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Tikhvinskiy Outlines Historian's Role in New Political Thinking

18070138 [Cross-reference] Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, March-April 1988 publishes on pages 11-15 a 3,500-word article by Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy entitled "New Political Thinking and Historians." Tikhvinskiy describes the CPSU's "new foreign policy strategy" formulated in response to the "peculiarities of world political development in the second half of the 80's." He states that this new strategy is based on the "struggle for all-human interests and values" in response to the threat of nuclear annihiliation and on the "ever increasing interrelation and interdependence of our world." He stresses the importance of nuclear disarmament and the creation of a new international security system on the world and regional levels. For the full text of Tikhvinskiy's article, see the JPRS REPORT: SOVIET UNION/POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-88-020, 6 June 1988, pages 8-11.

COCOM Viewed as Barrier to International Cooperation

18250052 Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 100-104

[Article by Vilfrid Trillenberg, candidate of economic sciences, MIEP [International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System of SEV [CEMA, Council for Mutual Economic Aid]] of MSS [World Socialist System]: "COCOM [Coordination Committee for Control of East-West Trade]—Barrier on the Path Towards International Cooperation"]

[Text] CEMA member countries support the continued development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with developed capitalist countries on a mutually-advantageous basis. This basic position, arising from the policy of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social structures was again confirmed by the 43d (top priority) CEMA Session. But the system of prohibitions regarding the sale of progressive Western technology to socialist countries coming from COCOM—the Coordinating Committee for the Control of East-West Trade—is a serious hindrance to this kind of economic, scientific-technical and technological cooperation.

What is COCOM, which at the last CEMA conference was represented as a weapon for hindering scientific-technical progress in socialist countries?

The Organizer of "Economic Warfare"

After the victory over the fascists during the second world war it became clear to the reactionary forces of the West that it was impossible to halt the development of socialism by military and political means. The search for other methods resulted, in part, in the creation in November 1949 on the initiative of the USA together with Great Britain and France, of a special organization for "economic warfare"—COCOM. Its staff headquarters are located in Paris and are surrounded by an air of secrecy. Until 1953 participating countries completely denied the existence of COCOM. Together with the military-political organization of NATO it was called upon to achieve the preservation of economic and scientific-technical superiority of capitalism over the USSR and the young socialist countries. We must add to this that from 1952 to 1957 a so-called China Committee (CICOM) was also in existence, the tasks of which included limiting trade with the KNR [People's Republic of China] and the KNDR [Koreian National Democratic Republic].

At the first stage of development of COCOM until the mid-1960's the U.S.A. dictated foreign trade policy to its allies, which was directed at utilizing all possible methods to hinder the growth of the economic potential of socialist countries in accordance with aggressive military-political doctrines of the reactionary powers of monopolistic capital. Unwinding the spiral of the arms race, the U.S.A. and its allies tried to use the control mechanism of COCOM to deprive the Warsaw Pact countries of the opportunity to strengthen their economic and defense potential. Their goal was to force socialist countries to research anew that which had already been discovered in the West.

COCOM operations are concentrated on composing three lists of export commodities and technology. The first two lists include military materials and materials used in atomic energy; it is completely forbidden to export these materials to socialist countries. The third list includes dual-purpose goods and technology, i.e. those that are used for both military as well as peaceful purposes. Capitalist firms can export them to socialist countries only with an export license. In the early 1950's these lists encompassed about half of all goods traded on the international capitalist market.

COCOM's main political organ is the Consultation Group, which develops the basic strategies of export controls. COCOM meets once a week for consultations with the representatives of participating countries with regard to changing the aforementioned lists and agreeing upon export licenses.

During the first years of COCOM's existence export licenses were issued relatively rarely, mainly for orders to West European firms. In the U.S.A. applications from firms desiring to export dual-purpose goods to CEMA countries are examined with special care. This is done by representatives of the ministries of trade and industry, defense, energy and finance, the state department, the Agency for Arms Control and Disarmament, the TsRU [Central Intelligence Agency] and others.

Under conditions of relaxation of international tensions and of the revival of trade between the East and West the number of approvals for exports to CEMA countries has increased noticeably. According to data from the West German press, during the 1970s COCOM approved the shipment of industrial equipment and information valued at 2.2 billion dollars. Only 85.8 million dollars of orders from firms were not approved. This kind of development is related to a large degree to the fact that by the end of the 1960s in the U.S.A. an understanding of the unpromising nature of the "cold war" policy toward socialist countries had become stronger. This was expressed, in part, in the passage of a new law in 1969 concerning export regulations. In the U.S.A. the view that limitation measures regarding exports bring losses to the United States itself, especially to its trade balance, became prevalent. The system of export controls became more simplified and the lists of controlled goods in part lost some of their previous significance. The countries of the Warsaw Pact, on the other hand, proved that their economic and defense capabilities do not depend on COCOM's prohibition lists but are instead built on a foundation of their own material and scientific-technical resources and potential.

New Strategy

But things did not continue this way for long. With the passage in 1979 of a new American law on the regulation of export activities COCOM was noticeably activated. Already during the first half of 1980 the U.S.A. acquainted its COCOM allies with new lists of goods (amounting to 100 printed pages!) which were to be limited or fully prohibited for export to socialist countries. The role of COCOM as the tested weapon for undermining trade-economic cooperation of countries with differing social systems grew especially with the arrival of the current American administration.

This new strategy was worked out in the mid-1970s, i.e. long before the deterioration in the international situation on the eve of the 1980s. In connection with this a role of no little importance was played by the analytical survey on control over the export of technology from the U.S.A., which was prepared by a work group of the U.S. Ministry of Defense ("Byusi Report"). The strategic line of the document had to do with the fact that most attention should be focused on know-how and key technologies and not on the ready product.

These recommendation were reflected in the new lists of goods and technologies of military significance that it was prohibited to export (under the control of the U.S.A.'s Department of State) and in the lists of controlled goods (U.S. Ministry of Trade), which are constantly being added to as there are scientific inventions and new technologies for utilizing these inventions for practical purposes. In the early 1980s the U.S.A. was successful in thrusting its system for composing the lists of goods subject to export controls upon COCOM member countries. As a result, new limitations in East-West trade arose; this exacerbated conflicts between the U.S.A. and Western European governments which were interested in exporting to the USSR and to other socialist countries.

In 1982 at the request of the American side there was a special meeting of COCOM's consultative group at the highest level. Its goal was to increase the effectiveness of the struggle against scientific-technical and socio-economic progress in socialist countries and to bring the trade policies of NATO partners and Japan closer in line with the American model. In the course of the subsequent reexamination of COCOM lists, the number of items subject to limitations increased considerably.

In activating COCOM operations the U.S.A. tried to transform COCOM into a trade and political organ of the NATO type, the decisions of which would be obligatory for all participants, especially those interested in developing scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA countries. Here the U.S.A. is openly trying to use its technological superiority over its NATO allies and Japan. "East-West economic relations must be compatible with our security interests"—this is the principle brought out by the U.S.A. at a summit meeting in May 1983 in Williamsburg, where it promoted a policy of open confrontation with the USSR and other socialist countries, subordinating its allies to it.

Beginning in January 1982 the customs organs of the U.S.A. strengthened controls over exports from the U.S.A. ("project Exodus") in order to avoid the "illegal" transfer of technology indirectly or through other Western countries to CEMA members. On the basis of this mechanism trade between American firms and their partners in other developed capitalist countries is made more difficult.

Attempts by the present U.S. administration to limit the export of Western technology to socialist countries did not increase the national security of the country, but its economy lost, according to American data, 188,000 jobs, and bears annual losses in income of 9 billion dollars. Actually these losses are even greater because in the process of developing new technologies the firms of other developed capitalist countries turn out to be in a better position in the international market than American firms, which are subject to the prohibitions of the Pentagon.

During the first half of the 1980s the U.S. administration widely utilized the tactics of threatening its trading partners with a cessation of deliveries of American industrial goods and technology as well as with the introduction of additional import limitations. During the Paris talks of COCOM countries in 1983 the London FINANCIAL TIMES (17 May) reported: "The U.S.A. is threatening its allies with the fact that if they do not agree to the proposals of the United States in COCOM their procurement of American equipment could suffer, and the accessibility of the American market might be curtailed for Western European exporters. As a result limitations on exports to socialist countries were expanded."

The U.S.A. based its actions on the interests of maintaining a monopoly position in some areas of scientific and experimental design research. In 1983 it had concentrated about 53 percent of all expenditures within the capitalitic world on NIOKR [Scientific research and experimental design work], Japan—18 percent, and the countries of European communities—28 percent, including the FRG—14 percent. The U.S.A.'s share in the production volume of the capitalist world in the area of microelectronics, which equalled 69.4 percent in 1982 as compared to Japan—24.7 percent and Western Europe—only 4.4 percent, also attests to the monopoly position of the U.S.A. in the development of higher technology.

But despite this even with the lengthening of COCOM lists not all American demands were satisfied. For example, the U.S.A.'s partners firmly declared that they cannot stop exports of oil and gas equipment to the USSR or participation in the building of the gasline between Siberia and Western Europe.

In utilizing its monopolistic position, the U.S.A. was able to strengthen its control over trade of technology not only by COCOM member countries but by others as well. When the U.S.A. exports goods to these countries it requires firm guarantees that these countries will not allow their resale to socialist countries. In recent years, as noted in the newspaper NEUE ZURICHER ZEITUNG (29/30 June 1984) the U.S.A. more and more often rebukes Austria, Switzerland and Sweden for "insufficient cooperation with competent American organizations and for significant successes in the area of speculation and illegal deliveries of technologies to Eastern block countries." The Viennese VOLKSSTIMME on 30 June 1984 quoted a representative of the U.S. Ministry of Trade, who threatened Austria with the fact "that the U.S.A. would limit exports of technology to Austria if the country in the Alps does not start controlling its exports to the East better." Austria considers such demands discriminatory but in 1985 it was forced to fine its own firms for the resale of American goods and technology to socialist countries on the basis of a new foreign trade law.

In Switzerland COCOM rules were almost totally integrated into national international trade laws. Goods manufactured here cannot be sold to CEMA countries if they include American technology as one of their components. Representatives of U.S. customs organs operate in Sweden, watching for trade sharing of stock by local firms. As a result these firms are somewhat reluctant to conclude trade transactions with CEMA countries.

Strategic Goals or Private Interests?

We should also focus attention on another aspect of the U.S. influence on COCOM. Since the early 1980s as well as during the period of the "cold war," the U.S. has attempted to utilize this organ as an appendage of the American system for regulating foreign trade with all the countries of the world. Here it pursues not only the goals of fighting socialism but also the specific interests of American monopolies in the competition with Japan and Western European countries.

This cannot but give rise to an exacerbation of conflicts between the U.S.A. and the other 15 participants in COCOM (Japan, Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Greece, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Canada, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, France and the FRG). One of the leading conservative strategists in FRG economics, K. Bidenkopf, said in connection with this in February 1985 in the journal WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE that "in a specific case it is frequently very difficult to determine whether the topic under discussion is strategic goals or protection of the U.S.'s own market. This uncertainty contributes to a general lack of trust."

A number of factors attest to the fact that the U.S.A. intentionally complicates the exchange of technology along the lines of West - West. Thus, the Pentagon has obtained the right to examine all scientific-technical achievements that have come to fruition with the help of its financing. If we consider that in 1986 the share of the Ministry of Defense in all expenditures for NIOKR by this administration equalled about 70 percent, i.e. a sum of 42 billion dollars, and that about 45 percent of all U.S. expenditures for these purposes were related to the Pentagon budget, it becomes clear that the latter has an actual "veto power" with regard to the basic technological export items of the U.S.A., and through the system of the transnational corporation—with regard to an enormous quantity of export goods of many other countries as well.

The American influence on COCOM is precisely coordinated by the Pentagon and the U.S. Ministry of Trade. Whereas the military department has the "veto power" regarding exports that contain components from American technology or industry by any firm in the developed capitalist countries, the trade ministry must "hammer out" the official positions of the U.S. administration in COCOM and in corresponding organs of capitalistic countries.

In early 1987 the American administration increased its efforts to force its allies to replace the existing agreement between the NATO countries and Japan within the framework of COCOM with an international agreement and to introduce national laws on foreign trade corresponding to the agreement in these COCOM countries. On the pretext of following security interests the U.S.A. is trying to force Japan and Western Europe to act together against the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA countries, and especially with the Soviet Union.

In order to increase the effectiveness of COCOM the U.S.A. feels it is necessary first to eliminate differences in national systems of control over export and divergences in approaches by participating countries towards its goals and criteria. As long ago as in 1983, raising the question of control in a report entitled, "East-West Technology and Trade," the Office of Technological Assessment of the U.S. Congress noted that "the U.S.A. allocates more resources for its implementation than other COCOM countries and examines cases of violations more seriously. Other countries do not implement controls over reexport and only a few punish violators through criminal proceedings."

Secondly, even if the U.S.A. is not successful in implementing total control over the export activities of firms of COCOM members it nevertheless expects to obtain a legal basis for sanctions against those who in the opinion of the Pentagon or the U.S. Ministry of Trade have violated the corresponding COCOM agreements. In such cases Washington does not itself publicly come forth against "violating" firms but can force the government organs of the corresponding country to do this. In this way the U.S.A. is trying to lay the blame for the standstill in economic and scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA countries on other countries.

Thirdly, to make up for limitations in the export of scientific-technical achievements to socialist countries the U.S.A. proposes to its partners a certain expansion in the exchange of technology along the line U.S.A. - West. In this way a step is seemingly taken in support of American firms, which are more and more often coming out against strict export controls.

Recently we have seen increased pressure by the U.S.A. on its NATO allies, Japan and other developed capitalist countries with the goal of reducing their foreign trade with socialist countries in the commodity groups that include a large proportion of modern technological components. In September 1987 the Upper Chamber of Japan's parliament confirmed a new law on the control over exports by Japanese firms to socialist countries. It foresees close cooperation between the ministry of foreign trade and industry and the ministry of foreign affairs, new laws on the export of goods which makes more severe the "punishment" of Japanese firms and private individuals for violations of COCOM regulations. Moreover, the U.S.A. has stepped up its pressure on countries such as Finland, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland and others to take joint steps on the basis of COCOM lists to control the trade operations of these countries' firms with CEMA countries.

The scientific-technical achievements of socialist countries are forcing COCOM to exclude some dual-purpose goods from the corresponding limitations list. For example, export controls over personal computers with an 8-bit capacity have been weakened and the same thing is expected for the 16-bit computer. It is true that in order to belittle the signficance of this fact the U.S. Ministry of Trade explained the decision by saying that it already does not include personal computers with a capacity of up to 16 bits in the category of strategically-significant high technology.

However, this example shows that the scientific-technical achievements of socialist countries are an important factor in eliminating thediscriminating limitations of COCOM. A considerable contribution here must be made by the continued implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Countries Until the Year 2000. Fraternal countries are attributing great significance to the accelerated development of microelectronics, to the development of new types of materials and to the use of the achievements of biotechnology in production.

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Soviet Director of Joint Machinebuilding Plant Interviewed

18250054 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with V.P. Kabaidze by B. Konovalov: "Stagnation Attempts to Survive"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text][Question] Vladimir Pavlovich, you have been the organizer and general director of "Ivanovo-Sofiya", the first international scientific production association. What encouraged you to embark upon this step?

[Answer] A desire to expand the production of advanced machine-tool building technology—of machining centers and machine tools with NC—numerical control. Here in our country, I was unable to achieve cooperation with other enterprises, but it worked out with Bulgaria.

[Question] How do you explain this?

[Answer] Their bureaucracy is weaker than ours. It has not yet built up such force and might. Therefore, it was possible, on the basis of good sense, to demonstrate the benefits of cooperation. Our Bulgarian comrades have taken advantage of our experience, knowledge and the development work we have done,. while we have made use of their productive capacities, which are needed to expand operations. As a result, the scientific production association is now producing modern machine tools for our enormous market and, through us, can reach Soviet customers directly.

[Question] I happened to hear somehow in Sofia that you are very expansive and want almost to "trample" the entire Bulgarian machinebuilding industry under your feet.

[Answer] This is the usual narrow-minded talk behind which, as also with us, there stands that same bureaucracy which would like to preserve the existing management system and the old structure of our stock of machinebuilding technology, with its preponderance of universal machine tools. But the fact is that the output of the "Ivanovo-Sofiya" international association, in terms of value, is no more than 10 percent of the total volume of the Bulgarian machinebuilding industry.

We wanted to organize joint production of heavy machining centers, but this was not envisaged by the Soviet-Bulgarian agreement. And it was necessary for us to seek other partners.

As previously, our Ivanovo machinebuilding association has been unable to organize cooperation within our country. All the same talk: "It wants to trample everyone under its feet." Therefore, we are expanding international cooperation. The Korean machinebuilding industry is now associating itself with us. Together with the DPRK, we are now organizing the production of heavy machining centers. Eighty percent of the output will be supplied to the Soviet market. And the production of extra-heavy machining centers is being organized together with the GDR. Thus, on the basis of what we have worked out, the entire gamut of processing centers needed by machine building will be produced—from the smallest to extra-heavy ones.

[Question] How is collaboration being influenced by the process of restructuring that is taking place in our countries?

[Answer] There are both pluses and minuses. There are plenty of difficulties. The trouble is also that we have turned out to be a "victim" of both our and of Bulgarian restructuring. A very serious break-up of organizational structures is now in process in Bulgaria. Ministries have been eliminated and voluntary associations have been formed in their place. A serious restructuring of the party and state apparatus is underway. This is gratifying. But, unfortunately, people with whom you have been dealing and have reached agreement regarding cooperation are often leaving for other posts. And, in Bulgaria, as with us, when a person leaves, the obligations which he has taken upon himself automatically "leave" along with him. His successor begins everything from zero and, moreover, repeats over and over "you have stirred things up here but, never mind, we'll straighten everything out..." So that it is impossible to build long-term relationships.

