed that the decisions on cultural issues adopted at the CWP National Conference (1972) and enshrined in the party program had substantiated the need for a cultural revolution as an integral part of the transition to socialism and determined its content at the stage of national, democratic and popular revolution.

Analyzing the CWP's cultural policy, D. Abibi described the problem of education. In 1965 it was nationalized and freed from the influence of the church. Despite the lack of resources, general educational centers provided with educational premises, laboratories and dormitory facilities were created in the latter half of the 1960's in many of the country's cities (Brazzaville, Pointe-Noir, Dzambala, Lubomo, Impfondo and others).

The decisions of the CWP Constituent Congress (1969) provided for further measures in the sphere of the development and improvement of the system of education aimed at the formation of the new man--the builder of the future socialist society. Compulsory study of Marxism-Leninism in the secondary and higher educational institutions of the country was introduced, in particular, as of the 1974-1975 academic year. The question of educational reform arose simultaneously. The CWP set the task of the creation of the public school (the corresponding draft was proposed at an education colloquium

in 1970), which is designed to contribute to a rise in the educational standard and cater for the country's need for competent worker personnel devoted to the cause of the revolution.

The speaker also examined problems of the elimination of illiteracy; the struggle against survivals in people's minds such as belief in witchcraft, numerous taboos and such; inculcation in the population of habits in the sphere of hygiene and the organization of healthful recreation; the vocational training of the youth; and others. In the period 1966-1982 various forms of tuition extended to almost 242,000 persons, including more than 152,000 women. For success in the sphere of elimination of illiteracy Congo was twice (1970 and 1975) awarded the N.K. Krupskaya special UNESCO prize.

A significant place in the paper was devoted to the CWP's activity aimed at the development of S&T. The emphasis here is being put not on additional capital investments and not on the acquisition of new equipment but on the human factor. For this reason special attention is being paid to the molding of scientific and lecturer personnel, mainly in the M. Nguabi University and the CWP Central Committee Higher Party School.

While noting the successes scored in this sphere (by the end of 1983, for example, the General Directorate of S&T Research had 470 specialists, including 416 Congolese) the speaker pointed to the shortage of Congolese researchers of the highest qualifications, the proportion of whom constituted only 8 percent of all research officers in the period 1982-1983. The CWP is increasing expenditure on the training of scientific research personnel. Among the measures envisaged for the development of science it is planned creating a national academy of sciences.

The joint paper of K. Muamba and I. Babassan "Strategy of Development Relying on National Forces Aimed at Satisfaction of Internal Needs and the Transition to Socialism" was devoted to a characterization of the important and serious economic problems confronting the country. The authors paid particular attention to a study of the historical conditions which determined the need for the adoption of a strategy which is "self-motivating and oriented toward internal development needs." They emphasized that right until recently the development of the Congolese economy and Congolese society had been channeled by international finance capital for satisfaction of its own needs. The results of such development were stagnation and then a slump in the industrial and agricultural production machinery; exacerbation of the problem of unemployment, particularly in the cities, and concentration in the cities of a significant proportion of the country's population; and a serious crisis of state finances and the growth of debt, foreign particularly. Proceeding from this, the Third CWP Congress deemed it necessary to elaborate an alternative strategy based on internal dynamism leading to national liberation and the establishment of democracy. The strategy of "self-motivation aimed at satisfaction of internal development needs" cannot be equated with autarky. It means merely that aid and other external impulses must perform an auxiliary role and that, furthermore, cooperation with other countries must be practiced on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The speakers regard the decision of the third congress on the adoption of this strategy as a "genuine charter of development," which is making it possible to specify the main tasks and the priorities ensuing therefrom (having determined the quantitative indicators and completion times) and chart the main stages of development and the intermediate tasks. The chosen development strategy is, the authors believe, "popular" not only because it presupposes mobilization of the most assertive and dynamic social forces, primarily the workers and peasant masses, but also because it is essentially born of the people's masses and is of a democratic and popular nature.

In his paper "The CWP and Defense of the Ideals of Marxism-Leninism" E. Okombi observed that the CWP is paying great attention to ideological questions. The previous, fourth, Soviet-Congolese colloquium (Moscow, 1983) was devoted to them. An international conference on ideology and the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory, in which representatives of the USSR, GDR and Vietnam participated, was held in May 1983 in Brazzaville.

The paper emphasized that the CWP is conducting an ideological struggle in two directions: internal--against tribalism, local preference, sectarianism and nepotism--and external--against bourgeois ideology and "African and Arab socialism" concepts derived therefrom. Importance is attached to the struggle against revisionism and African social democracy, "rightwing nationalism" asserting "absolute national distinctiveness" and opportunism in the ranks of the CWP, which has done serious damage to the party.

E. Okombi also examined the question of an intensification of the struggle against the reactionary activity of certain religious sects (there are more than 70 religious organizations and sects in Congo currently). Among them are organizations conducting subversive activity, spreading obscurantist ideas and exerting a negative influence on a certain part of the population.

The speaker also dwelt on problems of the struggle against tribalism and local preference, which have various forms of manifestation in the country and which represent a reality reflecting the specific conditions which exist in Africa generally and in Central Africa in particular. E. Okombi believes that tribalism and local preference, which have penetrated the minds of many Congolese, are doing serious damage to the revolutionary forces. The elimination of these phenomena must be an inalienable component of overall strategy. For this reason a most important task of the CWP is the transformation of the mentality and way of thinking of a considerable proportion of the population. Great significance in the plane of struggle against tribalism and local preference is also attached to the development of democratic principles within the party, public organizations and in the machinery of state. Finally, an important feature in the ideological struggle is the struggle against violations of our morals and ethical standards expressed in the use of public resources for private interests, bourgeoisification, illegal enrichment and others.