I will give another example. From Japan, Bulgaria purchased a license for the production of numerical controls. They made a simple calculation: you will not achieve world standards by taking the evolutionary path of making small improvements to bad numerical controls. It is necessary to make a leap ahead. The simplest way, which we for some reason have considered shameful, is the acquisition of licenses.

In fact, on the basis of the licenses which it has purchased, Bulgaria has organized the production of fairly good numerical controls, using Japanese components. And this is relatively less expensive than acquiring ready-made Japanese numerical controls. By an agreement with the USSR, it is envisaged that the enterprise which produces the numerical controls will become a part of our international association, will gradually change over to become a CEMA assembly enterprise, and will organize the output of numerical controls for Bulgarian as well as for Soviet machine building. But this enterprise is now still entirely involved with another association and our concerns and plans do not interest it.

Understand me correctly. With all my soul, I am in favor of restructuring, for reducing the administrative apparatus, and for the merging of various "command departments", but I am opposed to this leading to an absence of responsibility, to doing away with obligations. When breaking down what is obsolete, let us think how to preserve what is needed, what is necessary.

[Question] And what bothers you about the process of restructuring that is now going on with us?

[Answer] Appearance instead of deed. So, they have eliminated ministerial administrations. This would seem to be good. Now, I am directly subordinate to the minister. There are no intermediate obstacles. However, together with our administrative office, we have calculated that the number of written directives has grown by 10 percent. Why are we getting them? We are not blind. We know where to go, what we want. So, give us independence in fact.

We expected that, in the new conditions, the ministry would occupy itself with the organization of cooperative production units, that it would be able to "worm out" of other sectors the high quality manufactured components which we need. But there is no progress at all.

If I may speak frankly, then, in the present situation, all we really need is a ministry supply department. Because wholesale trade—this is a dream for the future, but, for the present, everything, down to the nuts and bolts, goes through Gosplan, Gossnab, and the ministry. And this system is keeping us on a very short leash. We obtain all our resources from the ministry, and it is not to our advantage to speak out against its actions, although they contradict the spirit and sense of restructuring.

Indeed, we have now switched over to "self-financing". And what has happened? On the basis of long-term economic norms, the funds that they are now leaving with our enterprise are 10 percent less than before. Where are they going? It turns out, on our account, to keep backward enterprises "afloat". This means that, in fact, the ministry's role is reduced to propagating egalitarianism.

But, indeed, we have already been through this. This is a dead-end here. Recall the classical slogan of Brezhnev's time: "Not a single backward one among us". And, indeed, this led to stagnation. The strong ones were tied hand and foot and the weak ones, despite all the infusions and the pushes, made no progress. And so, is it to be the same old thing again?

But they will be destroyed, they say. So, let them be destroyed, let them be absorbed into the leading associations, and then we will be giving them a possibility for intensive development. It is time to base state policy on helping the strong and not on keeping the weak, unprofitable production unit alive at any cost.

But we are now attempting to use the state order as a "crutch" for them. It would seem, according to the logic of things, that the state order should stimulate production of the advanced production technology needed by the country on that same world level, about which we talk so much in lofty terms. This isn't so. In actuality, the state order guarantees the production of old products that are dragging the country backwards.

Look what is happening with regard to our machine tool building. Today, within our Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry [Minstanprom], there are 143,000 machine tools and 100,000 machine tool operators. For the country as a whole, there are 6.5 million machine tools and 4 million tool operators. What sort of two-shift operation can we be talking about? We cannot fully utilize the machine tools on just one shift. We need to renew our stock of machine tools. Everyone seems to acknowledge this. But they issue a state order for universal machine tools... This means that, as formerly, they will stand idle. No miracle is going to happen.

[Question] But, now, economic sanctions have been introduced for the production of old technology, its price is being reduced.

[Answer] And do you think that they are idiots at the enterprises? They add on some sort of bagatelle, attach a robot—and you have a new machine tool. But if you look closely at the designs, then these have not changed for 30 years. And, as they say, we are rolling in such "new" technology.

Very often an enterprise is unable to produce new technology because suppliers of parts trip it up—it does not have the necessary manufactured components. When they created the USSR Council of Ministers Buro for Machine Building, it was said that, now, the situation would change. Order what you need and you will get it—we will force them to develop it, to organize its production. Empty promises. Just as, 30 years ago, we used to buy high-moment engines and good numerical controls abroad, using the purchasers hard currency funds, so we are also buying them today. Neither the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry [Minelektrotekhprom] nor the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems [Minpribor] is turning out products that meet a world standards. But they are receiving state orders for their own old stuff, which we do not need. This is certainly a total profanation of the idea of the state order!

[Question] And what do you propose doing?

[Answer] Strengthen the economic levers. An enterprise should fail if it puts out old products and should flourish if it produces products on a world level. At the moment, it does not have a feeling for the difference. And if the situation is not fundamentally changed, then the success of economic restructuring is problematical.

It is necessary that the state order, that the contract price allow an enterprise to skim off the "cream" from organizing the production of world- standard products. This is beneficial to the state. To the customer as well. It should also be beneficial to the producer. For us, as customers, it would indeed be of greater benefit and simpler to pay rubles to Soviet suppliers for good assembled products than to obtain them from foreign firms for

hard currency. This is also beneficial in exactly the same way to the customers of our products within the Soviet Union. I believe that a supplier of products which meet world standards should receive a world market price for them. At the same time, it should have the right to sell at least 50 percent of its output not through Gossnab, but itself, negotiating directly with the customer.

On the other hand, the tax on obsolete production needs to be made much higher than now. Moreover, both for the one that produces it, and for the one that buys it. But, indeed, the bureaucrats have one answer to this: they are doing the buying! The state should regulate this process.

[Question] Essentially, we still have not begun to utilize tax as an instrument of influence on scientific and technical progress. But, throughout the entire world, this has been done for a long, long time. There is a well-known example from the era of the vacuum tube when, in the USA, a tax on the vacuum tube volume was introduced for electrical equipment and electronic products. As a result, micro-miniaturization quickly began, and then the vacuum tube disappeared entirely—solid-state circuits appeared. It is evident that we too need to make effective use of such a kind of lever.

[Answer] Absolutely true. If we are talking about machine tool building, then, in my view, we now need to sharply increase the price paid for the utilization of old production funds. Then it will become unprofitable to purchase universal machine tools. By taking such an economic route, we will be able to change over to systems where a single person can operate several machine tools, and even to unmanned technologies.

Right now, in my view, it is very important for producers to introduce favorable subsidies and prices for "no-man's technology", for technology which is not being produced by any ministry. Today, for example, the entire world is experienced a boom in the production of small machine tools for instrument building. We do not have them here. We have pursued this at our own risk. But our enterprise receives no perceptible benefits under the existing system of so-called self-financing. Existing "self-financing" does not stimulate the production of advanced technology. One more example—the situation with laser machine tools. Industry has a pressing need for these. We are taking upon ourselves all the bothers and risk of organizing a new thing. But they take the profits away from us in order to support the production of universal machine tools for which the country has no need.

It is paradoxical, but a fact.

[Question] Vladimir Pavlovich, today you are assuming the role of a pessimist, which is unusual for you. What, are things so bad that even you throw up your hands?

[Answer] No. I am purposefully speaking sharply in order to try to change the situation. I have not lost my optimism. It is difficult to work now, but it is possible. Times have gotten better. They listen to you, they help. And I am in a rush, I am trying to succeed in doing a little more, I am involved with a great many new things. I have only one regret—my age... For me, restructuring should have come 15 or 20 years earlier. I have dreamed all my life of "running on a long leash." And today, it is possible to be independent. A person who wants to, can work now, no matter how difficult it may be because of all the disorders of the transition period.

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Selected Articles from AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 3, March 1988

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U.S. Myth of "Soviet Threat" to Africa Criticized

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 pp 6-8, 13

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Tatyana Deych: "Conflicts in Africa and the 'Hand of Moscow'—Theories of Bourgeois Political Scientists"]

[Text] Notwithstanding the aspirations of the African states for unity and the brisk activity of the OAU to settle vexing problems, the continent abounds in "hot spots" as before. There is no need to prove that the outbreaks of armed clashes, like the chronic and smoldering conflicts, are leading to a deepening of economic difficulties for the young states, weakening them politically and frequently drawing non-African countries into their orbit, making the international climate more explosive overall.

A tendency to consider conflicts in Africa as something that stands to reason and is practically insurmountable is typical of many bourgeois political scientists. In supporting the theory advanced at one time by Z. Brzezinski on the "fated inevitability" of conflicts in the so-called "arc

of instability," which supposedly runs through a number of the world's regions, including Africa, they confidently foresee a growth in tensions in the relations among African nations well into the future. Also sometimes characteristic of these authors is a nostalgia for the "good old days" of colonial times, the "civilizing mission" of the former mother countries, with whose departure, they say, all of the misfortune began. There is no shortage of efforts to diminish the role of the OAU and to present the conflicts as a consequence of the ineffectiveness of that organization and its inability to fulfill its mediating mission.

Closing their eyes to the profound reasons for the preservation of old conflicts in Africa and the appearance of new ones, a certain portion of Western political scientists take the well-trodden path of their older colleagues from decades past—they see the "hand of Moscow" in almost every conflict. Even in very respectable works, it seems, there is frequently present a version of the responsibility of the socialist states, and first and foremost the Soviet Union, for the political instability on the continent, in one context or another playing up the myth of the "Soviet threat" and the "intervention" of the USSR in African affairs.

It is no accident that this conjecture has become an obsession of bourgeois, and especially American, political scientists under the current U.S. administration: after all, R. Reagan himself, having barely occupied the president's office, declared that the Soviet Union stood behind all disorder in the world and but for it, the planet would have no "hot spots" at all.[1] In the 1980s Western analysts began to assert more and more often that the conflicts in Africa were "advantageous" to the Soviet Union, since they allowed it, they say, to "implant friendly regimes," as if it were trying to "manage crises" in its own interests, desiring in particular to provide itself and its allies with access to African raw materials and, this means, to take them away from the capitalist countries, as if the conflicts were stimulated by Soviet military aid, instigating the Africans toward forcible solutions to problems under dispute.[2]

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress regarded anti-Sovietism and anticommunism as "a means of pressuring everything that is leading and progressive that lives and fights in the countries of capital, in the non-socialist portion of the world." Apropos of Africa, anti-Sovietism serves as a weapon for undermining Soviet-African relations, a tool for discrediting socialism and, simultaneously, those for whom this social structure is the ideal for the future. It is also used as a sort of "smoke screen" to conceal the true culprit in the escalation of tensions at various points on the continent—international, and first and foremost American, imperialism.

* * *

Take by way of example, extremely simplified, the vulgarized treatment of the history of the emergence of the People's Republic of Angola. Even today some in the West pass off the coming to power of the progressive MPLA government in that country as a result of the "export of revolution" supposedly carried out by the USSR and Cuba. It is not worth recounting here the upheavals of the struggle of the Angolans for independence, as they have been set forth in quite a bit of detail in Soviet academic literature and periodicals. We will note just that these fabrications have evoked protests even among some Western authors far from sympathetic to socialism. The well-known American political scientist H. Kitchen wrote that "neither the Soviet Union nor Cuba created the 'Angolas' and 'Rhodesias' in Africa."[3] "It was not the Soviets that took the first step in Angola," acknowledged J. Stockwell, once head of the CIA's Angolan residency, in his book, and as proof he cited instances testifying to the responsibility of the United States for creating a crisis situation in the country and around it.[4]

The fabrication of the "Soviet-Cuban threat" to Angola, as well as Ethiopia, "argued" with references to the presence of limited Cuban military contingents in those countries (invited by the governments of both countries to protect them against encroachments from without), wanders from one Western publication to another. Objecting to those who support it, American professor D. Schultz wrote: "The presence of Cubans in Angola and Ethiopia is not tantamount to aggression. It is not known whether the integrity of these countries would be preserved without the stabilizing influence of the Cubans... If we are alarmed by its military presence, we should further the settlement of conflicts in Africa with our policies rather than fanning them. Then, evidently, the necessity of turning to Cuba for aid would not arise for the governments of Angola and Ethiopia. Unfortunately, advocates of conflict play the predominant role in the current U.S. administration."[5]

The reasonableness of this opinion is confirmed by the steady growth in the scale of aid that the United States gives to the UNITA anti-government Angolan group. A remarkable article came from the pen of American Congressman J. Kemp. Objecting to the opponents of draft legislation to increase aid to UNITA who supposed that passage would only complicate the solution of the problems of southern Africa, the author justified his position with the "necessity of restraining Soviet pretensions in the south African region" and called for the consideration of UNITA as an "organization of fighters for freedom from Soviet neocolonialism"(?!)[6]

The statements of J. Kemp also say, by the way, that opposition to the policies of the White House in relation to Angola is gaining force in the United States—policies that many representatives of official and academic circles call narrow-minded and shortsighted. "Intervention on the side of UNITA will not only not help settle the conflict, but will inflict enormous harm to American interests in the region," wrote the NEW YORK TIMES. The WASHINGTON POST in turn called upon the U.S. administration to take into account the opinions of the

African states, who were posing the alarming question: "If the administration supports the rebels of Savimbi (the leader of UNITA—T.D.) that are encouraged by South Africa, what stops them from doing the same in Mozambique or Zimbabwe—each of which country is encountering the analogous problem?"

* * *

The situation in Angola is not the sole example of a conflict with the expansion of which the U.S. imperialism, guided by the doctrine of "neoglobalism," is connected, the destiny of which doctrine was candidly described by the NEW YORK TIMES: "The United States should intervene in wars taking place in Third-World countries wherever there is even the slightest possibility of fighting Soviet or Marxist influence." In searching for legal substantiations for such clearly illegal actions, theories are advanced according to which the socialist countries, national-liberation movements and the young independent states are supposedly flouting international law, while the Western powers headed by the United States are "defending law and order." The concept of "pro-democratic intervention" has been in circulation to justify the utilization of armed force in the name of establishing or restoring a democracy in the bourgeois sense of the word.[7] Asserting that intervention in so-called low-intensity conflicts has the goal of hindering the appearance of major armed conflicts, the advocates of this concept are in favor of employing a broad spectrum of means of influence on countries that are, from their point of view, "terrorist refuges."

These excuses for ideas found practical application in the spring of 1986, when the United States, declaring Libya to be a "violator of generally recognized norms of international law" and "the instigator of terrorism around the world" in the course of a hysterical propaganda campaign it had unleashed, subjected the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi to a barbaric bombing. It is typical that Washington tried to expand the framework of the conflict and include third countries in it, including African ones. According to the Cairo AL AKHRAM, the American administration tried three times to incline the Egyptian leadership toward participating in the military action against Libya, but they were decisively rebuffed.[8]

Libya became the object of massive direct pressure in connection with events in Chad as well. It should be stated that the protracted crisis in Chad is attracting the steadfast attention of bourgeois political scientists, who once again appeal to the myth of the "communist threat" in determining those responsible for the misfortunes of this central African country, this time slightly modified: they are accusing Libya of aggression, being used by the Soviet Union as a tool of its "expansionist policies." As early as in 1983, speaking at a congress of the ultra-rightist American Legion organization, R. Reagan accused Libyan leader M. Kaddafi of trying to "overthrow the lawful regime of H. Habre with the aid of Soviet weapons," which, he said, forced the United States to render assistance to the latter. The U.S. press ascribed to Libya the intention of transforming Chad into a beachhead for penetrating neighboring states. Washington, via intervention in the Chad crisis, was counting on realizing its own aims, which consisted, in the opinion of the well-known French commentator E. Rouleau, of "achieving a 'normalization' in Chad under the power of a 'strongman,' destabilizing the regime of Col Kaddafi and expanding American influence north and south of the Sahara."[9]

Time has confirmed the correctness of this evaluation. Having consolidated its position thanks to Western assistance (by September of 1987 the United States alone had sent H. Habre 32 million dollars worth of arms and had promised him 20 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles in addition), the N'Djamena regime, with the blessing of France, which had supported it throughout the crisis, entered into an armed border war with Libya. And strangely enough, by the way, the "incapable" OAU, which has been occupied with the problem of Chad since 1977, including the issue of the disputed Aozou belt, curiously appeared in the role of intermediary in this conflict.

As for the Soviet Union, which was supposedly pushing Libya toward hostile actions against Chad, it had clearly and unambiguously come out in favor of a political settlement rather than a military one. "We support the efforts of the OAU aimed at breaking down the dangerous situation in the region," said a representative of the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] quoted in PRAVDA, "and we call on all parties that are directly or indirectly involved in this conflict to exercise restraint and political prudence and move toward the fastest possible halt to the conflict."

* * *

The statements of Pretoria of the supposedly real possibility of the "intervention" of the USSR in the southern part of the continent and the complaints of South African apologists for apartheid on the score that the West, concerned with its own problems, "is not reacting to Soviet intervention,"[10] have been fanned in the bourgeois press for many years. Versions are being popularized according to which the Soviet Union is the main culprit in the worsening situation in South Africa, since, they say, the tempestuous events there are transpiring "against a background of a threat to the region from the USSR,"[11] while the hostility of the indigenous population toward the racist regime is no more or less than the consequence of "Soviet propaganda."[12]

Considering the prophecies of armed incursions by the USSR into southern Africa absurd and repudiating them, many venerable bourgeois political scientists, however, gladly take part in the debate of how real the USSR threat is to the raw materials of the West and to the maritime routes around the Cape of Good Hope.[13]

In 1981 a subcommission of the U.S. Congress for African affairs held hearings on the theme of "The Probability of a War for the Resources of Southern Africa." The majority of the speakers asserted that the Soviet Union is trying to control the natural wealth of the region; they differed only in their evaluations of the USSR's possible activeness in this direction.