A joint communique on the results of the colloquium noted the CPSU's vigorous activity in strengthening peace and combating the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MARKS 40 YEARS OF VIETNAM'S INDEPENDENCE

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 145-146

[Text] The international scientific conference "Fortieth Anniversary of the August Revolution and Proclamation of Vietnam's Independence," which was organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute in conjunction with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, was held on 30 September 1985 in the Oriental Studies Institute.\*

Participating in the conference was a delegation of scientific officers of Vietnam consisting of Prof Pham (Nyi Kyong), chairman of Vietnam's Social Sciences Committee; Prof (Khoang Toe), director of Vietnam's Social Sciences Committee Linguistics Institute; Prof Pham (Suan) Nam, chief of the Scientific Planning Department of Vietnam's Social Sciences Committee; and Prof Nguyen (Zuy), director of Vietnam's Social Sciences Committee Economics Institute, and also representatives of the oriental institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Moscow State University and the Moscow State University Institute of Asian and African Countries and public and practical organizations.

Opening the conference, G.F. Kim, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasized that the success of the August revolution, which was closely connected with the smashing by the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition of German fascism and Japanese militarism, and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) represented an important landmark in the history of the Vietnamese people. G.F. Kim noted the growth of the influence of the SRV on the international scene and the tremendous significance of its efforts in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Asia-Pacific region.

In the paper "The August Revolution and the Formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" S.A. Mkhitarian (Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute)

\* Material presented by S.S. Nikiforova, V.I. Gusarov, B.B. Parnikel, I.M. Steblin-Kamenskiy, A.M. Sagalayeve, S.A. Komissarov and E.A. Novgorodova.

characterized the role of the Vietnam CP in the Vietnamese people's struggle against the Japanese occupation and French colonialism. Having correctly determined the strategic course and tactics of the struggle for the ouster of imperialist domination, the party was able to opportunely organize a broad movement of the people's masses, initiate comprehensive preparations for an uprising, unite all the country's democratic forces and create a united popular front, which was the decisive prerequisite which ensured the victory of the August revolution.

As a part of the general world revolutionary process, the Vietnamese revolution conquered and developed given support on the part of the socialist states and under the conditions of the rapid growth of the world national liberation movement.

Pham (Nyi Kyong) and Pham (Suan) Nam described socialist Vietnam's achievements in the sphere of the economy, culture and education. The material-technical base of socialism created with the assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries is developing successfully. A new economic structure has taken shape, industrial enterprises are being built and the transport system is being expanded. The number of persons employed in the national economy is growing. National income per capita and foreign trade turnover are increasing constantly.

The speakers noted the tremendous significance of the internationalist assistance rendered the SRV by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the most diverse spheres of the economy, culture and education; and the role of the SRV's S&T cooperation with the USSR. Exceptional importance is also attached to the SRV's cooperation with the Soviet Union in the sphere of foreign policy and their joint struggle for peace and against the threat of a new war.

The paper "Struggle for the Unification of the Anti-Imperialist Forces and the Victory of the August Revolution" was delivered by G.M. Adibekov (CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism). He emphasized, inter alia, that the Vietnamese communists' consistent struggle for democracy and the unification of all anti-imperialist forces had armed them with the experience of the correct determination of the main enemy and the current goals of the revolution and enriched them with the experience of the organization of a united anti-imperialist front, the combination of legal and illegal activity and struggle for democratic and national demands in the period of democratic reforms. Great significance in this plane was attached to the decisions of the Second, Fourth and Seventh Comintern congresses. It was in the period of struggle for the creation of a democratic front, despite the resistance of reactionary forces and "left" adventurers, that many of the political requisites for the success of the future national liberation struggle of the Indochina peoples were laid. The wealth of experience accumulated by Vietnamese communists in the 1930's is a most important source of the victory of the 1945 August revolution.

The joint paper of Yu.D. Dementyev and D.V. Mosyakov and the paper of S.I. Ioanesyan (all of the Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) was devoted to the question of the influence of the August revolution in Vietnam on the development of the revolutionary process in Cambodia and Laos. The

speakers showed the important role of the Vietnam CP in assisting the Cambodian and Laotian revolutions. As a result of the revolution in the Indochina countries a qualitatively new situation has taken shape: for the first time in history three independent Indochina states are proceeding along the path of building a new society.

G.G. Kadymov (USSR Foreign Minister Diplomatic Academy) characterized the multifaceted and effective Soviet-Vietnamese economic relations. Particular attention was paid in the paper to the SRV's struggle for peace and security in Southeast Asia.

The subject of the paper of G.V. Shmeleva (Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) was "The August Revolution and Transformations in the Cultural Sphere". She illustrated the profound changes which had occurred in various spheres: education, particularly the elimination of mass illiteracy, and the development of literature, art and health care. It was noted that the goal of the cultural revolution being accomplished in the SRV is the shaping of the new man of the socialist society. Papers were also delivered by N.I. Ganin (CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences) and M.Ye. Trigubenko (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System).

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CAIRO UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR SPEAKS AT AFRICA INSTITUTE

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press  
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[Text] On 18 July 1985 there was a meeting of scientific associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute with Fuad Mursi, prominent Egyptian scholar, professor of political economy at Cairo University and member of the secretariat of Egypt's National Progressive (left) Party, who delivered the report "The Current Stage of Political and Socioeconomic Life in Egypt". Fuad Mursi provided a brief description of the three decades which had elapsed between the July 1952 revolution and 1981, noting that at the start of this period Egypt had achieved complete political independence and after 1956 had begun to struggle for economic independence. He paid particular attention to an analysis of the various groupings of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. F. Mursi emphasized that internal and external reactionary forces, which impeded the Egyptian revolution's further development, united in the struggle against its gains. He characterized various aspects of President Sadat's reactionary antipopular policy.