Sometimes the bourgeois academic fabricators move to outright slander against the socialist states, ascribing to them actions that were actually committed by the West. The imperialist powers, as is well known, are the main violators of the UN resolutions on economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. A staffer of the Center for Science and International Problems at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, K. Campbell, accuses the Soviet Union of "commercial ties with Pretoria." In an article called "The Relations of the USSR with South Africa," he declares that the USSR has collaborated with South Africa for many years in monopolizing trade in gold, diamonds and other minerals. Recognizing the impossibility of documenting even a single instance of such collaboration, the author nonetheless dares to argue the "contribution" that the Soviet Union is making to the development of the South African economy.[14]

It is true that in recent years the imaginary intention of the USSR to lay its hands on the natural wealth of southern Africa has been subject to doubts in the West. "It does not look like Moscow is trying to control the resources in the region," proposes, in particular, British journalist K. Somerville. "They have not even attempted to obtain preferential access to Angolan oil."[15] The idea is expressed that the specter of a "war for resources" has been greatly exaggerated and used with a single purpose—"to substantiate a policy of confrontation with the Soviets."[16]

The efforts of a great many bourgeois researchers to evaluate the events in southern Africa more realistically call attention to themselves. Demands are being heard among American political scientists, for example, for the administration to reconsider its bankrupt policy of toleration of the Pretoria regime, which has not been able to settle the conflict in the region at all. Individual authors are inveighing not only for the rejection of "constructive engagement" with the South African authorities, but also for the "effective participation" of the United States in solving the crisis, including negotiations with the ANC, support for radical electoral reforms and the imposition of strict sanctions against the apartheid state.

These recommendations, by the way, are in no way dictated by a concern for the interests of the oppressed majority in South Africa. As the magazine NEWSWEEK candidly writes, their aim is to ensure a gain for the United States in its rivalry with Moscow and to convince the African population of South Africa that the best means of realizing its hopes and aspirations is to rely on the West.[17] The authors of the monograph "The Soviet Influence in Africa," for example, call upon the United States to take "flexible steps" as quickly as possible to "neutralize the Soviet influence in the southern part of the continent," which is growing stronger "to the extent of growth in tensions in relations between the African countries and the West."[18]

* * *

The appearance of research of an objectivist thrust in recent years is also typical of the conflicts of bourgeois political science overall. Considering the conflict situation through the prism of "East-West rivalry," seemingly from the position of detached observer, the authors of such works too often lose their affected impartiality, declaring, say, that "although both the West and the East have contributed to the disagreements and conflicts existing between them on the African continent in the 1980s, the principal blame for the tensions in Africa lies with the socialist countries."[19]

The works whose authors are inclined to equate the policies of the "superpowers"—the United States and the USSR—also cannot pretend to genuine objectivity. The American scholar J. Damis, in a book on the conflict in the western Sahara, writes that since neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is a former mother country and they have an equal vested interest in maintaining good relations both with Algeria and with Morocco (whose positions in the conflict differ), both are ready to reconcile themselves to any solution to the problem of the western Sahara. But in the same place he cites instances testifying to the fact that the formation of a Saharan Arab Democratic Republic does not suit the United States. The arguments of J. Damis on the aspirations of Washington to avoid being drawn into the events of the western Sahara are repudiated by data included in the book on the expansion of U.S. military collaboration with Morocco. As for the Soviet Union, it, as the author justly notes, has been unswervingly in favor of granting the peoples of the western Sahara the right to self-determination,[20] and that, despite the theoretical premises of the work, is the most material difference in its policies from the U.S. course in the region.

The criticism that prestigious bourgeois specialists are directing toward the myth of the "threat" to stability in Africa on the part of the socialist community of late testifies to a certain polarization in Western political science.[21] Against oversimplifying the processes transpiring on the continent and concealing the aims prosecuted by the imperialist powers, they speak ironically apropos of the inclination of patent anti-Soviets to see, as British diplomatic-service staffer H. Brind expressed it, "the hand of Moscow behind every coup d'etat and every defeat of the West in Africa."[22] Some authors firmly declare that the USSR is not striving for an expansion of tensions on the continent at all; on the

contrary, it, in the fair observation of English Oriental-studies scholar F. Halliday, is applying persistent efforts aimed at averting conflicts among the African countries.[23]

It becomes clear from analysis of the works of bourgeois political scientists on the conflicts in Africa that attempts to place the responsibility for the mess on the continent on the Soviet Union not only serves as a justification for aggressive acts of imperialism, but also conceals the true causes of the difficulties the African states are experiencing. Moreover, as was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "the miserable situation of the developing countries is the largest worldwide problem. This, and nothing else, is the true source of the many conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such is the truth, whatever the refinements of the ruling circles of imperialism on the score of the 'hand of Moscow' justifying its neocolonialist policies and global pretensions." It was proclaimed at the congress that the Soviet Union feels it is essential to "make more active the collective search for ways of breaking down the conflict situations in the Near East, Central America, southern Africa and all the seething points on the planet."

And these are not just ringing words. The determination of the Soviet Union to aid a just settlement of the conflicts in the world, finding practical incarnation in the support for the policies of national reconciliation being followed by the governments of Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Kampuchea, is striking a positive chord on all continents, including Africa. It is convincing Africans of the possibility of solving difficult problems politically, without bloodshed, and at the same time visibly demonstrating the baselessness of the fabrications of unscrupulous bourgeois political scientists with regard to the mythical "Soviet threat" to Africa.

Footnotes

1. WALL STREET JOURNAL, 23 Feb 81.

2. See "Arms for Africa, Military Assistance and Foreign Policy in Developing World" (Bruce E. Allinghause, ed.). Lexington (Mass.), Toronto, 1983, p 93. "Afrika Spectrum," Hamburg, 1985, No 2, p 134. "East-West Tensions in the Third World" (Marshall D. Shulman, ed.). New York, 1985, p 137.

3. H. Kitchen. On Safari Again.—ORBIS, Philadelphia, Winter 1982, p 856.

4. See J. Stockwell. In Search of Enemy. A CIA Story. New York, 1978.

5. D. Shultz. The Strategy of Conflicts and the Politics of Counterproductivity.—ORBIS, 1981, vol 25, No 3, p 700.

6. Africa Report, 1986, Jan-Feb, vol 31, No 1, pp 12-14.

7. See, for example: W.M. Reisman. Coercion and Self-Determination. Construing Charter Article 2 (4).—AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, Washington, 1984, vol 78, No 3, pp 642-645.

8. See AL-AKHRAM, 31 Mar 86 (in Arabic).

9. ORBIS, 1983, No 4, p 968.

10. G.A. Vale. Quo Vadis, South Africa.—CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, 1985, vol 246, No 143, p 177.

11. WASHINGTON POST, 13 Oct 86.

12. AFRICA INSIGHT, 1983, No 3, p 30.

13. See, for example: Ch. Coker. NATO, Warsaw Pact and Africa. London, 1985, p 178.

14. AFRICA DEFENCE, 1986, No 66, pp 42-43.

15. THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES, 1984, vol 221, No 1, pp 106-107.

16. M. Shafer. Mineral Myths.—FOREIGN POLICY, Summer 1982, p 154.

17. See NEWSWEEK, 1985, vol 106, No 12, pp 8-9.

18. The Soviet Impact in Africa. Lexington-Toronto, 1984, p 118.

19. East-West Tensions in the Third World, pp 116-118.

20. J. Damis. Conflict in Northwest Africa. The Western Sahara Dispute. Stanford (Cal.), 1983.

21. See, for example: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, Cambridge (Mass.), 1983, vol 10, No 3, pp 32-68.

22. H. Brind. Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa.—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Winter 1983/84, vol 60, No 1, p 75.

23. See F.M. Halliday. *L'URSS et le monde arabe.* Paris, 1982, p 39.

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Soviet-Japanese Society Meeting Results Examined

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 pp 12-13

[Interview by correspondent Nikolay Vasilyev with USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Director and Corresponding Member M.S. Kapitsa and Chief of the Japan Section Candidate of Historical Sciences K.O. Sarkisov under the rubric "Our Interviews": "Reinforcing Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] *The first consultative meeting of representatives of Soviet and Japanese society were held in Japan. The Soviet delegation included the Director of the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member M.S. Kapitsa and the chief of the Japan Section, Candidate of Historical Sciences K.O. Sarkisov, who have cordially agreed to answer the questions of our correspondent Nikolay Vasilyev.*

[Question] What distinguished this meeting from all preceding Soviet-Japanese symposia on this topic?

[M. Kapitsa] The meeting was conceived as a first attempt to hold an informal discussion, that is not connected with any official frameworks or circumstances, on the most acute and topical problems of global, regional and bilateral relations for the purpose of discovering points of contact and point of difference. The ultimate aim is to devise, on an informal basis, some recommendations for the official institutions of the two countries to expand and deepen political dialogue and find mutually acceptable formulae for resolving disputed issues. Figuratively speaking, this is nothing like the "committee of wise men" that was created by Japan and the United States at one time for the resolution of problems in trade and economic contradictions or the Japanese-Chinese "committee of friendship for the 21st century."

[Question] Was this intent realized?

[K. Sarkisov] Not completely. As they say, the first step is the hardest. It is important, however, that a frank and interested discussion took place on a wide range of problems. It can be said that we have begun to understand each other's positions better. Most importantly, we are not resting on what has been achieved. The consultative meetings should become an effective tool for informal dialogue which, in turn, would help the official circles of both countries in their search for solutions to the urgent problems of mutual relations. A Japanese proverb says that "A long journey begins with a single step."

[Question] But all the same, what is the most valuable that we can note as the result of this meeting?

[M. Kapitsa] Both sides felt the necessity of such discussions. It seems that a new era in Soviet-Japanese relations is beginning. The level of bilateral relations today is pitifully low in both the political and, unfortunately, the economic realms. The proportionate share of the Soviet Union in Japanese foreign trade is about 1.5 percent. And we, even though Japan has moved into second place among our capitalist partners, of course cannot call the trade and economic relations with it satisfactory. The structure of bilateral trade is in need of a decisive restructuring, and greater efforts are needed to develop new forms of collaboration.

As for the political sphere, there is especially much here that should change. The process of "thaw" in bilateral relations that began after the visit of USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze in January of 1986 has not been sufficiently developed. We have created, for example, a much more solid and reliable mechanism mechanism of political dialogue with the United States, for example, than with Japan. This state of affairs can hardly be deemed normal. It is evident that without a developed system of Soviet-Japanese relations, one cannot speak of the creation of a solid system of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region. Mature and good-neighbor relations between both countries is an important element of such a system. Strictly speaking, this idea was at the heart of the presentations by the Soviet participants in the meeting. It is noteworthy that the majority of our Japanese partners had the same positions.

Overall we felt that definite shifts in a positive direction are taking place in the Japanese mindset. It seems that this can be explained by two fundamental causes. One is shifts in the international arena, the turn toward detente in Soviet-American relations. The other reason is the profound changes within our country, and the active development and affirmation of the principles of a new philosophy of foreign relations by the Soviet Union. It is felt that the Japanese are interested in all of these out of more than just curiosity. They are gradually also feeling the necessity of some sort of restructuring in their own attitudes toward the Soviet Union. They would at least like to be ready for a dialogue from the point of view of the new political thinking. This naturally cannot be said of all of our Japanese partners. Some of them continue to cling to the old methods. Others are inclined to see in the future an improvement in the international climate based on the development of the process of nuclear disarmament with a fair share of pessimism, asserting that neither the pattern nor the degree of acuity of Soviet-American relations can alter confrontations.

The old political thinking is felt most sharply in discussion on bilateral issues and the postulation of the so-called "territorial problem." I repeat, however, that a certain new nuance has even appeared in the old methods—a desire for mutual understanding on the basis of dialogue, a clearing away of the obstructions of the past. I remember one of the chief ideas of the main report

made by a member of the Japanese delegation, T. Kuranari, and his appeal "proceeding from the principles of mutual respect, to think of what should be done to improve Japanese-Soviet relations." Although the chief topic of the report—"without the solution of the territorial problem, further major steps in bilateral relations are impossible"—does not stand up to criticism.

[Question] Apparently not all of the speeches by representatives of Japanese society were reduced to the "territorial problem"?

[K. Sarkisov] Certainly not. I recall the presentation of the research director of the Torey Research Center, T. Morimoto. I would call it a model of a positive approach to the solution of the difficult problems of bilateral relations. Morimoto is a brilliant expert on the Soviet economy, and if he addresses criticism in our direction, then it is done from a true desire to investigate and help, that is, from a constructive point of view. His main idea is that notwithstanding all of the difficulties, including of a political nature, in the cause of developing Japanese-Soviet trade and economic relations, there are a great many unutilized reserves, especially in the realm of new forms of economic collaboration. These relations can and should be oriented toward the creation of joint enterprises which, in turn, would provide an incentive for qualitative growth in bilateral economic ties. One of the main ideas of T. Morimoto consists of the unification of two potentials—a number of Soviet fundamental developments with Japanese capabilities for the rapid practical incarnation of these developments into life.

As an example, he cited the possibility of cooperation in the creation of new alloys. I like the reasonable assertion in Morimoto's statements that the politization of the issue of trade with socialist countries by the Japanese government is an extremely negative factor. But even taking that factor into account, it is possible to seek and find spheres for deepening and expanding trade and economic relations. Much here of course depends on our efficiency, socialist enterprisingness, the energy of the search and persistence. The restructuring of the Soviet economy also requires a restructuring of our foreign-trade policies and their active incorporation into world markets.

The chairman of the board of directors of the Japanese Association for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries and a deputy in the council of advisors to the Japanese parliament, T. Matsumae, also came forward with a number of interesting and, most importantly, concrete proposals for the development of Japanese-Soviet collaboration. His approach to bilateral relations is quite constructive: fewer words and the less rhetoric, more concrete positive steps.

[Question] And what constructive ideas were expressed from the Soviet side and how was the new political thinking reflected in the positions of the Soviet participants in the dialogue?

[M. Kapitsa] If I were to say that we were all already attuned to the new political thinking and thought in a completely new way, I would err before the truth. I think that the inertia of old stereotypes also has an effect on our approaches. But elements of the new thinking resounded quite loudly in our principal speeches nonetheless.

The question of the formation of a favorable political climate in relations between the countries was posed in particular, the significance of the mass media of both countries in this noble cause was emphasized, and the necessity of being freed of propagandistic stereotypes, prejudices and distortions of the truth in the press was mentioned. It was stressed that the psychological atmosphere suffers greatly from such anomalies as mistrust, basic misunderstanding or distorted depictions of the "value orientations" of each other. It was noted therein that we do not intend to assign all of the blame for this to the Japanese. It is namely in Japan, however, that there exists an activation of anti-Soviet elements, and noisy campaigns with emotional tinges insulting to the Soviet people are being organized. The mutual dependence and interconnectedness of the contemporary world, the universality of the concept of "security," that no one can pretend to a monopoly on the truth, were mentioned, and thus, in proposing the construction of a more solid structure of international and regional security, we are in no way attempting to foist any prepared plans on anyone.

We are for dialogue, for the idea that the ultimate formula for security and a solid peace be the fruit of the collective wisdom of all peoples without exception. Our Japanese colleagues at the meeting reproached us in particular for, having advanced the idea of an Asia-wide forum, trying to transplant the plan of the Helsinki accords onto Asian soil. This is an absurd accusation. As everyone well knows, M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized repeatedly that one cannot automatically shift the scheme for European security onto Asian soil. There is a specific nature here that cannot be ignored. It is namely with a regard for the whole set of difficult problems of contemporary Asia that a concrete program for the establishment of a lasting peace and security on the continent should be developed. At the same time, to reject even a discussion of the problems of Asian security on a comprehensive basis with references to the fact that Asia is not Europe is also senseless.

The Soviet Union has come forward with a whole series of important initiatives to re-animate the situation in Asia. They are simultaneously the invitation of all remaining members of the community of Asian countries to a dialogue, to a search for mutually acceptable solutions and the untying of the complex knots of contradictions. No one can doubt that this is a very complex and, perhaps, tortuous process. But it is a process nonetheless, and this is its strength and significance. It is forward movement toward more sensible and

civilized forms of human communal living, toward the solution of the acute problems of modern times, without which neither stability nor peace are possible.

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PDRY Twenty-Five Years After 1963 Revolution

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 pp 14-17

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences L. Valkova under the rubric "On the Path of Progressive Transformations": "The Revolution Grows Stronger in Struggle"]

[Text] *This year makes 25 years since the start of the revolution that put an end to the English yoke in South Yemen—Aden and the Aden Protectorates. The revolutionary process is continuing in the country. This article is dedicated to an analysis of its principal stages.*

The revolution of 14 Oct 63 in South Yemen was headed up by the National Front (NF), which was formed in August of 1963 from several political organizations. The leadership of the NF proclaimed armed struggle against the colonizers and their stooges to be the chief means for resolving the tasks of the national-liberation revolution. The peasant masses, the small working class and the petty and sometimes the middle-class bourgeoisie, as well as the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia, among the representatives of which could be seen both people taking nationalistic positions and those whose felt themselves to be adherents of Marxism, became the motive force of the revolution. From the very beginning of the activity of this organization, however, its leadership was divided into two wings: the "domestic," headed by Abdal Fatah Ismail, and the "foreign" one headed by Kahtan Muhammed ash-Shaabi. The representatives of the "domestic" leadership took direct part in the military action against the British colonizers, while the "foreigns" were far from the motherland, in Cairo. This dispersion contained the shoots of the later differences within the framework of this political organization, although the majority of its leaders held revolutionary-democratic positions overall.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle for independence, the Army of Liberation and the Popular Guard were created from among the port workers of Aden and the Organization of Fidah. All of them operated under the guidance of the NF, and were moreover under the control of the leaders of its left wing: Abdal Fatah Ismail, Ali Antar, Tahi Mukbil and Abdal al-Hameri.