The infitah policy led, as the paper observed, to a change in Egyptian society's social structure and, in particular, to a revival of the national bourgeoisie. F. Mursi described Egypt's growing economic difficulties and its increased dependence on the imperialist powers.

In conclusion F. Mursi described the activity of Egypt's National Progressive (left) Party, which under the conditions which have taken shape in the country is putting forward demands for an end to the parasitic strata, elimination of dependence on the imperialist powers, the pursuit of a policy of plan-based economic development, the return of Egypt to the vanguard of the Arab liberation movement and the nonaligned movement and the establishment of truly equal and mutually profitable relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

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PRIMAKOV BOOK VIEWS CAMP DAVID ACCORD, MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press  
14 Jan 86) pp 168-173

[A.M. Vasilyev review of Ye.M. Primakov book]

[Excerpts] Interest in the development of events in the Near East and the policy of the participants in the Near East drama is not abating not only on the part of readers but also on the part of scholars, journalists and writers. More than three dozen books have appeared in our country in recent years devoted to this aspect or the other of the problem and written in the most diverse genres: purely scientific, popular science, current political affairs, journal commentary and so forth.<sup>1</sup> But, despite the wealth of literature, it is still not time, of course, to speak of the inflation of this subject.

Ye.M. Primakov's new study\* is to a certain extent a continuation of his previous book "Anatomy of the Near East Conflict," which revealed the roots and showed the inner mechanisms of the development of the Near East conflict. This time it is a question of the Camp David conspiracy and the circumstances and conditions which contributed to it and, in a broader plane, the policy of the United States in the Near and, partially, Middle East in the 1970's--start of the 1980's. The book in question is broader and deeper than the subject formulated in its title. It contains several tiers of study, as it were: socioeconomic, sociopolitical, international-political (of the regional and global levels), ideological and, finally, the tier interpreting the mentality of individual characters of Near East politics.

The Camp David accords appear in the most general outline as the return to Egypt of limited sovereignty over part of its territory--Sinai--captured by Israel in 1967 in exchange for Egypt's recognition in practice of Israeli control over the territory of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip and as a departure from support for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This deal is viewed by the author from both the historical angle and in its specific manifestations. He reveals the central features of

\* Ye.M. Primakov, "Istoriya odnogo sgovora. Blizhnevostochnaya politika SShA v 70-e-nachale 80-x godov" [History of a Conspiracy, U.S. Near East Policy in the 1970's-Start of the 1980's], Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p 319.

the United States' Near East policy, which has blocked the process of the achievement of a just and all-embracing settlement of the Near East conflict and contributed to support for the expansionist plans of Israel, the Lebanon tragedy and the division of the Arab world. Ye.M. Primakov rightly observes: "The Camp David conspiracy was specifically aimed at the withdrawal from the conflict with Israel and exclusion from the struggle for elimination of the consequences of the 1967 Israeli aggression of a militarily strong country with the biggest population and economic potential among the Arabs--Egypt. And after Sadat's signature had been appended to the Egyptian-Israeli separate treaty, Israel--which was to have been expected--stepped up its expansionist line in all directions of its policy" (p 7). Thus did the Camp David conspiracy focus the Near East policy of the United States. The main lines of American foreign policy in the Near and Middle East can be traced most distinctly and the motives of the actions of this state or the other in this region can be seen more clearly through the prism of this conspiracy.

A strong aspect of the study is the examination of American regional policy in connection with its global aims. Ye.M. Primakov emphasizes that the departure of the United States from detente created conditions conducive to the Camp David agreements. He writes, in particular: "The basis of the United States' renunciation of detente and the subsequent continuation of its movement toward increased international tension were the following conceptual strategic approaches:

"1. An endeavor to destabilize and disrupt the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Attempts at realizing a policy of achieving U.S. military superiority over the USSR and NATO over the Warsaw Pact began.

"2. The preparation of a rigid confrontation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries simultaneously at the global and regional levels" (p 122).

Continuing his preceding monographic study, the author analyzes Washington's approach to conflict "control" and notes the extension of the zone of the Near East conflict to the Persian Gulf area and the United States' creation of the Central Command (CENCOM), which has encompassed a number of states of Southwest Asia and Africa. The analysis of American strategy in the developing countries from the "Carter doctrine" through the actual manifestations of R. Reagan's policy, including his plan for a "settlement" of the Near East conflict, arranges the necessary accents determining the place of the United States' regional policy in the global context. The author notes: "The viewpoint according to which the Near East conflict is regarded merely as a part of the general military-political, strategic situation perhaps not only including the Persian Gulf even but with its epicenter in the Persian Gulf has triumphed completely under Reagan" (p 130). And, developing this thought, he continues: "Declaring itself the defender of Western oil interests in the Near East, the United States wishes to take advantage of the situation to tie the European partners and Japan to itself even more and prevent on their part attempts to independently solve many foreign policy problems..." (pp 133-134).

Historical science is not only an investigation but also a description of events which are frequently more interesting than the most poignant literary character. For this reason we have to note as a success for the author the fascinating pages which are a documentary exposition of the diplomatic, political and various other struggles connected with the Camp David conspiracy. Thus it is still a puzzle why Egypt waged the "strange" war in 1973. The analysis made by the author provides a convincing version of Egyptian strategy, which is supported both by information from his personal conversation with Syrian President H. Assad and a number of other sources, American and Egyptian included.