Board segments of the population saw the NF as its liberator not only from the foreign yoke, but from exploitation on the part of the local feudal lords and burgeoning bourgeoisie as well. By the spring of 1967, the NF had established control over the predominant portion of the territory of South Yemen. In this situation England, suffering a financial crisis and having lost prestige in the Arab world apropos of its position with regard to the Israeli aggression of 1967, was forced to begin negotiations with the leaders of this political organization.

The creation of the independent People's Republic of South Yemen (PRSY) was proclaimed on 30 Nov 67. On 30 Nov 70 it was renamed the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY).

The party and state apparatus of the country at the first stage of its independent development was headed by the centrist wing of the National Front, and its leader, K.M. ash-Shaabi, who held the position of general secretary of the NF, simultaneously became prime minister, president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Ash-Shaabi held a moderate position among the leftists, who expressed the interests of the workers, peasants, soldiers and junior officer corps of the army, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the lower-level employees and the rank-and-file members of the tribes, while the rightist forces of society represented the upper-level officers and people from the tribal elders, feudal and semi-feudal lords and the compradore bourgeoisie. Ash-Shaabi was equally afraid of the left and the right, and carried out policies balanced between them. Such policies did not satisfy either one, which was the cause for criticism against the ruling regime from both the left and the right.

Having consolidated their forces, the leftists under A.F. Ismail took power in the country on 22 June 1969. A new stage in the development of the revolutionary process in South Yemen began that came to be called the "cleansing movement." In coming to power, the left wing of the NF declared its intention to be guided in its activity by the ideology of scientific socialism and made the choice in favor of socialist orientation. Having recognized the necessity of reinforcing the ruling political organization and expanding its social base, A.F. Ismail transformed the NF into the Political Organization of the National Front (PONF) in March of 1972, and achieved a merging of the three progressive political organizations of the country into the United Political Organization of the National Front (UPONF) in March of 1975. Its composition included the PONF, the Popular-Democratic Union (PDU), whose leaders had announced their adherence to the principles of scientific socialism as early as at the beginning of the 1960s, and the Party of the National Vanguard, which had been created in April of 1974 on the basis of the left wing of the South Yemen Baath Party. This had become possible largely thanks to the proximity of the ideological positions of Abdal al-Fatah Ismail and Abdallah Baazib, who consented to have the PDU he headed enter the UPONF, where the leading role belonged to the PONF. The commonality of views of these two leaders of the South Yemen revolutionary movement undoubtedly played an important

role in the unification of all of the progressive forces of the country and prepared the ground for the creation of a vanguard party on the basis of the UPONF.

The further development of the revolutionary process in the PDRY, however, ran up against considerable difficulties. On 26 Jun 78 an attempt at a coup d'etat was made on the part of the chairman of the Presidential Council of the PDRY, Salem Rubeyi Ali (Salmin). The group he headed at first followed leftist-adventurist policies, and then switched to the positions of rightist opportunism while continuing to use leftist slogans. Salmin tried to resurrect tribalism, separatism and cliquishness in the country, came out against the creation of a vanguard party and inveighed for convergence with the conservative Arab regimes and the imperialist states.

And nonetheless, despite the difficulties, on 14 Oct 78, on the 15th anniversary of the beginning of the South Yemen revolution, the creation of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) was proclaimed. Successive revolutionaries were thus able to unite all Marxist-oriented political forces and organize a vanguard party in which they came to play thedeciding role.

Differences of opinion among individual leaders and even groups, however, could not be overcome within the YSP. On 20 Apr 80 they spilled out into the open when the YSP Central Committee Plenum removed A.F. Ismail from the posts of general secretary of the YSP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council (SPC) of the PDRY. Ali Nasser Muhammed, before then prime minister of the country, was elected general secretary of the YSP Central Committee at the same plenum (five days later, a session of the SPC elected him chairman of the SPC Presidium. A.N. Muhammed thus concentrated all of the principal posts in the state and party apparatus of the country in his hands). In order to ease the dissatisfaction of the advocates of A.F. Ismail, it was officially declared that he had retired from the positions he held at his own request for reasons of health. The Plenum further decided to designate A.F. Ismail for the first honorary post of Chairman of the YSP. At the 2nd Extraordinary Congress of the YSP held in September of 1980, however, this issue did not stand, and the resolution of the plenum was not approved.

In preparing the "bloodless coup," A.N. Muhammed took advantage of several errors in the tactics of A.F. Ismail. In the summer of 1979 in particular, the latter had consented to the transfer of the popular militia, created on the basis of the forces of national militia, the support of the left wing of the NF, to the control of the army, where the position of A.N. Muhammed was strong (the command staff of the armed forces was traditionally made up basically of representatives of the tribes of the Third Province, where A.N. Muhammed was born). As for A.F. Ismail, he had no tribal ties within the PDRY, since he was born in North Yemen (today the YAR). Furthermore, not long before the April Plenum of the YSP Central Committee in 1980, the intentions of A.F. Ismail to replace two thirds of the composition of the YSP Central Committee and its Politburo became known, and therefore many of those who feared a purge were forced to opt for his removal.

The opponents of A.F. Ismail also took advantage of the fact that in 1979 he had tried to accelerate the solution of the problem of reunifying the two Yemeni republics (the PDRY and the YAR) within the boundaries of a single state. As for the accusations against A.F. Ismail on the score of his mistakes in the realm of planning the economic development of the PDRY, greater responsibility for this should have been borne by the head of the government, that is, A.N. Muhammed himself.

After the April (1980) Plenum of the YSP Central Committee, A.F. Ismail was forced to emigrate from the PDRY, while A.N. Muhammed hardened his attitude toward opposition. In particular, striving to reinforce a regime of personal power and fearing competition from the minister of defense, Ali Antar, who enjoyed great influence in the country, A.N. Muhammed removed him from the leadership of the armed forces in April of 1980. Salem Saleh Muhammed was removed from the post of minister of foreign affairs. Ali Salem al-Beyd (al-Bid), earlier holding such important positions as the minister of defense and the minister of foreign affairs, was designated the minister of local self-government. Many representatives of the opposition that had played an important role in the state apparatus of the country under A.F. Ismail were executed under false charges of treason.

In describing A.N. Muhammed himself, it is necessary to say that he was close to K.M. ash-Shaabi in his ideological views (like the latter, he was a figure of a moderate-nationalistic thrust who later came to the positions of rightist opportunism).

Having concentrated the reins of government in his hands, A.N. Muhammed at first tried to remain at the center, but he gradually became more and more inclined to the right, which led the country to the bloody events of January of 1986.

It should be noted that differences of opinion also existed between the proponents of A.F. Ismail and the adherents of A.N. Muhammed on the fundamentally important issue of evaluating the nature of the revolutionary process in the PDRY. The PONF program that was adopted in March of 1972, when A.F. Ismail was the general secretary of that organization, asserted that the PDRY was at the stage of national-democratic revolution, in the course of which conditions should be prepared for transition to the next stage—the stage of building socialism. The Report of the UPONF Central Committee to the 1st YSP Congress on 14 Oct 78 emphasized that the program and charter of the YSP fully corresponded to the theory of scientific socialism and had been developed in accordance with the norms of party life for working-class parties. This report also

pointed out that the party was fighting for the preservation and development of the popular-democratic maintenance of power in the country. In other words, A.F. Ismail was the first to officially declare that power in the PDRY had already begun to be of a popular-democratic nature. Under A.N. Muhammed, the revolution in South Yemen came to be considered as just national-democratic without any reason to reject evaluations of it as a national-democratic revolution that was in the stage of development into a popular-democratic revolution.

It could be allowed that the new party leadership felt that the objective conditions for such an evaluation of the nature of the South Yemen revolution had not yet ripened, or to associate such a correction with the reluctance of the YSP leadership to jump ahead and skip that stage. It has not been ruled out that one of the causes for this refusal was a reluctance to complicate relations with many Arab countries, that is, the new treatment was connected with pragmatic aims. But it is more probable to suppose that A.N. Muhammed had decided in general to slow the development of the revolutionary process in the PDRY, and this could not but evoke fears among the broad masses who had placed great hopes on a further deepening of revolutionary transformations. Also arousing interest was the fact that the slogan "Without revolutionary theory there cannot be a revolutionary party" that had earlier been used by the newspaper ARBAAT ASHAR OKTOBR (The 14th of October) disappeared under A.N. Muhammed.

At the beginning of 1985, when dissatisfaction with the policies being prosecuted by A.N. Muhammed began to grow, he decided to undertake a series of steps to neutralize the opposition and keep power in his own hands. In February of 1985 the YSP Central Committee Plenum designated Heydar Abu Bakra al-Attas for the post of prime minister. Then, at the resolution of the Plenum, A.F. Ismail returned to the capital of the PDRY—Aden. Such half measures, however, had no effect, and as early as the beginning of 1986 the differences between the two groups in the YSP had worsened sharply.

On January 13, a group from the right-opportunist minority headed by A.N. Muhammed made an attempt to massacre the leader of the left wing of the YSP, Abdal Fatah Ismail, and other representatives of the leftist forces in the country. Bloody battles between the advocates of the two groups then began and continued until January 24, encompassing not only Aden and its environs, but other parts of the country as well. Among those perishing in the course of the battles were such recognized leaders of the party and the revolution as Abdal Fatah Ismail, Ali Antar, Ali Shayya Hadi, Salekh Muslikh Kasem and many others. The country suffered great losses. And victory was nonetheless won by the adherents of A.F. Ismail. A.N. Muhammed has stripped of all of his leadership posts and expelled from the party. It was decided to hand him over to trial, but by this time he was already outside of the borders of the PDRY.

The YSP Central Committee Plenum held on 7 Feb 86 elected Ali Salem al-Beyd (al-Bid) general secretary of the YSP Central Committee. Salem Salekh Muhammed was elected to the new post of deputy general secretary of the YSP Central Committee. The next day, Heydar Abu Bakr al-Attas was elected chairman of the SPC. Tasin Salem Numan (Naoman) became the prime minister of the country. The situation gradually began to return to normal.

During the official visit of a party and governmental delegation from the PDRY headed by YSP Central Committee General Secretary A.S. al-Beyd to the USSR in February of 1987, the South Yemen side declared its determination to deepen the revolutionary process of socialist orientation in the country under the guidance of the YSP, fighting all manifestations of rightist inclinations not only in the sphere of ideology, but in economic policy as well.

A universal party conference convened by the YSP Central Committee was held in Aden on 20-21 June 1987. The speeches of delegates who came from different corners of the PDRY demonstrated that broad segments of the population both in the cities and in the outlying regions supported the policy of the new party and state leadership headed by A.S. al-Beyd. The conference analyzed the objective preconditions and causes for the appearance of the right-opportunist inclinations in the party. Measures were planned to overcome tendencies that were slowing the movement of the PDRY along the path of socio-political progress. The conference, taking into account the situation in the country, also advanced such important tasks as renewing leadership personnel within the party, improving its class composition and reorganizing the economy. There are grounds to hope that the PDRY will right itself from the terrible damage suffered in the course of the bloody battles of 1986, when the country lost many revolutionary party workers who were devoted to the cause. The course of work at the conference also instills hope that the essential lessons have been extracted and errors will gradually be overcome. And this should assist the further development of revolution in South Yemen.

The revolutionary process is developing unevenly here—there are ebbs and flows, rises and falls. (And this is completely natural.) Tribal ties, which even today are quite strong in rural areas, often have a negative influence on the internal political situation. This relates first and foremost to the eastern part of the country—Hadhramaut. In Aden itself, the predominant portion of the workforce consists of long-ago emigres from North Yemen, as well as Indians, Pakistanis, Somalis etc. The significance of the tribal structure must be taken into account overall, but it need not be exaggerated. Tribal relations to a certain extent receded into the background during the armed struggle against the English colonial yoke in 1963-67, when the South Yemen tribes acted together. A.F. Ismail tried to weaken the role of tribal ties. Many representatives of the tribal upper levels (and

first and foremost from Datina and Avalik) were dismissed from the army and the police. But there was not enough consistency and determination in these measures, which made itself felt in later years, although the leading role in the armed forces and the internal security organs began to be played by the ruling political organization, on the basis of which the ruling party was later created. Agrarian transformations also facilitated a weakening of tribal ties.

A.F. Ismail himself, as has already been mentioned, was born in North Yemen. His figure was therefore probably the most acceptable to various tribes during the emergence of the young South Yemen republic, since the advancement of the representative of some single tribe to the forefront would have been detrimental to the interests of the rest. (By the way, A.F. Ismail, who spent his whole politically conscious life in South Yemen and took active part in the armed struggle against the yoke of the English colonizers, enjoyed great popularity in the country.)

The significance of tribal relations grew sharply under A.N. Muhammed. Desiring to diminish the reputation of A.F. Ismail, whom he had replaced, he made active use of the absence of tribal ties of the latter in South Yemen. A bet was placed on namely this factor, when A.N. Muhammed, relying on "his own" tribes, provoked the bloody battles in Aden, having exhausted the possibilities for making short work of the Marxist core of the YSP by peaceful means.

The policies of the left wing of the NF and the other progressive forces of the country that played a decisive role in the creation of the YSP were aimed from the very beginning at achieving social justice and overcoming private ownership and an exploitative psychology, which impressed broad segments of the workers. After South Yemen won political independence, the socialist countries, and first and foremost the Soviet Union, came to its aid, which furthered a strengthening of Marxist-Leninist ideology, rather than the ideology of Arab nationalism and Islam—the principal forms of mass consciousness in the Arab world—in the PDRY to no small extent. (As for adherence to Islam, the Shafii strain of the Sunni thrust of Islam, to which an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of South Yemen adhere, has traditionally been neither of a militaristic nor a royalist-theocratic nature. Nationalism and Islam had the least effect on public consciousness in Aden—an international port open to external ideological influences. It was namely there that the core of the South Yemen working class was concentrated and where the first Marxist circles arose.) The shift of a considerable portion of the revolutionary democrats of South Yemen to the positions of scientific socialism was also facilitated by the absence of influential bourgeois parties in the country, since the local bourgeoisie had only just taken shape.

Also deserving of especial attention is the fact that close contacts have been established between the ruling South Yemen political organization, transformed into the YSP in 1978, and the CPSU. Interparty relations began to develop soon after the coming to power of the left wing of the NF headed by A.F. Ismail. The Higher School of Scientific Socialism in Aden, opened in January of 1971, and its branches in Mukalla, Lahej and Zinjibar have played a large role in the training of party personnel in the PDRY and in teaching them the theory of scientific socialism. The Treaty of Friendship and Collaboration signed in Moscow on 25 October 1979 has become an important milestone in the development of relations between the USSR and the PDRY. Interparty and intergovernmental contacts of the two countries are developing successfully today as well.

The South Yemen experiment of building a socialist-oriented state in the Arab Orient has fundamentally great significance for the prospects of development of the revolutionary process in the Arab world and beyond its boundaries.

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Iran: Women and Islam

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 pp 26-27

[Unattributed article: "Iran—Women and Islam"]

[Text] Equal rights for women in Muslim society is an ancient problem that remains as topical as before. Naturally, much has changed, and that which seemed impossible yesterday is taken as the norm today. Muslim women are being more and more actively included in social and political life, and the number of those having education and a solid specialty among them is growing, and even the naming of a woman to a ministerial post is not perceived as sensational, at least in a number of Arab states. And now the next step on the path of real equality for women has been taken in one of the most orthodox Muslim states—Iran—a step that is moreover unprecedented in Islam. The discussion concerns fulfilling the obligations of priest.

The Iran-Iraq war was the impetus for this. It is no secret that women are being called to arms more and more often lately in Iran. The burial of the dead on the field of battle is accompanied by magnificent religious ceremonies. In September of 1987, for the first time, a woman took part in such a ritual along with three male priests. She sent some women fighters on their last journey.

The woman mullah is one of 53 graduates of a special theological school created in Teheran under the patronage of the daughter of Ayatollah Khomeini—Farideh Mustafavi.

The male mullahs are suspicious, to put it mildly, of the encroachments of the representatives of the weaker sex onto their ancient rights. At the beginning of last year, a

representative of the Iranian parliament, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, himself a priest, received a delegation of women who had expressed a desire to become mullahs, and he cautioned them, reminding them of the serious difficulties that would inevitably arise in society in connection with this intention. "We welcome your desire to engage in worship for your own welfare," Rafsanjani declared, "but we can hardly recognize you as full-fledged priests or judges... There exist areas of God's law in which a woman simply cannot act equally with a man."

Recall that according to Muslim law, the testimony of a woman in court is worth half that of a man's. Her rights in the course of judicial investigation are defended by relatives—the father, brothers, sons—and she herself has practically no voice. The woman inherits only half of the property of the man and can under no circumstances have any pretenses for more. Even today many Iranian theologians assert that "the West has entered the path of ruin in acknowledging the equality of men and women. Islam should avoid such dangers. If Allah had wanted to see all people as equal, he would not have created two opposite sexes..."

The advocates of allowing women into theology refer to the example of the beloved female prophet Aisha, who enjoyed a fine reputation among believers and personally resolved many theological and legal issues.

The highest authority in Iran—the Ayatollah Khomeini—has so far refrained from officially expressing his point of view.

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India: U.S. Hindering Third World S&T Research

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 p 36

[Unattributed article: "To the Detriment of the Interests of India"]

[Text] The United States is shamelessly making use of the financial and technological difficulties that are hindering the development of scientific and technical research in the developing countries, including India, writes the New Delhi FINANCIAL EXPRESS. Over 30,000 highly qualified Indian scientists, engineers and industrial engineers along with thousands of Indian managers are currently employed at scientific centers, universities and businesses in the United States.

The government and the academic community of India justly feel that the "brain drain" from the country should be put under the control of the authorities and thus regulated to keep from undermining its scientific and technical potential. Especial attention is devoted to questions of science and progressive technology in the new government educational program that has been proclaimed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Proposals are being advanced to increase the financing of dedicated research operations of Indian scientists abroad, allocate large state appropriations for the needs of the national educational system and the training of academic personnel and create the essential conditions for scientific work, including at university laboratories, the newspaper reports.

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Chinese Enterprises in International Market; Recent Publications

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 p 38

[Unattributed news items under the rubric "Report from China"]

[Text] ** As the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes, a number of major light-industry enterprises in the PRC have been granted the right ofdirect access to the international market. The formation of "export zones" of enterprises depending on their territorial disposition and with a regard for the requirements of contiguous foreign countries is projected in this regard. Export production in the western part of China will thus be oriented toward markets in the Soviet Union, the Eastern European states and Western and Central Asia. It could be said, writes RENMIN RIBAO, that these enterprises face the task of laying a new "silk route."

** A plan has been developed to provide each of the 2,069 population centers of the PRC with traditional Chinese medical stations by the year 1990, reports the Xinhua Agency. The plan envisages expanding the network of corresponding educational establishments to provide specialists for the newly created centers that have mastered the methods of this ancient popular science. The circulation of books on traditional medicine is being increased considerably. Doctors with long work experience are being used to transfer experience to the youth.

** A "Demographic Atlas of China" has been published that includes 137 maps, each of which shows the location of the various nationalities of the country, the literacy of the population and other data. The anthology is based on indicators obtained in the course of the third universal census in the PRC.

** "The 10,000-Li Great Wall of China" is the title of a 37-episode television film by PRC cinematographers, the creation of which took two years. It relates the more than 2,000-year history of this grandiose structure and the popular legends, traditions and memories of the country associated with it.

The filming of the serial was an engaging ethnographic expedition for its creators. It is interesting that the cinematographers were even able to correct a number of inaccuracies in historical literature.

The new film, in the estimation of the newspaper REN-MIN RIBAO, is the first work of national cinematography that describes the Great Wall of China in such complete and integral fashion.

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Book on U.S. Actions Against Non-Aligned Movement Reviewed

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 88 p 62

[Review by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Sergiyev of book "Zagovor protiv dvizheniya neprisoyedineniya" [Conspiracy Against the Non-Aligned Movement] by Govind Narain Srivastava. New Delhi, Private Publications Ltd., 1986, 148 pp]

[Text] The eminent Indian scholar and commentator and general secretary of the Indian Institute for the Study of the Problems of the Non-Aligned Movement, G. Srivastava, is the author of a whole series of books on issues in the non-aligned movement, and in particular "India, Non-Alignment and International Peace," "Non-Alignment and Nuclear Disarmament" and "The Non-Aligned Movement Today," as well as the compiler of the anthologies "Indira Gandhi on Non-Alignment" and "M.S. Gorbachev on India, Non-Alignment and International Peace," and the editor-in-chief of the journal "News from the World of Non-Alignment." His latest work has as its chief aim unmasking the subversive activities of imperialist forces, first and foremost and chiefly the United States, against the non-aligned countries and the non-aligned movement overall. The book is dedicated to Nelson and Winnie Mandela.

Srivastava shows the clash of economic, political and social interests of the developing countries with the system of economic exploitation, political pressure and dictate that typifies the relations of the imperialist states, and first and foremost the United States, with these countries.

Insofar as under modern conditions the non-aligned movement is the principal political association of the developing countries at the state level and represents the political and economic interests of the developing countries in concentrated form, the author emphasizes, the principal blows of imperialism are directed namely against this movement, against its unity and against the most active in a political regard and most determined non-aligned countries fighting imperialist dictate.

The non-aligned movement has come to be subjected to stronger and stronger pressure with the coming to power of the Reagan administration.

"The Reagan administration," stresses Srivastava, "considers the Third World a sphere of its own interests" and the "chief field of battle in the conflict between East and West" (pp 98, 137). After the summit conference in New Delhi, the attacks on the non-aligned movement have become stronger and harsher, so much so that even some political observers have begun to speak of a sort of "Reagan Doctrine," the principal aim of which is the mass involvement of the African, Latin American and Asian countries in the conflict between East and West so as to create a new "anti-Soviet front."

"The United States feels that the non-aligned movement is inspired and directed by the Soviets," notes the author. "At the same time, President Reagan and other political figures in the United States are making every effort to depict the national movements in the Third World as 'international terrorism' controlled by the Soviet Union. There can hardly be any doubt that such theoretical constructs are exceedingly dangerous for all Third World countries. The West, under the pretext of fighting 'international terrorism,' wants to find ways of justifying its military actions against the Third World regardless of the specific political substance, causes and aims of this or that national movement" (p 20).

The chief tool of political pressure against the non-aligned countries, Srivastava feels, is the colossal military machine of the United States. According to 1982 data, the United States has over 1,500 military bases and different installations in 32 countries; over half a million soldiers and officers of the United States, that is about one fourth of all armed-forces personnel, are outside the boundaries of the United States (p 78).

The efforts of American diplomacy and the foreign-policy maneuvers of Washington in the world arena are aimed at weakening and splitting the movement. Aside from creating and expanding an American lobby in the non-aligned movement, the United States is working to discredit the most active members of this movement. India, Cuba and Libya have been subjected to attacks in recent years. The United States is directing its efforts first and foremost against those countries that, in the opinion of the American administration, are prosecuting open or covert anti-American policies. "There is a 'blacklist,'" the author asserts, "that includes such countries as India, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Iran, Libya, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Algeria and Madagascar" (p 23).

The main wager in the subversive activities of the CIA against the non-aligned movement overall and the individual states that prosecute anti-imperialist policies is being placed on so-called secret operations.

According to criteria established by the U.S. Congress to define the categories of intelligence operations, Srivastava writes, " 'major' actions include all secret operations that are supported by spending of five to seven million dollars, as well as all actions aimed at overthrowing the governments of foreign states" (p 99).

Aside from "major" operations, Srivastava notes, the CIA influences leading political figures, manipulates election results, creates and maintains various organizations, including trade unions and trading firms, wages propaganda campaigns and applies pressure using economic means. Under the Reagan administration, economic pressure on countries that do not want to subordinate themselves to the hegemonist ambitions of Washington have been strengthened considerably.

Acute and topical on a political plane, Srivastava's substantive book is of considerable interest to specialists in contemporary international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy.

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Editorial Supports Disarmament for Development

18070092a Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 5-6

[Unattributed editorial: "Promising Trends in World Development"]

[Text] The year 1988 has seized the political baton of last year that is steadily gaining speed. Its start is working inexorably toward the conclusion of a new Soviet-American agreement in the near future. The logic of the new political thinking has today dictated the necessity of a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States. Reason and responsibility for the fate of the planet are conquering the front lines of the threat of thermonuclear destruction that hangs over humanity.

What prospects are revealed to the countries of Latin America by these new trends in world development? They indicate first and foremost the possibility of the successful political resolution of the Central American crisis. The re-animation of the international political climate will create favorable conditions for the effective operation of the mechanisms that have arisen to seek

mutually acceptable ways of eliminating conflicts on the regional and national levels. The situation in the localities, in each Central American country drawn into the conflict, is too different. But it was a difficult path from Eskipulas-1 to Eskipulas-2. After the January meeting in San Jose, a third one, testifying to the aspirations of the Central American states to preserve the dynamics of a deepening of political dialogue, is being noted.

The logic of contemporary politics shows that the time for military solutions is receding into the past, and policies conditioned by the context of the development of a mutually dependent peace in which a reduction in global confrontation leads to a weakening of regional tensions, and vice versa, is gaining supremacy over a continuation of policies using other means (military ones).

Prospects for the transition of the world community onto the path of "disarmament for development" are also seen in the new step toward a secure world that is unprecedented in historical significance. What does this trend bear for the countries of the region? As early as in the near future, it could give impetus to those efforts that are being undertaken by the Latin American states to overcome backwardness. This is being hindered today by the "debt drama" playing itself out on the continent. The foreign indebtedness of the countries in the region has crossed the 400-billion-dollar line today and is continuing to grow. It has exceeded the value of the GNP for a number of states. The funds remaining after the payment of interest are not sufficient either for the maintenance of a normal economic pulse rate or for the realization of opportunities that arise spontaneously for weakening the grip of debt. The exchange rate of the debt instruments of the Latin American countries has today fallen 70-80 percent on the world market. This undoubtedly indicates failures by the creditors as well. The debtors are nonetheless unable to take advantage of the depreciation of their debts.

What is the region's way out of this dramatic situation? Unusual measures are required, a turn to the practice of new political thinking and its creative enrichment apropos of international economic relations. The discussion concerns a search for ways of eliminating the asymmetry in trade between the centers and the periphery and the creation of conditions for investing capital in the interests of the development of the countries receiving it. This would be facilitated by a redistribution of the subsidies going to military production in favor of the development of peaceful sectors. The funds freed up through disarmament could furthermore be shifted to financing major long-term programs to raise the economies of the states suffering from a shortage of financial resources. Steps associated with the practice of granting preferential loan terms to those countries that curtail their military production could also support the realization of such programs.

But the problem of "disarmament for development" is not just a question of the rational utilization of financial, material and labor resources for the purpose of overcoming backwardness. The danger of ecological catastrophe advances to the fore at the current stage of development of technology and production improvement. By way of example, the formation of the "ozone hole" over a region near the planet's sixth continent is clearly a warning phenomenon. The "hole" lives and is leaving its boundaries. A tendency for it to move in the direction of South America, bearing the danger of a sharp increase in ultraviolet radiation on the surface of the latter, has been noted. In order to remove this impending new threat with unforeseen consequences, colossal efforts by all of humanity are needed to create waste-free production technology able to avert discharges harmful to the atmosphere.

In this context, the question of a search for resources for cardinal changes in productive forces and the creation of safe technologies is no less significant than providing conditions on the periphery that are fitting for the life of man. For the countries of Latin America, where the ecological problem has ceased to be *terra incognita,* the question of the ability of the world community to develop without disrupting the ecological balance is also becoming most important.

"Disarmament for development" should thus open up a new page in the transitional period of civilization from old to new methods of life on Earth and the solution of problems troubling all of mankind.

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Panama After Torrijos

18070092b Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 18-35

[Article by I.N. Klekovkin: "Panama After Torrijos"]

[Text] The question of preserving the dynamic impetus that General Torrijos had imparted to the development of the country arose with great acuity immediately after his death. The contemporary history of Panama was seemingly split into two stages: with Torrijos and without him. A struggle took shape between the patriotic forces under the flag of "Torrijosism" and the reactionaries who were striving to eliminate the democratic conquests of the people that had been won during the rule of Omar Torrijos.

In the acknowledgment of President Eric Arturo Delvalle, Panama is undergoing the most difficult stage in its republican history.

When a Country Loses its Leader

The Revolutionary Democratic Party (RDP), the political vanguard of the so-called "Torrijosist" movement, was unable to fill the political void that formed after the demise of Torrijos. The ascent of General Paredes to the post of commander of the National Guard moreover created conditions for the rapid onslaught of the rightist-reactionary forces. The constitution was reformed in 1983 at the initiative of Paredes—a blow to the institutions of democracy that had existed in the country—and the National Assembly of People's Deputies was abolished. The socio-economic program of Torrijos was then gradually curtailed, and state enterprises were closed up and transferred to the private sector. In 1984, bowing to the pressure of the United States and local political groups, the military agreed to hold elections. The candidate of the National Democratic Union (NDU) coalition and former vice president of the World Bank for Latin America and the Caribbean Basin, Nicholas Ardito Barletta, closely tied to the international credit institution, won the election.

The National Democratic Union—the right-wing coalition that triumphed in the general elections of 1984—consists of six political parties and holds 45 of the 67 deputy's seats in the Legislative Assembly. Initially, at the initiative of the RDP, the Laborite, Republican and Liberal parties entered the alliance. Later the Broad Popular Front and the Panamanian Party joined it.

In connection with the heterogeneity of the parties making up the NDU, there is a constant struggle within it for political influence, the receipt of ministerial posts and the establishment of control over state enterprises and institutions.

From the first days that President Ardito Barletta had taken his post, he declared general price increases and submitted legislation for the partial denationalization of state enterprises and changes in labor and industrial legislation.[1] This provoked an explosion of popular discontent. A widespread mass movement against the economic policies of the government arose spontaneously in the country.

In this situation, representatives of the deputy's faction of the RDP, at the behest of the party leadership, demanded in Legislative Assembly the voluntary resignation of the president, "who has demonstrated an inability to govern the country." Eric Arturo Delvalle, earlier holding the post of first vice-president and representing the Republican Party in the coalition, became president. The resignation of Ardito Barletta signified a serious defeat for the advocates of conservative policies. The struggle of the people that led to the replacement of the president, however, was unable to ensure the genuine resurrection of "Torrijosism."

The "Package of Measures" of Eric Delvalle

The principal internal reasons for today's crisis in the Panamanian economy are: the dispersion of resources, the poor effectiveness and bloating of the state administrative apparatus, the existence of unprofitable enterprises, the inefficient utilization of new resources received as a result of the entry into effect of agreements on the Panama Canal and an insufficient utilization of the possibilities for export, including agricultural output.

The government of Eric Arturo Delvalle sees a way out of the extant situation in a continuation of reforms of a "neoliberalist" thrust and the partial rehabilitation of "Torrijosism" in the social realm.

According to official statistics, the total amount of Panamanian foreign debt is 3.8 billion dollars. The opposition paper LA PRENSA, however, cites a different sum with references to IMF experts—6 billion dollars. The debt problem worsened sharply at the beginning of the 1980s due to growth in bank discount rates. This process was accelerated to a considerable extent by the country's constantly growing budget deficit, which forced the government to resort to new loans.

Panama has paid about 2.2 billion dollars in interest payments alone over the last ten years. If the current level of discount rates is retained, the country will pay international financial organizations more than 3 billion dollars over the course of the next five years. Thus, having received 9 billion dollars in loans from 1970 through 1983, Panama will pay 11 billion dollars and still owe bank corporations more than 3.5 billion dollars. For several years already, 55 cents of every dollar coming in to the national budget has gone to foreign debt payments and 13 cents to military spending; only 32 cents remains to cover all remaining state spending. Currently every Panamanian, including newborn children, owes international banks 1,807 dollars.

In the document "Directions and Goals of Panamanian Development" published by the Delvalle government, the task is posed of striving for the comprehensive utilization of existing resources and providing on that basis for the further development of the national economy.

The program stresses the creation of favorable conditions for the development of the traditional sectors of the Panamanian economy. The geographic location of the country has conditioned the leading role of the services sphere and trade, which currently provide two thirds of the domestic GNP.

The Panama Canal, the free-trade zone in the city of Colon and the international banking center form the so-called transit zone where international maritime shipping, the re-export of cargo and the movement of capital are accomplished. Today Panama receives 76 million dollars from the United States as lease payments for the

canal, as well as direct deductions from its annual cargo turnover. The maintenance of the U.S. troops stationed at the military bases in the canal regions also provides about another 160 million dollars.

The government plans include a program to widen the Gajards-Cat Canal (Cape Culebra), laid through solid rock, an engineering marvel of its time. This program will cost 500 million dollars. After the canal is widened, 48 rather than 42 vessels will be able to pass through it daily, which, in the opinion of specialists, will satisfy the needs of world trade to the end of the century.

There are some 127 banks from 30 countries operating in the banking center of Panama. Their assets total about 40 billion dollars. They bring no income to the country in the form of direct receipts. Panama just enjoys preferential terms in obtaining loans. It moreover receives 40 million dollars from the United States a year in the form of lease payments for buildings and accommodations and about 100 million dollars in the form of wages for the 8,000 Panamanian employees supporting the center. The American administration, under the pretext of fighting drug smuggling, is currently demanding categorically of the Panamanian government that Panama give U.S. intelligence services access to banking information. This is evoking great concern in the government. According to reports appearing in the Panamanian press, representatives of the International Banking Center have warned the head of state that the refusal to observe the principle of "banking secrecy" could lead to the curtailment of banking activity.

State funds are planned to be directed chiefly toward the development of the infrastructure and expansion of the telephone and telegraph networks and electric-power and water supply. Steps are planned to improve health care and education. The ultimate goal of the changes in agriculture has been declared to be ensuring its rapid development and the creation of a vigorous agro-industrial sector. An acceleration of the construction of a container port center that would tie the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and the creation of a regional center for health care along with a maintenance center for maritime vessels are being proposed. Plans have been drawn up for the construction of a base for the repair of aircraft and other aviation equipment and a center for transit air freight.

The contradictory nature of the program of the Delvalle cabinet must be noted along with the presence of measures that are of an anti-populist nature in it: the abolition of price controls, the release from taxes of companies producing export goods, the transfer of the principal spheres of the economy into private hands, the selling off of state lands, including the former Canal Zone, and a review of the Labor Code.

The Ruling Coalition: In the Grip of Differences

Bitter factional struggle and interparty contradictions have led to a serious weakening of the positions of the parties in the ruling coalition. Political observers have begun to advances suppositions of the advancing schism of the ruling coalition in this regard. Even the organ of the left wing of the RDP, the newspaper BAJANO, noted in one of its issues that the current alliance with the rightist-bourgeois parties no longer made sense in practice, since it had formed around the figure of former President Barletta.