The categorical nature of one proposition of the author's induces a desire for argument, it is true. Ye.M. Primakov writes: "An ultimatum which... the Americans began to put forward was the demand for an end to the oil embargo, which at the time of the October War had been employed successfully by the Arab states against the United States, which was supporting Israel, and certain other West European allies of Tel Aviv" (p 56). The author thereby shares the opinion concerning the relative effectiveness of the Arab oil embargo against the United States and a number of Western countries. However, as the subsequent development of events demonstrated, it was ultimately primarily the United States which benefited from the imposition of the embargo and the subsequent four-five-fold (in real and not in current prices) increase in the oil price: the cost of the oil consumed in the United States coming mainly from domestic sources was at the start of the 1970's higher than for its main economic rivals--Japan and West Europe--but at the start of the 1980's lower. Furthermore, as it transpired, the "oil shock" stimulated the economy of the West to speed up the structural reorganization aimed at a reduction in energy consumption per unit social product and an easing of the dependence on imported oil. The oil problem is not a special subject of the author's study, but it creates a permanent backdrop against which American Near East policy unfolds and serves an understanding of the deep-lying causes of the adoption of many political decisions.

Investigation of the events of yesterday in works on the Near East often proves to be a projection into the burning or even bleeding reality of today. When the author reveals the nature of the Lebanon tragedy caused by the Israeli aggression and American and NATO meddling, his analysis is by no means only of academic interest. Under these conditions a direct projection into the present day, into the present tragic events for the Lebanese people and the Palestinians, can be traced.

The Israeli aggression in Lebanon, like the Camp David accords, was possible under the conditions of the Arabs' incapacity for uniting to defend their own interests. Ye.M. Primakov's book contains an outlet to present-day problems in this plane also. Thus we are observing at the present time acute disagreements in the ranks of the PLO, which, as a reflection of the split and contradictions in the Arab world, are, in turn, increasing these divisions and contradictions. The evaluations of the state of affairs in the PLO which the author makes have an urgent ring: "Any serious split in this organization (the PLO--A.V.) could do irreparable harm to the Palestinian people's struggle to secure their legitimate rights. Obviously, at this stage of the development of the Palestinian struggle a sharp differentiation of the Palestinian movement upsetting the united front of various political forces--it is, strictly speaking, such a front which the PLO represents--would be extremely undesirable" (p 309).



Ye.M. Primakov often includes in an analysis of political events a psychological analysis of the personalities of individual leaders. In particular, the forms and methods of Sadat's foreign policy are explained not only by the political tasks which confronted him but also his past and the particular features of his character. "A combination of insufficient wisdom and sharply developed guile multiplied by an avowed unscrupulousness and hypertrophied vanity gave rise to serious dangers ensuing from Sadat's activity in the position of practically sole ruler of the country," the author writes. "Simultaneously the complex of such qualities of Sadat made the figure of the post-Nasir Egyptian leader extraordinarily promising from the viewpoint of American plans in the Near East" (p 22).

At the same time a study of how and why Sadat was able to "get a grip" on one of the actual sociopolitical trends which existed in Egypt could be an interesting topic for future research. It is a question of the struggle of at least two lines in the era of Nasir's presidency: one of them was the course toward an intensification and expansion of the national-democratic revolution, the other was the aspiration to the restoration of capitalism, which gained the ascendancy in the Egyptian leadership after President Sadat's assumption of office. The sociopolitical conditions for the Sadat counterrevolution and, correspondingly, for the abrupt change in foreign policy course were already maturing in the depths of Nasir's Egypt. They had been summoned into being by the fact that a ruling conglomerate had taken shape in Egypt which incorporated the upper stratum of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the upper stratum of the civil service and the army and the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie which had grown up alongside them and which relied on a mass social base in the shape of the rich peasants who had become firmly established in the countryside. Neither Nasir's aspiration to extend and continue political transformations of an anticapitalist nature nor the foreign policy course aimed at confrontation with Israel, Zionism and imperialism and cooperation with the USSR corresponded to this conglomerate, in other words, to the group of social strata bearing class features also.

Your author was working in Egypt at the time when Sadat in impermissibly offensive form burned the bridges linking this country with the Soviet Union. But there was logic in his behavior. Despite the establishment of contacts with Washington and Tel Aviv, despite the operating channels of communication, despite Sadat's assurances of a readiness to serve the interests of the West, neither Tel Aviv nor Washington had complete trust in him. Sadat's past spoke against him. Whatever the case, it was he who had announced the Nasir revolution on the radio, it was he who had for many years stood alongside Jamal Abd an-Nasir, although carefully concealing his true character. In breaking with the Soviet Union and recording his complete devotion to the West Sadat hoped to obtain credit of trust and did obtain it to a considerable extent.

When we use the word "betrayal" in evaluating the Camp David conspiracy, we are right in the sense that this was a betrayal of the interests of the Arab people of Palestine. But we should clearly recognize that this conspiracy corresponded to the interests of the ruling Egyptian conglomerate and its bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In betraying national and Arab interests Sadat was serving class interests and was the spokesman thereof. For this reason it is difficult to agree with the author's assertion that "Camp David has one foot

in the grave" (p 315). Truly, the anti-Arab nature of the Camp David accords gave rise to extensive condemnation in the Arab world and a certain mobilization of forces against this policy, although it split the Arab countries. Truly, it brought about opposition in Egypt and lent impetus to the conspiracy of Muslim militants, at whose hands Sadat died. Truly, a similar treaty concluded between Israel and Lebanon proved to be stillborn. But powerful sociopolitical forces in Egypt, which have gambled on an alliance with the United States, have an interest in continuation of the Camp David policy. The former is being underpinned by Egypt's growing financial-economic dependence on the West as a whole and on the United States in particular. We would recall that merely U.S. economic assistance to Egypt constitutes approximately \$1 billion annually and that three loaves out of the five (the guarantee of social stability in the country) which the Egyptian eats are baked from imported, mainly American, flour. Nor should it be forgotten that the temporary preservation of the Camp David accords is secured by Israel's military superiority over a militarily weakened Egypt and the threat of Israel's new occupation of Sinai.