An exceedingly complex situation has taken shape within the principal organization of the ruling bloc—the Revolutionary Democratic Party.

The RDP was created in 1978 at the initiative of General O. Torrijos for the purpose of attracting the popular masses to the process of progressive socio-economic transformations. The ideological program of the party is based on the ideas of social democracy and nationalism. Their essence can be reduced to substantiating the necessity of reinforcing bourgeois democracy as the principal condition for the development of the country and raising the standard of living of all segments of the population.

On questions of foreign policy, the RDP is in favor of strengthening independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty and developing ties with all countries of the world, and it condemns any forms of colonialism.

The creation of the party was accomplished with the political, financial and organizational support of the government. From the very beginning, the party apparatus was closely linked with the state. The role of heir to the bourgeois-reformist process carried out by the National Guard during the period it was in power was earmarked for the party. After the death of General Torrijos, the party had lost its political leader, around whom the different and opposing political strains had united and who had enjoyed the widespread support of the masses. This led to a considerable weakening of the political influence of the party.

In the course of preparing for the 1984 elections, the RDP leadership was in favor of creating a bloc with the rightist-bourgeois parties: Republican, Liberal and Laborite. This decision worsened the internal differences and put the party on the verge of schism. It won just 27.37 percent of the vote in the 1984 presidential elections, ceding to the principal opposition organization—the True Panamanian Party. The dissatisfaction with President Barletta in the primary party organizations was so great that at an extraordinary session of the directorate (the supreme organ of leadership during the period between conferences), the whole composition of the National Executive Committee was replaced. Romulo Escobar Betancur was elected party chairman, while the general secretary was Carlos Osores.

Despite the efforts of the leadership, the RDP has as yet been unable to put an end to the factional struggle. Members of the so-called "expanded executive committee"—a group of well-known party figures that hold no

elected positions in the RDP but have enjoyed widespread popularity and influence with the masses since the time of Torrijos—are speaking out against the higher party leadership. They include former Vice-President of the Republic Herardo Gonzales and government members Lopes Tirone and Jose Blandon, as well as some parliamentary deputies. These people, occupying ministerial and government posts, began speaking in the name of the party behind the backs of the executive committee, and later, with the support of Chief of the General Staff Roberto Dias, undertook an effort to take control of the party into their hands. This effort was defeated.

At the same time as the criticism "from the right," there came forth representatives of the so-called "conservative" faction, consisting chiefly of members of the RDP Businessmen's Front. It included influential representatives of the upper- and middle-class bourgeoisie, closely linked by economic interests with state enterprises. Heading the faction were Mario Rognoni, Leo Gutierrez and Isaak Anano, known for their contacts with the right-wing oligarchical and Zionist circles of the country. In the journal ANALISIS that they control, the functionaries of the "Front" unleashed a slanderous campaign to discredit the members of the executive committee, accusing them, in particular, of efforts to politicize the armed forces. These statements were actively seized upon by the opposition, which directed sharper and sharper attacks against General Noriega and the government.

The faction of the so-called "true Torrijosists" headed by Legislative Assembly Deputy Hugo Jiro took a neutral position in the conflict. The sister of the former Panamanian leader, Bertha Torrijos, in the recent past the leader of the party, played a visible role in it.

The left wing of the RDP, the so-called "trend," has great influence among trade unions, student organizations and the intelligentsia. Many of the participants in this faction are former members of the People's Party of Panama and left it for various reasons. The "trend" is in favor of the need to deepen the progressive socio-economic changes made by General Torrijos. Its generally recognized leader is the deputy general secretary of the RDP, Ramiro Vasquez.

In this situation, the National Executive Committee of the RDP has recalled from government posts all RDP members that have refused to follow the party line. A decision has been made to reorganize the provincial organizations and hold a reporting and election campaign, the conclusion of which is planned for the nationwide congress in the spring of 1988. As a result of these steps, the executive committee has been able to reinforce its influence in the party, raise the role of the RDP in the government and strengthen control over the activity of the deputy's faction in parliament.

The Laborite Party is the second most influential in the ruling coalition.

The Laborite Party unites representatives of various population segments that are essentially not linked by any ideas or class interests whatsoever. Widely represented in it in particular are the conformist groups of the upper-class bourgeoisie who hunger for "order, guarantees and stability" and representatives of the lower segments of the population striving to find the sponsorship of the powerful itself. In the presidential elections of 1984, the Laborites received 7.07 percent of the votes and six deputy's seats.

The Laborite leadership has proven to be the most inconsistent in the ruling coalition. Bowing to the pressure of the Americans, the party leader, head of one of the oldest family oligarchical clans, Carlos Eleta, tried to split the ruling bloc, leaving it to join the opposition. In this situation, an extraordinary session of the highest party organ was convened at which the young but already widely known political figure and journalist Justo Fidel Palasios, earlier holding the position of minister of internal affairs and justice, was elected chairman. The new leadership of the Laborite Party favors the necessity of solidifying the bloc of the ruling coalition.

The third most influential party in the ruling bloc is the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party is the oldest in the country: it existed even before the partitioning of Panama from Columbia. One typical feature of it is pluralism, recognizing the right of every party member to be an advocate of any figure aspiring to the presidency. As a result of which, the party is continually racked by crises and splits. After the coup d'etat of 1968, the liberals parted somewhat with the military, but then quickly found a common language with them, received a number of state posts and took the position of "critical support of the government." The military in turn actively utilizes the bureaucratic structure of its apparatus and its technocrat personnel.

In the 1984 elections, the party received 4.45 percent of the vote and one deputy's seat in the Legislative Assembly. The leader of the party, Roderick Esquivel, was elected Vice-President of the Republic. There has lately been a bitter struggle within the party between the group of its chairman, R. Esquivel, and the advocates of the minister of internal affairs and justice, Rodolfo Chiari De Leon. The key facet of their differences is the question of relations with the military. The latter is for the participation of the military in the governing of the country. At an extraordinary congress of the party convened at the beginning of 1987, neither group was able to achieve the necessary majority to establish control over the party. In September of 1987 relations within the party were again worsened and the Chiari faction demanded the convening of a new party congress, the date for which has not yet been set.

The Republicans are the sole organization of the ruling coalition that maintains intraparty stability.

The Republican Party was created in 1960. The current president of the republic was present at its origins. Members of the Jewish colony have participated actively in the work of the party. Enormous financial resources are allotted to party needs, and two television channels and three newspapers belonging to members of the community have been placed at the disposal of the party apparatus.

The activity of the Republican Party, from the very moment of its creation, is exceedingly typical for all of the bourgeois parties of Panama: it is essentially animated once every four years at election time. The political course and election slogans depend on pre-election alliances meeting the economic interests of the oligarchy. In concluding pre-election alliances, the republicans "bet" on the strongest, changing allies even during the course of the pre-election struggle or right before the elections themselves, and sometimes right after them—provided they are able to divide up government posts and get access to the state treasury. The lack of principle of the political policies of the Republican party was formulated especially clearly in the evaluation of the well-known Panamanian sociologist Raul Leis: "They are inspired only by the music of cash registers recording the dollars coming in—that is their ideal and strategic aim."

The party leader, President Eric Arturo Delvalle, is a large landowner and sugar industrialist. He is well known in Panamanian business circles and has close ties to the representatives of American capital. At the same time, he enjoys a good reputation and the trust of the Panamanian military.

The differences and conflicts within the ruling coalition cost Panama dearly. Acknowledging this, President Delvalle declared in a recent speech that the instability within the ruling coalition is playing into the hands of forces with a vested interest in creating an atmosphere of chaos in the country.

The Opposition: A Policy of Destabilization

The traditional bourgeois parties, the True Panamanian Party (TPP) and the Christian-Democratic and Nationalistic Republican Liberal Movement (MOLIRENA), play the leading role in the rightist-opposition bloc. These parties express the interests of the most conservative portion of the bourgeoisie, associated chiefly with trade, the services sphere and money-lending, as well as the large landowners and the segments of the middle-class bourgeoisie dependent on them.

The key political figure among the opposition is the 85-year-old Arnulfo Arias, the leader of the TPP.

The history of the creation of the TPP, like the formation and development of Panamanianism (Arnulfism), is indissolubly linked with the name of the founder of the party, Arnulfo Arias Madrid. Using the mysticism, illiteracy and helplessness of the popular masses, he was able to achieve great popularity among the lower segments of the population: the peasants, the lumpen-proletariat and tradesmen, as well as the middle bourgeoisie. Today Arnulfism is an eclectically disordered mixture of isolated expressions and statements made by Arnulfo Arias over his almost 50 years of political activity. Over all of these years, party ideologists have been unable to create an integral political doctrine.

Arias first made himself known in the political arena by his participation in the coup d'etat organized by the Accion Comunal underground group. Having triumphed in elections in 1941, he strove to proclaim a new constitution for the country according to which the activity of small farms belonging to Asian immigrants (and first and foremost Chinese) was forbidden and emigres from Afro-Asian groups were deprived of Panamanian citizenship.

Depending on the competitive political climate, Arias more than once experienced first the anger and then the good favor of the military circles: ascents and falls replaced each other with kaleidoscopic frequency. In October of 1941, the national police organized a coup d'etat and overthrew Arias. In 1948 A. Arias created the True Revolutionary Party and, with the support of the liberals, won in the elections. Via manipulations of the votes of the electors, however, the opposition was able to deprive Arias of the post of president. In 1949, after the intervention of the military, it was declared that cheating had been permitted at the polls and that the true winner was Arias. As early as in May of 1951, however, the army drove Arias from power. In the presidential elections of 1968, having gained the support of the most influential oligarchical circles, he triumphed once again. On October 1, 1968 Arnulfo Arias took the post of president of the country, and in literally ten days the National Guard declared him demoted. Arias was forced to seek salvation among his American patrons in the Canal Zone, and then travel to the United States. In Miami he established broad ties with conservative political figures in the United States and with R. Reagan in particular, and he maintains a friendship with him to this day. After the death of General Torrijos, the leader of the TPP declared himself a possible candidate for president.

Although the repeated efforts of Arias to rule the country have led to disaster, he continues to enjoy great popularity among the petty bourgeoisie and marginal segments. Only the mention of his participation in a meeting or demonstration gathers throngs of advocates and the curious. His extremely advanced age and continually worsening health, however, keep him from becoming the number-one figure of the right-wing opposition.

The majority of political observers note that the most organized and cementing force of the opposition is the Christian-Democratic Party (CDP).

The ideological foundation of the party is based on the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. The leaders are constantly coming out with accusations against the government, seeing in its actions "a furthering of communist

penetration into Central America." The party's propaganda work imparts great significance to holding seminars across the country for various types of attendees. The Panamanian Institute of Social Research, the Panamanian Institute of Public Research, recently renamed the EKAM Fund, and the "Program of Democratic Development" headed by Ricardo Arias, the leader of the CDP, are used as a base. All of these organizations were founded with the support and financial assistance of the West German CDP through the Konrad Adenauer Fund.

In December of 1981, Ricardo Arias Calderon was elected president of the Organization of Christian-Democratic Parties of America. The party controls the activity of the workers' trade-union center of the Panamanian isthmus. The CDP imparts much significance to its work in intelligentsia circles. It is typical that the national leadership of the party is made up more than 40 percent of lawyers.

The leaders of the CDP hold the positions most unacceptable to the military. They are demanding the immediate resignation of National Defense Forces (NDF) commander M. Noriega and the conduct of judicial investigations of the sources of the capital that has enriched the military along with the dismissal of all army officers that have compromised themselves. Ricardo Arias Calderon has stated bluntly that just the resignation of General Noriega will ensure a settlement for the crisis in the country.

The National Republican Liberal Movement plays an important role in the activity of the opposition. While the Arnulfists enjoy the support of the masses and the Christian Democrats that of an organizational structure and personnel, MOLIRENA has powerful financial resources at its disposal.

MOLIRENA arose in 1982. It consists of factions that had earlier split off from other parties. In 1981 they united so as to create a new party that was aptly called a "patchwork quilt" by local journalists. The characteristic feature of the party was the link of the agrarian oligarchy with the commercial bourgeoisie, i.e. a union of the most conservative segments of the country. The names of members of MOLIRENA leaders Cesar Arroch, Guillermo Arias and Rene Krespo, who, as members of the government before 1968, took part in the appropriation of almost a billion dollars from the state treasury, were mentioned in the local press in connection with former "merits." The leaders of MOLIRENA, the same as the leaders of the other right-wing bourgeois parties, sharply criticize the government and the programs of economic development for the country it has proposed. The deputy chairman of the party, Alfredo Ramires, in particular has stated that the basic reasons for the economic crisis lie in the political sphere, and only a "genuinely civilian government" can save the republic.

Since July of 1987, the rightist opposition has taken a course of sharp destabilization of the situation, striving to impart an openly aggressive and provocative nature to its own speeches. It was able to form a so-called "National Civil Crusade" coalition in June of 1987 to coordinate the struggle against the government, and it includes about a hundred political, business and public organizations. Striving to weaken the government by any means possible, the leaders of the coalition have sent emissaries to the governments of the United States, France, Japan and Israel with demands to reject political support for and economic assistance to Panama. The Chamber of Trade, Industry and Agriculture of Panama, under cover of which underground work is being done, has a central role in the activity of the "National Civil Crusade." As reported by the Panamanian mass media, a search of the chamber's quarters in June of 1987 at the order of legal authorities found tens of thousands of copies of pamphlets and brochures and hundreds of video and audio recordings with calls to overthrow the government and setting forth the action program of the reaction. It is apparent from published documents that after seizing power, the rightist opposition planned to carry out a purge in the ranks of the NDF in order to remove progressively inclined military and to hold "elections" to legitimize the new regime. In organizing street disorders, a bet was placed on the student unions, and first and foremost those uniting the students at the rich private colleges and universities. The owners of enterprises and banks, openly forcing their workers and employees into anti-government demonstrations, also made their "contribution" to increasing tensions. At the same time, there transpired a rapid convergence of the opposition and the church, the higher leaders of which had refrained from official support of the demands of the opposition before 1987.

The Fates

The Panamanian military has traditionally taken part in the political life of the country, and many observers allot to it the role of "the Fates of the Panamanian nation." This position completely suited the local oligarchy and its American patrons, since reactionally inclined officers are heading the military who are ready to crush any progressive and nationalistic tendencies. With the coming to power of General O. Torrijos, however, the situation was sharply altered. The "Torrijosists," with their independent positions on issues of foreign policy and support for the Contadora process, were transformed into a serious hindrance for Washington.

The General Staff of the NDF takes into account first and foremost the geopolitical significance of the Panama Canal. The NDF commander, General Noriega, declared in one of his speeches that the Panama Canal should stand aside from conflicts and be open to the vessels of all countries of the world. In this regard, the NDF substantiates the conducting of large-scale preventive measures within the country by the necessity of maintaining social stability, which it considers a basic provision of military doctrine. The fight to eliminate illiteracy, improve health care and raise the standard of living for broad segments of the population have great significance on this plane. It is

for namely that reason that the army takes active part in work to develop the infrastructure along with the construction of civilian facilities. An effective defense for the canal can be ensured only with the participation and support of the Panamanian people, the military feels. There exists a real threat that the United States, under the pretext of ensuring the security of the Panama Canal, could resort to a breach or delay in the effect of agreements on the canal. The American press is already puffing up the idea of the so-called "migration bomb." The idea is the appearance of an enormous number of refugees from various Central American states uprooted from their places of habitation by military operations appearing at the Panamanian-Costa Rican border.

The principal efforts of domestic reaction are aimed at discrediting the current NDF command and splitting the armed forces. The sharpest clash between government forces and the opposition occurred in June of 1987. The catalyst was the statement of a former chief of the general staff of the NDF, Colonel Roberto Dias Herrera, who came out with attacks against the government and General Noriega, accusing him of falsifying election results and participating in drug and weapons trafficking. Making use of the statements of Colonel Dias, the opposition organized broad demonstrations with the demand to replace the NDF commander and bring several officers to trial. They furthermore proposed changes in the law on the armed forces that would ensure their complete dependence on civilian authorities. Refusing to be subordinated to the challenge of the procurator general, Dias barricaded himself in his residence, but it was stormed and he was arrested. He acknowledged his guilt in preparing a military coup, but added that other representatives of the military command had been against his plans. The military also arrested a number of advocates of the Christian-Democratic Party and the Popular Action Party, as well as the "National Civilian Crusade." The authorities accompanied these actions with the expulsion of the former American military attache, C. Stone, as well as journalist T. Brown, from the country.

All political observers unanimously note the restraint and staunchness demonstrated by the government of President E. Delvalle and the military command during the June and October crises of 1987. They did not yield to the threats of the United States. The pressure moreover led to the opposite result. The officer corps saw in the attacks on the commander first and foremost a threat to their intrinsic political and economic interests and united behind General Noriega. It should be noted that although the Panamanian military, continuing the policies of Torrijos, has constantly affirmed its adherence to alliance obligations, their nationalistic course nonetheless has entered into contradiction with the strategic interests of the United States in the region.

The United States: From Rhetoric to Dictate

Panamanian-American relations have developed in extremely contradictory fashion in recent years. In the first years after the coming into force of the Torrijos-Carter agreements, the international prestige of Panama rose. At first, the Americans had been transformed from colonizers into partners in managing the canal in the eyes of simple Panamanians. At the same time, the Panamanians have grounds to be dissatisfied with the realization of the agreements. The joint Panamanian-American administration for managing the canal in particular has become accountable to the U.S. Congress. The American military presence is not an abstract concept for the Panamanians, but a part of their lives, an everyday diminishment of national pride. Everyone who leaves the capital for the provinces often encounters the barbed wire of American military installations and the loud declarations in English and Spanish forbidding entry and exit without the special permission of the American military. Panamanians have to pass through a U.S. military police checkpoint even just to get to the nearest city beach, located on the American base at Fort Cobbe.