But does all this signify the guaranteed strength of the "pillar" of American foreign policy in the region. By no means. It is precisely its failure to correspond to the fundamental national interests of Egypt (as of other Arab countries also) which is working against the long-term continuation of the Camp David course. Whatever the case, the present ruling grouping in Egypt cannot fail to see that a real military-strategic threat to the country emanates from Israel. Cairo cannot ignore it. At the same time Egypt's relegation to secondary roles in the Near East after it had traditionally played the part of "regional great power," heading the group of Arab countries, is giving rise to the discontent not only of nationalist Egyptians but also of part of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which sees Egypt's future in expanded economic relations with its Arab neighbors. Further, as the events in Iran showed, too open identification with American policy does not strengthen existing regimes but, on the contrary, weakens them. Finally, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism and anti-Western sentiments is being manifested simultaneously both in the growth of the anti-Zionist mood and in a considerable part of society's rejection of the conspiracy with the Israeli upper stratum under the aegis of the United States.

In order to get an idea, in the most general outline, of course, of Egypt's future let us take a look at the country's problems: rapid urbanization has turned Greater Cairo with its 12 million residents into the biggest city of the Old World as far as Calcutta in the East. By the start of the next millennium approximately 20-28 million persons will, according to estimates, be living in Cairo, and together with Alexandria, the cities of Upper Egypt and the Suez Canal zone Egypt will have become a superurbanized state, a megalopolis, while its tiny agricultural territory will have become something like a suburban farmstead. In order to survive economically the country, in which 60-65 million people will be living by the 21st century, has to develop industry, particularly that oriented toward exports, rapidly, and this is not as yet happening. Egypt's present oil revenues will come to nothing as its internal consumption increases; the income from the monetary transfers of Egyptian emigres is stabilizing because the economic boom in the Arabian and other oil-producing states has come to an end. Egypt's most acute socioeconomic problems will inevitably cause corresponding political reactions of both an internal and external nature. Such is the likely prospect.

Whatever the case, there has been no genuine normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations. Egyptian society as a whole is boycotting Israel. And this is being manifested not only in individual acts of protest but also in the blanket resistance of all of society to any expansion of cooperation with Israel.

When the author analyzes infitah--the "open door" policy being practiced in Egypt--he rightly emphasizes the fact that it has been pursued in the interests of private Egyptian and foreign capital. However, while having struck serious blows at the public sector, it has been unable to liquidate it, and this would have been worth telling. By the start of the 1980's the public sector in Egypt had even strengthened its positions somewhat. Such was the objective development of events and a manifestation of trends independent of the actual intentions of the government or individuals.

Mention should perhaps not have been made about the practically "unchanged wage of workers and employees" in Egypt (p 79). Egypt has rapidly become, particularly in the 1980's, a country of expensive manpower, and this was brought about partly by the outflow of Egyptian manpower to the oil-producing states. The wage of workers and, to a lesser extent, employees grew rapidly, although its increase has been eaten up to a considerable extent by inflation.

It may be noted that in individual instances the book in question bases the version of this event or the other only on a single source without cross-referencing with others. Often this is indeed impossible owing to the lack of such, but it would evidently not have been superfluous to have made provisos concerning the subjective approach of, for example, certain authors of memoirs and the possible failure of their versions to coincide with actual events.

As a whole, however, the author has with his book taken an important new step forward in the study of the contemporary Near East, primarily of the international aspects of the situation and American policy in the region. The volume and multilayer nature of the work, the enlistment of numerous sources, the use of the material of personal meetings and observations--all this ensures for Ye.M. Primakov's work a special place among the other studies.

The Near East crisis, which has been engendered primarily by the policy of the United States and Israel, continues to most seriously complicate the international situation. It is having a tragic impact on the destiny of the peoples of this part of the world. The path toward a way out of the crisis has been signposted repeatedly by the Soviet Union, but Washington has spurned all its proposals. The Near East situation clearly demonstrates the fundamentally opposite approaches of the USSR and the United States to the solution of international problems. "Consistency and purposefulness has always distinguished and continues to distinguish the policy of the Soviet Union, on the Near East included, and this is being shown indisputably by the development of events in the area and around it"--such is the conclusion which Ye.M. Primakov draws in the concluding part of his work (p 317).

FOOTNOTE

1. See A.A. Agaryshev, A.P. Yurkov, "The Exiles Join Battle. Digest," Moscow, 1978; A.A. Agaryshev, "From Camp David to the Lebanon Tragedy," Moscow, 1983; A.P. Baryshev, "The USSR in the Struggle for a Just Near East Settlement," Moscow, 1985; R.V. Borisov, "The United States: Near East Policy in the 1970's," Moscow, 1982; R. Boronov, "Oil and U.S. Policy in the Near and Middle East," Moscow 1977; L.L. Volnov, "Lebanon Diary," Moscow, 1980; *ibid.*, "Lebanon: Echo of Aggression," Moscow, 1984; O.M. Gorbатов, L.Ya. Cherkasskiy, "The USSR's Struggle To Secure a Lasting and Just Peace in the Near East. 1967-1980"; Ye. Dmitriyev, "The Palestinian Knot. On the Question of a Settlement of the Palestine Problem," Moscow, 1978; Ye. Dmitriyev, V.P. Ladeykin, "Path to Peace in the Near East," Moscow, 1974; A.M. Zakharov, O.I. Fomin, "Camp David: A Policy Doomed To Fail," Moscow, 1982; V.I. Kiselev, "The Palestinian Problem and the Near East Crisis," Kiev, 1983; Ye.A. Korshunov, "Commentary From the Exploded 'Paradise'," Moscow, 1982; *ibid.*, "'I Am Beirut'," Moscow, 1983; *ibid.*, "The Hot Triangle: Essays and Commentary from Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. 1978-1983," Moscow, 1984; L.A. Koryavin, "In the Near East. Notes of a Journalist," Moscow, 1982; S.A. Losev, Yu.K. Tyssovskiy, "The Near East Crisis: Oil and Politics. New Politico-Economic Factors and Their Influence on the Alignment of Forces in the Region," Moscow, 1980; L.I. Medvedko, "East and West of Suez: Decline of Colonialism and the Maneuvers of Neocolonialism in the Arab East," Moscow, 1980; *ibid.*, "Mines Beneath the Olive Trees: American-Israeli Plunder in the Near East," Moscow, 1984; *ibid.*, "This Near Seething East. Documentary Narrative," Moscow, 1985; A.I. Osipov, "U.S. Economic Expansion in the Arab Countries," Moscow, 1980; *ibid.*, "The United States and the Arab Countries: 1970's-Start of the 1980's," Moscow, 1983; Ye.M. Primakov, "Anatomy of the Near East Conflict," Moscow, 1978; Yu.K. Tyssovskiy, "Crime With Impunity: What Happened in Lebanon?" Moscow, 1983; M.Ye. Khazanov, "The PLO and the Near East Crisis," Moscow, 1983. See also "The Palestinian Problem: Documents of the United Nations and International Organizations and Conferences," Moscow, 1984.

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BOOK ON CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press 14 Jan 86) pp 204-206

[G.I. Mirskiy review of V.V. Rymalov book]

[Text] The book in question\* is devoted to changes in the world economy. The developing countries are allocated in it just one chapter--but a chapter containing profoundly analyzed and collated material making it possible to specify appreciably our ideas concerning the place of the young independent states in the world economy and their development trends.

In the debate that has been under way for several decades now on the development prospects of countries liberated from colonial domination a most important question is: when and by what methods will these countries manage to overcome their backwardness and join the "developed" category? It has long been recognized that this problem is not only their internal concern, it has a global dimension: the future destiny of mankind will depend on its solution to a large extent. No one, of course, can make a guaranteed forecast or propose a specific prescription for "curing" the ailment of underdevelopment. It is possible only to conjecture, put forward hypotheses and propose and argue for (or reject) this alternative or the other. But it is essential here to clearly see the development trends which have already appeared sufficiently distinctly and those which are only just beginning to show. It is to this that the main attention in the book in question is paid.

It needs to be said right away that the author's approach is moderately optimistic as a whole. As distinct from the numerous analytical studies published in the West, V.V. Rymalov's book does not amount to a list of infinite vicious circles and blind alleys of development from which for the countries which have taken the path of independent development it is impossible to extricate themselves. These states' indisputable successes in the sphere of industrial development are ascertained first and foremost: "In the 1960's-start of the 1980's the physical volume of the aggregate industrial product of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America increased as a

\* V.V. Rymalov, "Podryv vekovykh ustoyev" [Undermining of Age-Old Foundations ], Moscow, "Mysl", 1984, p 270.

whole by a factor of more than 3.5. As a result industrial commodities began to predominate in the material production of a considerable majority of these countries as distinct from all preceding stages of their economic history" (p 115). The role of industry in these countries' gross domestic product has increased everywhere. Particular significance is attached to the "rapid development of their manufacturing industry, particularly the heavy industry sectors, whose volume in the 1960's-start of the 1980's grew as a whole considerably more rapidly than light industry" (p 124). Collating these data, V.V. Rymalov reaches the important conclusion that a process of the narrowing of the economic gap between the industrially developed and developing countries in the industrial sphere is under way, if we bear in mind per capita production, and that this process is "assuming a relatively stable and irreversible nature" (p 128).

So, considerable changes are being observed in the sphere of industry, and it should be emphasized, furthermore, that it is a question primarily of manufacturing and of extractive industry. An entire era, in the course of which the "peripheral" countries of the world capitalist economy were condemned to the role of suppliers of raw material and consumers of imported industrial products, has come to an end. An end has thereby also been put to the arguments about whether the monopolies would "permit" the backward countries to create their own manufacturing industry and, even less, emerge on the world market with their own industrial products. Such "indulgence" was not required for, apart from all else, the added reason that, contrary to the views which were current in our literature at one time, far from all the monopolies have an interest in perpetuating the industrial backwardness of the young states; there have also been many which deemed it profitable for themselves, on the contrary, to develop manufacturing industry in the Third World, and a powerful stream of investments was directed precisely into this sphere. But an even more important role was performed by the changed situation in the world and the new opportunities for the backward countries connected with the existence of the socialist system.