According to official Pentagon data, there are currently 10,836 American servicemen in the country stationed at 14 bases and equipped with the latest word in military equipment. The general headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, whose presence on Panamanian soil was not envisaged by any treaties, is also located here.

The acuity of the contradictions between the United States and Panama is conditioned by the desire of Washington to conduct a review of the principal provisions of the treaties on the canal under the pretext of the "unfavorable shifts" that have transpired in recent years in Central America (the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution etc.). The White House would like to make such changes in them that would guarantee the preservation of a military presence after the year 2000. On the plane of pressuring Panama, reactionary circles in the United States have been able to win appropriations from the Senate for a special CIA fund to "conduct research" concerning trade in drugs and contraband weapons "under the leadership of the Panamanian military high command." The Panamanian parliament has decisively condemned this "impermissible interference" and has regarded it as a threat to the fulfillment of the treaties on the Panama Canal.

The United States is furthermore making active use of economic sanctions: sugar procurements have been halted and limitations have been introduced on imports of woolen items and a number of other Panamanian goods. As the newspaper CRITICA has reported, the American ambassador, Arthur Davies, speaking before a group of businessmen, declared with a cynical candor that the expansion of American capital investment in Panama was being restrained by the continued influence on the government of "the followers of Torrijos among the military, as well as the country's participation in the Contadora Group." The newspaper MATUTINO also reported other instances of gross intervention in the internal affairs of the country: cases of the bribing of civilian officials and the financing of opposition mass

media. Nine American citizens, including the consul in the city of Colon and several servicemen, were arrested for taking part in street disorders. The provocative behavior of the Americans has forced the Panamanian authorities to expel two people from the country.

The resolution of the American Senate ordering Panama to hold "democratic elections" evoked a broad political response. The Panamanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note of protest to the U.S. State Department on that score, and anti-American sentiment strengthened appreciably in the country, spilling over on June 30 into a demonstration many thousand strong at the American embassy. Panama has turned to the Organization of American States in its search for international solidarity and, for perhaps the first time in the history of that organization, an overwhelming majority of the OAS voted a special resolution on June 1, 1987 condemning the current policies of the United States in relation to Panama. In reply, the U.S. Senate imposed harsh economic sanctions on Panama on November 19, 1987 in a special resolution.

For a United Front of Democratic Forces

After the death of Omar Torrijos and in the course of the process of so-called "democratization," the oligarchy has essentially been able to constrict the progressive forces of Panama. Constitutional changes put the popular masses, without the essential financial resources, in an exceedingly difficult position and practically predetermined their failure in the elections of 1984.

The party of the Panamanian communists—the People's Party of Panama—plays a large role in organizing the repulse of reaction.

The first socialist groups appeared in the country in the middle of the 1920s. On April 4, 1930 certain Marxist groups joined together and created the Communist Party, later renamed the People's Party of Panama (PPP). The representatives of the local oligarchy that ruled the country harshly persecuted the Panamanian communists. Later, with the start of the process of progressive socioeconomic transformations, the People's Party declared its support for the policies of Omar Torrijos. The party came out from underground and worked under semi-legal conditions. A favorable situation for the activity of the Panamanian communists took shape overall, which facilitated growth in the influence of the PPP among the masses. Under the new conditions, the party continues to carry out active work among the masses, and the PPP plays a leading role in the National Workers' Trade-Union Center of Panama, uniting in its ranks the representatives of various professions. Among rural laborers, the party works through the National Confederation of Peasant Cooperatives. The party enjoys influence among the ranks of a number of organizations—the Teachers' Reformist Front, the National Medical Union, the National Union of Panamanian Women, the Front of the Workers of Culture and the Anti-Imperialist University Front.

In evaluating the development of the current situation in the country, the leadership of the PPP notes that General Noriega has as yet been unable to concentrate sufficient power to correct the serious errors committed by the regime after the demise of Torrijos. In the opinion of the PPP, "Torrijosism" as a social plan is an important consolidating force able to mobilize the popular masses for the fight against imperialism and for national liberation, democracy and social progress. The People's Party of Panama has proposed the creation of a Democratic Front of National Liberation that would unite the "Torrijosism" of the military so inclined and their political force in the form of the Revolutionary-Democratic Party, as well as a series of leftist and centrist parties and workers and peasants' organizations.

Although this proposal was received with interest, a unification could not be achieved in practice. The personal ambitions of individual political figures, as well as the systematic actions of the opposition, have proven to be a serious obstacle. The events of recent months have moreover confirmed the enormous importance of the call of the Panamanian communists for unity among leftist and progressive forces. The coming out into the streets of the broad masses proved to be decisive during the July crisis and essentially saved the regime from collapse.

In a continental context, Panama is finding ever-growing support among the Latin American countries. During the November (1987) meeting of the heads of state of the Contadora Group and the support group in Acapulco (Mexico), the importance of the unwavering fulfillment of treaty obligations on the Panama Canal as a most important condition of regional security was emphasized. Panamanian President Eric Delvalle, right after the conclusion of the Acapulco conference, stressed once again the determination of the government to achieve complete "sovereignty over all national territory." Until the United States refuses to consider Panama as its colony, there can be no discussion of a normalization of bilateral relations. It is possible based on the fulfillment of all articles and clauses of the canal treaties and a cessation of the gross intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Panama. "Only this can become the basis for stability in Panamanian-American relations both before and after the year 2000," emphasized the president.

It can be expected that the conflict between the government and the rightist opposition supported by the United States will worsen to the extent of the approach of the general elections in 1989. This could become a cause of new political crises. There is no doubt that a phase of struggle to achieve genuine national sovereignty and eliminate the colonial enclave in the Canal Zone lies ahead for the Panamanian people.

Footnotes

1. For more detail on the economic program and activity of the cabinet of N. Ardito Barletta, see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 9, pp 43-44 (Ed. note).

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Soviet-Argentine Trade, Economic Cooperation

18070092c Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 106-120

[Article by Vl. Reznichenko and P.P. Yakovlev, Salta—Tartagal—Buenos Aires, under the rubric "From Our Correspondents Abroad": "The Workdays and Holidays of the 'Beauties of Salta'"]

[Excerpts] Guards are posted at the entrance to the government building with bamboo lances and dressed in the traditional costume of the gauchos—black hats and kerchiefs, red ponchos and white trousers tucked into the boots. A police brass band marches along the roadway, and behind it comes a detachment of prancing horsemen in Creole saddles. Throngs of people are standing about. It is evident that this is a true holiday for them. Noonday sounds, and the solemn changing of the guard begins...

We are in Salta, the capital of the Argentine province of the same name, located in the northwest "corner" of the country. It is over fifteen hundred kilometers here from Buenos Aires, and for journalists working constantly in the Europeanized megalopolis on the banks of La Plata, much seems unaccustomed here. This is, as they say, "another Argentina"—"the real Argentina."

Salta occupies a special place both in the literal and figurative senses among Argentine provinces: it is the only one of the 22 that borders three foreign states (Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay), and it carefully preserves the originality of local traditions and culture with roots going back into the colonial past.

Green Leaves and Black Business

Traveling several dozen kilometers north of Tartagal, you come to the Bolivian border, a country which is, as you see right away, is poorer than Argentina. It is bustling and populous at the border, local residents circulate from one side to the other, comparing prices in the shops and the markets to make the best buy. The border guards watch with bored faces over both ends of the bridge that separates the two states, not troubling themselves to check documents. Sometimes they take a lazy interest: "What do you have in the package there?" or "Don't you know that it is forbidden to bring in radio equipment?" They explained to us that smugglers—those that are a little more substantial—don't come across the bridge, but rather seek out other routes that are more convenient for crossing the border.

On the other side of Tartagal, at the entrance to the airport, the road is blocked to our car, and the terrifying shape of a rifle, a police patrol, materialized. They requested that we open the trunk, and poked around among our things. They were looking for narcotics—the zone is very dangerous in this regard.

But whereas the transport of cocaine in powdered form is considered a criminal offense, the authorities pay no attention whatsoever to coca leaves. Many inhabitants of these areas suck them, putting them in the cheek and, for show, sprinkling the tongue with household soda. The goal is to "get cheered up" at the height of heavy labor, to "strengthen the organism" or "kill hunger."

Later, having returned to the capital, we read a feature in the newspaper from Salta on the latest capture of a drug trafficker (was it the police who had stopped us on the road that caught him?). There is a multitude of such reports in the press in general, but this one attracted attention for the unconventional means of transporting the powder. The "courier" put it in a thin layer inside the lining of his coat, and then ironed out the fabric. The cunning was no help, and the inventive swindler is now behind bars. Judging from the newspapers, many drug traffickers are arrested, but no one can say how much of the "commodity" gets through the scattered police network.

Drug addiction is becoming a more and more acute problem for Argentina, as for many other countries of Latin America. Whereas before the states in the region (first and foremost Columbia and Bolivia) had chiefly been in the role of "producers and exporters" of narcotics, today more and more Latin Americans (and first and foremost the youth) are becoming "consumers" of them, which is beginning to trouble seriously local society and official circles. The black business is spreading like a cancer tumor, and a growing number of crimes are being committed on the fertile ground of drug addiction. The actual war of two gangster syndicates that recently took place in Rio de Janeiro indicates the scope of the calamity.

"Urals" in the Andean Foothills

In distant Tartagal we were not only able to find new friends, but old acquaintances as well. Coursing along the streets here, aside from Western makes of motor vehicles, we constantly encountered our own Urals, KAMAZ and KrAZ vehicles. Soviet trucks have been working here in the oilfields of Salta Province for many years now.

We asked engineer Rodolfo Castro, chief of the local department of the Argentine firm of SAPESA, to relate to us how our vehicles have acquitted themselves in the southern tropics. This firm specializes in technical support for the equipment procured by the state petroleum company, UPF, in the USSR.

"The Soviet vehicles are reliable and durable," the engineer asserted. "They have been adapted for work under the most difficult conditions and go where other vehicles simply cannot."

"And what, in your opinion, are their shortcomings?"

"The main one is a lack of the comfort offered by the Western models. For example, the drivers get very tired from the uncomfortable seating in the cabs of the trucks. The Soviet equipment in general is heavier and 'slower'... On the other hand, it are more durable and rarely breaks down."

Rodolfo is 32 years old. Having completed a higher technical educational institution in Buenos Aires, he was, putting it in terms familiar to us, "assigned to the provinces": "the money is better, the air is cleaner and the people are nicer here." He is in charge of several repair shops, 60 workers and mechanics and a large amount of equipment, almost all of it Soviet.

"There are 120 trucks and dump trucks, 40 cranes, 30 UAZ all-terrain vehicles and two first-aid vehicles," enumerates R. Castro, showing us around the shops, "Besides that, there are tractors, bulldozers, graders, excavators, pumps and drilling equipment. Two Soviet turbogenerators provide power and light to the UPF shops and the town where company personnel live."

In the office are shelves with tidy files. This is the "working literature" or, if you wish, the "patient file" for each vehicle. We discover with astonishment that some of them have been in service for two decades. There is even a veteran tractor that goes back to 1952.

"How do you solve the problem of spare parts?"

"SAPESA has set up production in Buenos Aires of many of the parts that are subject to the most frequent replacement, and we get the rest from the USSR."

The activity of SAPESA is a good example of Soviet-Argentine trade and economic collaboration, which has been expanded considerably in the 1980s. The official visit of CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze to Argentina gave new impetus to the growth in our contacts in all realms. The joint communique that was adopted specially emphasized that "This event commemorates a new step in the development of Soviet-Argentine relations and the deepening of the mutual understanding between both peoples and the interaction of both countries for the purpose of reinforcing international security."

In Argentina they are following the process of renewal that is developing in Soviet society with great interest. This was brought home to us anew during our trip to Salta. Having arrived to conduct an interview, we ourselves repeatedly proved to be in the role of interviewees and had to satisfy the interest of the Saltenos in our country, its domestic and foreign policy and restructuring with our own statements and stories. And we were not even surprised to hear the words *perestroyka* and *glasnost* spoken by our interlocutors in Russian.

"And when will Gorbachev come to Argentina?" they asked us. "It would be good if he visited Salta. After all, Gorbachev is now the most popular and prestigious world leader."

Indian mothers with children on their breast and bundles of firewood on their shoulders, gauchos in ponchos mounted on horses and mules, the enormous "candelabra"-cacti, KAMAZs and UAZs, indelibly inscribed in this exotic landscape—that is how we will always remember the roads of Salta.

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Mexico: Disproportions in Development Remain

18070092d Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 127-128

[Article by V.M. Matveyeva: "Mexico: Disproportions of Intrazonal Development Remain"]

[Text] Capitalist industrialization inevitably engenders regional disparities in development. The concentration of industrial production leads to the concentration of infrastructure services in the regions it encompasses and makes them more attractive for new investment and, ultimately, the formation of centers and a national periphery. This process was earlier typical of the presently developed capitalist countries, and is for the Third World today as well. Western Europe and the United States were the first to encounter the negative trends of these processes, where in the second half of the 19th century and right into the first two decades of the 20th, development proceeded through rapid urbanization while extensive territories remained practically unassimilated. Only the crisis of 1929-32 forced a serious look at this problem. It was namely during this period that elements of directive policy were born in the bourgeois state in the realm of economics, which were later used to arm Mexican theoreticians of regional planning (the theory of "growth zones" of Francois Perroux, "distance factors" of Walter Isarda, "preferential trade policies" of Albert Hirsman and the "dispersal" of Nils Hansen among others).

The initial stage of this regional planning in Mexican development goes back to the middle of the 1930s, when the government of L. Cardenas advanced a series of programs for assimilating water resources in various parts of the country that were aimed at gradually overcoming the backwardness of these regions based on the creation of agro-industrial complexes. The basin of the

largest Mexican river, the Grijalva, was assimilated within the framework of these programs. No less important projects were also realized in the 1950s: the assimilation of the Papaloacan and Fuerte river basins.

Beginning in the 1960s, under the conditions of a growing influx of financial resources from without, regional development was planned through an expansion of investment in the infrastructure and the incorporation of fixed incentives for the decentralization and deconcentration of industry. This practice has been enriched since the beginning of the 1960s. A state program of the industrialization of the border zones with the United States was adopted in particular. Its chief aims were to raise industrial potential and soak up excess manpower. The program envisaged attracting foreign capital, chiefly American, on preferential terms.

A national program for the development of rural regions was later added to it that envisaged encompassing 11,000 populated points with a total number of inhabitants of 12 million (60 percent of the rural population of the country) in the modernization. The transition to a new type of activeness here assumed the creation of a developed rural infrastructure, the construction of roads, electrification and the modernization of the water supply, health care and education.

Notwithstanding the quite prolonged period of the planning of regional development (more than 50 years), the majority of the programs that were adopted did not achieve their goals. There were many reasons for this: the displacement of directive methods with indicative ones and drawbacks in the programs themselves, brought about by the imperfect nature of their involvement of both state and private borrowed funds etc. Mainly, however, the removal of disproportions between the centers and the national periphery has taken place under conditions where Mexico itself is part of the capitalist periphery, which deforms the processes of its intra-regional development. One example of this is the realization of the programs to assimilate the U.S. border zones and the fate of the plans for its "Mexicanization." As a result of the participation of U.S. capital in them, trends leading to "Americanization" of the country's northern territories were strengthened anew here. The "*maciladoras*" industry and the old phenomenon of the migration of manpower to the United States are the two elements that define the current dynamics of the development of the border zone today. They have an appreciable place in their significance in the country's economy. Out of 600 Mexican assembly enterprises, 543 are located here. Over 230,000 workers, of whom some 70 percent are women, are employed at the 90 percent of national and foreign industrial enterprises of Mexico that located in the border zone. The value of the industrial output produced here comprises 85 percent of all of the machine-building output of the country. The further development of this zone, however, will strengthen the disproportionality of the disposition of productive forces in Mexico. A considerable portion of the output produced in the zone moreover goes for exports and is not linked to the growth needs of the domestic market. Government circles, in the formulation of national strategy, are moreover forced to reckon with the opinions of the bourgeois North, which is putting ever growing pressure on the adoption of nationwide solutions.

The policies of the government of Miguel de la Madrid aimed at the removal of industrial facilities from Mexico City to other regions of the country have not yet led to material changes. The city is continuing to grow, creating more and more new problems. The question of the ecological safety of the population of the megalopolis is becoming especially acute.

This is explained to a considerable extent by the ineffectiveness of the replacement of state planning with neoliberal mechanisms and market spontaneity. The influence of the imperialists centers on the processes of intra-regional development in Mexico can become stronger under these conditions. They are still defined by the interest of foreign capital in national modernization programs and the creation of new infrastructures. The future will show what will come, and just when the problem of the harmonious development of various zones of the country and the utilization of their potential for national purposes will be resolved.

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Book Review of "Chile: Anatomy of a Conspiracy"

18070092e Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88 p 136

[Review by G.A. Dikovskaya of book "Chili: anatomiya zagovora" [Chile: Anatomy of a Conspiracy] by F.M. Sergeyev. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya Publishing House, 1986, 189 pp]

[Text] Addressing tragic pages in the history of Chile, F.M. Sergeyev strives to uncover the internal springs that aided the reaction in its 1973 military coup. One of the most important tools for intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state was the CIA. In researching the channels of imperialist provocation in Chile, the author has shown how the CIA tentacles reached into the most varied spheres of life of Chilean society. Supporting the National Party and its leader, H. Alessandri, defending the interests of foreign and large national capital, buying off and sometimes simply buying opposition newspapers and making use of the methods of disinformation and "black propaganda," the CIA obstructed the coming to power of the government of National Unity in every way possible.