The situation in agriculture appears different from industry. On the one hand the reduction in its role in the developing countries' gross product in line with the growth of industry is perfectly natural: in the 20 years the relative significance of agriculture in the gross domestic product of Asian countries declined approximately 45 percent, including a decline of more than one-third in South and Southeast Asia, and by a factor of 2 in the Near and Middle East. In Africa the decline constituted 47-48 percent, in Latin America approximately 40 percent (p 121). On the other hand, this natural process is being accompanied by a decline in the growth rate in agriculture and per capita production of the agricultural product (while the population continues to grow). Whereas the first process (that is, the reduction in the relative significance of agriculture in the gross domestic product in line with industrialization) is progressive, the second (the decline in the agricultural production growth rate) is undoubtedly negative and extremely disturbing. It is for this reason that the gap between the developing and developed capitalist countries in terms of the manufacture of the aggregate per capita product continues to increase: in the first postwar years it was defined by the ratio (for Asian and African countries) of 8:1, but by the start of the 1980's by 10:1 (p 130). Thus as a whole the discrepancy between the emergent countries and the centers of capitalism continues, remaining "an objective reality of our time" (p 133).

Of course, this gulf is far from identical for all developing countries. They can no longer be regarded as a single whole. V.V. Rymalov rightly observes that "in the 1960's-1980's a manifest increase in the instability and disproportionality of the economic growth of different groupings of countries of the former colonial continents has been observed" (p 119). Things are worst in Africa. Although the total gross domestic product of the African countries in the period in question has almost tripled, their relative significance in the production of the aggregate social product of all three continents shows a tendency to decline. Africa's economic progress compared with Asia and Latin America is slow; true, the author does not analyze and does not explain the reasons for this phenomenon, confining himself to the observation that in Africa "colonialism succeeded for a number of years of the postwar period in holding on to key positions in many areas..." (p 117). This does not sound all that convincing: what are the "key positions," and can it be said that the positions of the imperialist monopolies (if this is what we are talking about) in Southeast Asia and Latin America are weaker than in Africa? Evidently not. However, economic development there is considerably more successful. Obviously, it is primarily a question of the fact that the majority of Tropical African countries lacks the resources (natural or human) which are available in many countries of the two other continents, factors of the instability, immaturity and imbalance of sociopolitical structures are stronger in African countries and so forth.

The countries with oil have surged ahead sharply in many of the most important indicators. A gigantic gap developed in the 1960's-1970's in the levels and dynamics of per capita production of the gross social product between the oil-producing countries (primarily the biggest oil exporters of the Near and Middle East) and the vast majority of other developing countries. In the oil-exporting countries "per capita production of the gross domestic product is more than six times greater than the corresponding average indicators for all developing countries," V.V. Rymalov writes (p 120). As a whole, in examining the question of differentiation in the developing world and the unevenness of the development of the groups of states incorporated therein the author foresees a growth of the disproportionality of per capita production. Thus things are heading not in the direction of a leveling or averaging but an intensification of differentiation and of an increase in yet another discrepancy, now running within the block of developing countries. It does not need to be said with what serious consequences of a domestic and, possibly, international nature an intensification of this process is fraught.

Having analyzed on the one hand the development trends of the emergent countries from a sectoral angle and, on the other, from the angle of the growing differentiation and increasing unevenness of this development, V.V. Rymalov acquired an opportunity to answer, albeit approximately, the main question: at what pace will the process of surmounting the backwardness and reducing the gap between these countries and the developed capitalist states proceed? According to his forecast, "it should be expected that in terms of relative significance in gross domestic product the bulk of emergent Asian and African countries could in the coming decades approach the present level of the most developed Latin American states, while the latter will reach the average level of the contemporary industrial centers of capitalism" (p 123). The reference is to the relative significance of industry in the gross domestic product--an

important, but, of course, far from the sole indicator determining the lagging of the "periphery" behind the capitalist "centers". As far as all production as a whole is concerned, however, here the author makes a more pessimistic evaluation: "...in terms of a number of determining indicators, primarily production of the gross per capita product, a trend toward a further increase in the discrepancy will continue there" (p 133).

In general, as can be seen from the pronouncements quoted, V.V. Rymalov is quite guarded and restrained in his evaluations and conclusions. Sometimes he may be reproached for a certain, excessive, perhaps, "traditionality" of his wording. It is hardly, for example, legitimate today to call the developing countries the "agrarian-raw material periphery" (pp 116, 121). Although the author means by this merely the fact that agriculture and the production of mineral raw material predominate in the economy of these countries, the definition "agrarian-raw material" in combination with the word "periphery" involuntarily evokes in the reader associations with the times long past when the Asian and African countries supplied Europe with food. Now, on the contrary, they import food from the developed industrial states. It is probable that in a short time, considering the rate of states' industrialization, they may be called the "industrial-raw material periphery" of the capitalist world economy.

As a whole the book in question, which contains a thorough analysis of many aspects of the world capitalist economy, will be of benefit to all who are interested in problems of the world economy and the economy of the developing countries.

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BOOK ON IDEOLOGY OF KOREA'S NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 (signed to press  
14 Jan 86) pp 206-210

[V.N. Nikiforov review of G.D. Tyagay book\*]

[Excerpts] Now, when the Soviet public is commemorating the 80th anniversary of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, we turn with particular attention to the recent history of the countries of the East in whose development, in the revolutionary movement included, many similar features with Russia may be found.

This also applies fully to the states of East and Northeast Asia--China, Japan and Korea--whose recent history reveals much that is common. By the start of recent times all three countries had relatively developed, centralized feudal monarchies; they all experienced a serious internal crisis under the influence of their "opening" to Europeans; conservative forces were predominant in them for a long time subsequently; the new invasion of the capitalist powers at the start of the 19th century initiated a second, more prolonged crisis.

As of the mid-19th century the paths of development of the countries of Northeast Asia diverge. After the celebrated "Meiji transformations," Japan embarked on the path of independent capitalist development, having become the sole highly developed capitalist power in the East up to this point. While preserving formal independence, China in fact increasingly became a collective colony of the imperialist powers and freed itself from colonial dependence only as a result of the 1949 revolution. As distinct from Japan and China, Korea had by the start of the 20th century been turned officially into a colony without rights.

The history of the ideology of the Korean national liberation movement is the subject of the book in question. Not confining herself just to Korea, the author, Galina Davydovna Tyagay, makes constant forays into the history of

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\* G.D. Tyagay, "Formirovaniye ideologii natsionalno-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya v Koreye" [Formation of the Ideology of the National Liberation Movement in Korea], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izd-va "Nauka", 1983, p 247.

Japan and China, comparing and contrasting the paths of the development of social thought in all three countries. This is justified by the fact that the common features and differences in the formation of the ideology of the national liberation movement reflect and largely explain the singularities of the historical development both of the entire Far East region and its individual states. "This presentation of the subject has become possible at the current stage of development of Soviet oriental studies, which have switched from historical research of an area-study plane to the creation of broad summary works on the history of Asian and African countries and the national liberation struggle of their peoples and the inception of its ideology" (p 3).

There was much in common between the early bourgeois reactionaries of all three countries. They were far removed from the people, and the leaders' emphatic Westernism afforded grounds for accusing them of a departure from national traditions. The protests of the people's masses were either conducted in parallel with the bourgeois-revolutionary movement, without merging with it, or were aimed against the bourgeois revolutionaries, just as against foreigners. A feature common to the leaders of the progressive movements in all three countries was also the fact that the supporters of the bourgeois revolution--the figures of the "Meiji revolution," Tan Ssu-tung and Kim Ok-kyun--remained supporters of the monarchy. It is difficult to say even of Sun Yat-sen--later a convinced republican--in 1895, at the time of his first protest in the south of China, whether he was then still a monarchist or a republican.

An abrupt change occurred in the development of the ideology of the Korean national liberation movement following the Japanese-Chinese war of 1894-1895. The direct threat of becoming a Japanese colony was for Korea so serious that it pushed into the background all the remaining contradictions of Korean society. All patriotic forces began in this period to unite, albeit belatedly, against the Japanese colonizers.

The book's final two chapters are devoted to this period (1895-1910). G.D. Tyagay divides it into two subperiods: 1894-1905 and 1905-1910. Initially the center of the unification of the patriotic forces was the Toknip Hyophoe (Independence Society), which had emerged following the discontinuance of Korea's formal vassal dependence on China. The fighters for the independence of Korea attempted to strengthen the independence which they had won without falling victim to a new, more dangerous enemy--Japan. As the author shows, the Toknip Hyophoe relied on a considerably broader base than the (Kekhva undon). The members of the Independence Society propagandized ideas of independence and also social equality and the borrowing of progressive scientific-technical and cultural knowledge and advocated the restoration of the genuine national history of their homeland free of Confucian stereotypes. They were for constitutional and parliamentary limitation of the power of the monarchy. Despite the orientation of certain ideologists toward the assistance of foreign powers, as a whole the nationalism of the Toknip Hyophoe was distinguished by a sharply expressed anticolonial, anti-imperialist and antifeudal thrust.

The weakness of the 1895-1905 patriotic movement was the fact that it had developed within a peaceful, petition framework: its ideologists were opposed to violent methods.

The fourth stage pertains to the years of the Japanese protectorate over Korea (1905-1910). The purpose of the struggle now was liberation from colonial oppression. The leading role in ideology belonged to the (Kemon undon) (cultural-educational movement). There was a gradual merger of the social and patriotic struggle, and some participants in the (Kemon undon) became fighters of guerrilla anti-Japan detachments. At the second, third and fourth stages the ideology of the liberation movement remained bourgeois-nationalist. But some, the best, representatives of (Kemon undon) subsequently arrived at Marxism and were the founders of the Korean Communist Party.

The ideological focus of the armed anti-Japan struggle in the years of the protectorate was, as the author shows, dual. In the smaller part of the guerrilla detachments, particularly those which experienced the influence of the Russian revolution, views of bourgeois enlightenment which had a tendency to merge with the ideas of anti-imperialist struggle spread. The second direction, which was predominant among the leadership of the majority of detachments, remained in feudal-nationalist positions. But, nonetheless, as G.D. Tyagay emphasizes, feudal nationalism played a significant part in the anticolonial movement and contributed to the cohesion of the broad masses against alien Japanese oppression (p 26).

The book contains certain instances of carelessness, in the spelling of names, for example: thus the legendary "emperor" of the ancient Chinese, Shun, is sometimes called "Shuy" (p 26), sometimes "Shu" (pp 65, 164). It is inaccurate to portray the Chinese who told Sun Yat-sen the story of the death of Kim Ok-kyun as "the person appointed to guard Sun" (p 123); the detainee was guarded by servants of the Chinese Mission and Chinese students in London, while (Den) (Den Tsinchzhay) is a figure of higher rank, mission translator, who played in the "Sun Yat-sen affair" the part virtually second in significance after Mission Counselor McCartney. In the glossary (p 243) the family of the Korean Queen Min (19th century) is on one occasion identified with the Chinese Ming Dynasty (14-17th centuries) (see pages 18, 52); the above-mentioned translator of the Chinese Mission in London, "Tang" ((Den Tsinchzhay)), is confused with the Chinese Tang Dynasty (compare pp 244 and 123); on page 26 the same medieval Tang Dynasty figures (in a quotation, it is true) as the "ancient Chinese state". The city of Mukden (Shenyang) can only at a stretch be considered as "bordering Korea" (p 110). The word "yanban" (Korean nobility) should, I believe, in Russian be declined.

The remarks, as we can see, are of an editing nature. They do not alter the fact that G.D. Tyagay's book may be regarded as a principal aid pertaining to the recent history of the social thought of countries of the Far East.

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