When these steps, employed along with economic and political pressure, did not have the expected results and Salvador Allende won victory in the elections, the United States facilitated the establishment of a military dictatorship. The bet was placed on the pro-American-inclined Chilean officer corps—the force that could "oppose popular power" at the moment essential to the reaction.

The author cites little-known sources. He traces the activity of the CIA and the ties of U.S. intelligence agencies with the corresponding organizations of the Pinochet regime in detail.

At the same time, the unfounded, in my opinion, absolutization of foreign factors has led to a certain displacement of the focus when evaluating events in Chile. Observing the criteria of historism, it was essential to note that the objective cause of the temporary victory of the reaction was namely internal and not external factors. After all, the deciding cause of the tragedy in Chile was the widespread mobilization of anti-democratic forces within the country.

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Soviet-UN Sponsored Conference on Latin American Economic Integration

18070092 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Feb 88

["Difficulties and Prospects for Regional Intregration"]

18070092X [Editorial Report] Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian carries in issue No 2, February 1988 an article on pages 36-47 entitled "Difficulties and Prospects for Regional Integration." This article presents a round table discussion, organized by the editorial staff of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, who invited foreign and Soviet researchers to discuss the work of a seminar they attended on "The Role of Economic Integration in the Economic and Social Development of Latin American Countries." The seminar, sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin American Institute and the State Committee for Science and Technology together with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), was held in Moscow and Dushanbe in September 1987. The following were among the participants: V.V. Volskiy, director, and N. G. Zaitsev, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin American Institute, J. Salgado, professor at Ecuador Central University School of International Sciences, L .L. Klochkovskiy and I. K Sheremetev, Soviet economists, S. Birar, consultant to UNITAR and the Latin American Economic System (LAES), D. Jordan Pando, deputy general secretary of the Latin American Association for Integration, B. Karnego, cheif representative of the Andean Group, and D. Gabriel Ramirez, executive president of the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (BCIE), as well as other Soviet and Latin American economists.

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Chile: Twilight of a Dictator

18070107 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 88 pp 5-13

[Article by Yu. N. Korolev: "The Twilight of a Dictatorship"]

[Text] The political denouement in Chile is drawing nearer. Practically no one has any doubt about this today, including the dictator and his closest associates. Nevertheless, the regime is attempting to delay the inevitable finale as long as possible and maneuvering, trying to demonstrate its ability to find responses that are adequate to the challenge of time (even after the crisis in the early 1980's).

The Change in Guideposts

The ruling junta viewed so radical a step as establishing state control over the banks in 1983 as one of the measures to reanimate the national economy and to bring it up to a level where the "area" for its contact with the transnational economy is increased to the maximum extent and their mutual integration becomes practically possible. What is new in this policy is the fact that along with its continued policy of encouraging activity by the transnationals, the regime has obviously begun to reorient itself toward searches for ways to develop the national market and increase domestic savings to speed up modernization of the outdated economic structures. It has pursued a policy of stimulating the new areas of national business undertakings, with active state support, and expanding the regime's social base by taking the middle and petty bourgeoisie into account. Not only have preferential interest rates been arranged, but favorable conditions for reinvestment of the Chilean bourgeoisie's profits have been established within the framework of this policy.

The measures cited, in the opinion of Pinochet's "economic command," will make it possible for the middle and petty bourgeoisie "to have a vote" in a dialogue with the transnational grouping, which became markedly stronger in the preceding period. All this unquestionably attests to a certain departure from the particularly transnational model (subject to market fluctuations) which the dictatorship has traditionally followed. At the same time, however, it is important to note that the state sector continued to be powerful enough even in the years of most rapid transnationalization (1975-1980). Practically all the infrastructure (the ports, railroads, and power generation), the extractive industry, metallurgy and machine building have been state property. However, a characteristic of the current stage is the shift to new forms of state control of the economy, which at times conflict with what has been prescribed by the IMF.

One of these innovations is the interiorization of foreign debts. Although officially they have not increased in recent years (20.5 billion dollars), the proportion of foreign commercial bank branches in overall investment volume rose from 15 percent in 1985 to nearly 20 percent in 1986. The reason is that the regime passed a law which provides that funds acquired in accordance with promissory notes must be invested in the Chilean economy for a period of no less than 10 years, but profits from these investments may be transferred abroad only after 4 years have expired.

All these measures and others attest to the fact that the regime is counting on establishing a kind of "transnational-national" model for development. Definite chances for success in carrying out this kind of plan are linked with the transformation of part of the Chilean bourgeoisie into an important contractor for transnational firms. By the beginning of 1987, nine of Chile's largest financial-industrial groups (six of them with state participation), which controlled the property of over 120 enterprises with capital totaling nearly 3 billion dollars, were integrated into transnational channels one way or another.

However, how real is the practical "linking" of interests between the TNK's [transnational corporations] and the Chilean nouveaux riches and the broad strata of middle and petty bourgeoisie who were "sacrificed" during the period of transnationalization?

In this connection, the junta has been faced with the problem of expressing, reflecting and protecting the interests of the entire spectrum of the Chilean bourgeoisie, not just the local businessmen. The dictatorship conceives of a solution to this problem in a search for compromise alternatives; essentially, they seek to have modernized production ties and transnational capital (with state support) draw the middle and petty bourgeoisie into their orbit. A similar policy is being proclaimed as the establishment in Chile of a society of "people's capitalism" (in which there will be no workers—"everyone will become a businessman") and the objective prerequisites for "the prosperity of all nations." In practice, the "modernization" has turned into the emergence of an entire complex of new problems for the dictatorship.

Modernization: The Underlying Political Motive

At first the symbiotic "TNK-dictatorship-national economy" relationship developed in the traditional way. But by 1987 the regime's economists saw all the problems of such a course, associated mainly with the fact that the state sector, under authoritarian rule, is unfit for the flexibility, harmony and dynamics of traditional private business undertakings. In addition, the authoritarian leviathan essentially became an impediment in linking up the strata of middle and petty national bourgeoisie with the leading transnational production units. Recognizing this, the regime has been developing a new cycle of privatization in the state sector since 1987; the main focal point of this is not the transnationalization of the economy (although it is being continued to the extent that one economic structure or another is technologically and financially prepared), but reinforcement of precisely the private sector of the middle and petty bourgeois strata and expansion of the national market.

At the same time, the objective being pursued is political, and the plan is twofold. The first one is to establish the prerequisites to restore the mechanism for "normal" (bourgeois-democratic) reproduction of social and economic relationships on the basis of a regulated economy which has been integrated into the world economic system. The second plan—also strategic in nature—is to neutralize the economic and sociopolitical base of the left-wing alternative, the historical foundation and prerequisite for which remains a powerful state sector. Moreover, by selling the stock shares of state enterprises, the state is actually subsidizing on the order of 30 to 86 percent of the private firms they acquire.

Pinochet is in a hurry: the pressure from democratic forces is increasing, less and less time remains before the plebiscite in 1988, and finally, the dictator is being "nudged" by the circles which intend to remain the masters, and when Pinochet has been substantially forgotten in Chile, the forces which owe their rise to "Pinochetist" modernization will remain. In practice, Pinochet is trying to cut the ground from under not only the left-wing forces, but any political party in Chile with an etatist orientation, but in this country all the parties that are influential to any extent are etatist to begin with—both the Christian Democratic Party and the others that are social-reformist in character.

The authoritarian regime has worked out a "new policy" which, thanks to the attempts to involve the entire spectrum of the national borgeoisie in modernization, is a response to the crisis of the early 1980s which is completely occupational, but limited in "time and space." However, what Chile needs is not the development of a single plan, even if it is a competent one, but the determination and readiness to make a permanent change in plans, to ensure continuous "adequacy," which is possible only under the conditions of democracy. Otherwise, the modernization which has been called upon to "pull" the national economic structures up to the transnational level will turn into stagnation. Unlike administrative-dictatorial mechanisms, the mechanisms for economic regulation, and political regulation even more so, are effective only under conditions in which there is a free choice of alternatives and the nation's entire intellectual and physical potential is mobilized. Pinochet has been able to bring himself to change the economic guideposts, though the nature of his regime itself allows only for resoluteness one time, whereas permanent "adequacy" and a continuous search for answers to the new situations which arise are required.

The "Pinochet command," part of it in any case, also recognizes this. "Rickety" laws on political liberalization permitting activity by parties "which do not come out against the established order and the constitution" were adopted in 1986-1987 for this very reason. Thus, by seeking to keep in line with the new realities, the regime is speeding up the formation of regulatory mechanisms which broaden the prospects for the advance of democracy, in spite of its wishes, at the same time that they are "adequate" for the objectives of modernization. But the well-known parable about the camel and the eye of a needle comes to mind here... Pinochet cannot "creep into" democracy; he personifies the essence of authoritarianism, terror, and violence aginst the traditions of Chilean statehood too vividly.

Regrouping in the Ranks of the Opposition

The "Pinochetist" modernization has had an effect on the arrangement of political forces in the country. Important shifts have taken place in their previously established balance. It will be recalled that the establishment of this balance (preceding 1987) was completed at the end of 1986, and the attempt to physically remove the dictator undertaken by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic

Front applied the finishing touches in this process. At that time opposition to the regime was represented by two blocs: the Democratic Alliance (the principal force in this was the Christian Democratic Party led by Gabriel Valdes) and the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), where the Communist Party was the most influential force.

The dynamics of the formation of public opinion in 1984-1986 attested to the increased influence of the left-wing opposition. Thus, elections to the Federation of Students at the University of Chile showed that the proportion voting for right-wing groups dropped from 27 to 12 percent, the number of those voting for the centrists (the PDC) decreased from 46 to 44 percent, and the number voting for left-wing groups increased from 23 to 42 percent. At the same time, it is important to note that the last elections took place in October 1986, that is, after the September attempt against the dictator.

In this situation, without any confidence that the Democratic Alliance could gain the upper hand in free elections, the PDC played a double game, adhering to an ill-defined line. A paradoxical situation took shape in the country when one of the opposition forces (the Democratic Alliance) used the regime it was struggling against as a cover for building up its forces and attracting supporters in the struggle against the other force opposing this regime, the MDP.

However, the masses quickly realized the point of this scheming, and when the leadership of the Democratic Alliance called on the people to come forward, they went out into the streets, but when it called for them to go back to their homes—when it appeared that the dictatorship had been frightened to a degree—a larger and larger number of the demonstrators refused to obey this call. And they have supporters that are just as determined—the MDP and the leaders of the trade unions and student federations.

When over 80 percent of the people repudiate the regime but their leaders prove to be incapable of assuming power, the objective need arises to create a revolutionary vanguard—the "hand" that can assume power after removing the old apparatus for suppression and maintaining order, by force if necessary. The seventh of September showed the regime and the Democratic Alliance that such a "hand" is being created and moreover, this process is quite advanced: the stores of weapons and the equipment for carrying out the attempt demonstrated this quite convincingly. The bourgeois opposition clearly saw a specter of the force that is capable of stopping its game, of shattering the regime's military and police apparatus, of ensuring the safety of the fighters against dictatorship, and ultimately of assuming power. With the conditional nature of direct analogies, something similar also took place in Nicaragua, where the Democratic Liberation Union—the opposition liberal bloc of the Democratic Alliance type—attempted to follow the same tactics by seeking to bar the most consistent revolutionary-democratic organizations, chiefly the Sandinist National Liberation Front, from taking part in democratic construction. It is common knowledge how this ended.

The struggle within the Democratic Alliance has become more intense; the bloc's left wing, including the Radical Party of Chile, part of the socialists and the democratic wing of the PDC, have begun to insist on a union of all the forces opposing the dictator, including the PCCh [Communist Party of Chile]. But the bloc's leadership has followed the old path: it began negotations with the junta and representatives of the United States once again. The talks did not yield a positive result in the sense that the dictator categorically refused to leave. At the same time, hoping to split the opposition, the regime announced the legalization of political parties which do not adhere to "totalitarian doctrines."

A new political situation has taken shape. The Democratic Alliance has actually fallen apart. Patricio (Aylwin), an old friend and loyal comrade-in-arms of the late party leader Eduardo Frei, was elected chairman of the PDC. He traditionally follows a policy of isolating the Communist Party and alliance with the right-centrist forces. At the same time, the Christian Democratic youth have declared that restoration of democracy in the country is impossible without the communists' participation and that the young Christian Democrats are prepared to establish a unified opposition front. Some of the high officials in the National Party have strengthened their relations with the new PDC leadership.

Meanwhile, the (Jarpy) group, the National Union (Jaime Guzman) and the Democratic Union established the National Renovation Party (PARENA), which is actually headed by Sergio Fernandez (the official chairman is Ricardo Rivadeneira), newly appointed as Pinochet's minister of the interior, and a "(Jarpy) person," Alberto (Cardemil), has become his deputy. The leader of the National Union (now the ex-union), Gustavo Alessandri, became the mayor of Santiago. To all appearances, that is the very team that Pinochet assigned to prepare and carry out the plebiscite in 1988, especially as Fernandez became famous precisely for his "efficient organization" of the 1980 plebiscite. PARENA is not simply a party that supports Pinochet; it is a party of "Pinochetism"—headed by the present leader or without him—but it will fight for its reelection in a given stage. As the PARENA leaders say, right-wing unity was achieved in response to the increased "communist danger" and PARENA is open for a dialogue with all movements "except the Marxist ones."

A tripolar arrangement of forces has been reestablished in Chile with a strong left-wing democratic camp at the same time. Complex processes are taking place within it which attest to the far from complete process of consolidation and to the presence of old centrifugal factors and the emergence of new ones, but at the same time, to the predominance of the trend toward unity over all other

trends. The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front went through difficult times after 7 September. A most critical discussion was begun in the entire democratic movement concerning whether or not this action has to be taken and in general, whether forcible methods have to be used in the struggle against the dictatorship.

The Communist Party called for the establishment of a broader democratic antidictatorship movement than before. It does not exclude any forces which are prepared to fight against tyranny from this union. In a situation in which the dictatorship obviously is counting on victory in the plebiscite and a shift by the PDC to the right, a number of organizations (the Radical Party of Chile, the Christian Left Party, MAPU [Movement of Unitary Popular Action], and others have established a new front—the Left Unity, which also includes the MDP [Popular Democratic Movement] parties.

Expansion of the left-wing democratic coalition is largely accounted for by the fact that those of the left-wing parties (the Radical Party, the Christian Left, MAPU, and others) which hoped for the Democratic Alliance's support in speeding up the collapse of the dictatorship now clearly see that the alliance proved to be incapable of achieving this goal, they are disappointed in the extremely egotistical policy of its leaders, and finally, they no longer believe in the effectiveness of right-centrist leadership, not only in the stage of struggle against the dictatorship, but afterward as well—in the stage of building a democratic society.

Out of the combination of complex and conflicting factors, let us single out the retention within the Left Unity of a nucleus of forces which have proved their steadfastness—the PCCh, the PSCh [Socialist Party of Chile] headed by C. Almeyda, and the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]—and which support the MDP platform. In response to a proposal by Aniseto Rodriguez, leader of one of the socialist factions, that a conference of all socialist groups be convened to establish a Socialist Party, C. Almeyda, in supporting the idea itself, announced that he will take part in discussing this plan after the other factions achieve union among themselves. It is important for the radical wing of the Christian Democrats to join the new left-wing union. The revival of interest and sympathies among the Christian Democratic masses with the Communist Party and an alliance of all the left-wing progressive and democratic forces is an important sign of such organizational unity in itself. Chilean socialists (all factions) are demonstrating interest and the will to reconstitute unified organizational forms for the party. A. Rodriguez is calling for all leaders of socialist factions (Rodriguez himself, C. Almeyda, R. Nu$ez, Juan Gutierrez, and others) to send in their resignations from their posts and for a single leadership to be elected at an extraordinary congress of all socialists. It is possible that other organizations and public figures which are close in spirit and programs to social democracy may be invited to such a congress (earlier Rodriguez did not rule out this possibility). Such a forum could lead to the establishment of a popular social democratic coalition. The presence of such a trend itself is something new in Chile's political history.

In any event, a formation in a continuous movement, in which the Communist Party, all or nearly all factions of socialists, the left-wing Christian Democrats, Radicals, and left-wing radical groups and organizations are taking part has now come into being on the political forces' left flank. Centripetal force stands out as the main internal trend in this formation. External factors—Pinochet, the present leadership of the PDC and the existence of Pinochetist unification in the form of PARENA—also stimulate unitary trends within the left-wing democratic movement. The organizational forms of the future union are being discussed in the camp of the revolutionary democratic coalition: who will head it, whether there will be a bloc of parties on a representative basis or an integrated alliance, and many other questions which only time can answer. Until there is a unified approach to the movement's strategy and tactics problems, they have one thing in common in the meantime—the aim of overthrowing Pinochet and the resolution to do this as rapidly as possible. It was stressed again at the PCCh Central Committee plenum in October 1987 and at a press conference of party leaders in the capital that the main objective of the democratic movement is to put an end to Pinochet and "Pinochetism," and that only a broad popular movement can accomplish this. The plenum welcomed the establishment of Left Unity, pointing out that it is only the first step toward broader unification of the antidictatorship forces, all "without exception." The plenum adopted a resolution on registering the party's supporters in the electoral rolls to take part in the plebiscite.

A Time of Decisive Battles Lies Ahead

Looking at the political situation in the country as a whole, we have to single out the following characteristic as indicative: neither the Pinochet regime nor any of the opposition forces believe that any radical changes are possible before the plebiscite. In any event, under the conditions which exist now, unless there is something extraordinary, the dictator's demise, for example, the crucial events will take place in the days and months preceding and following the plebiscite.

Speaking in Miami in March 1987, U. S. Ambassador to Chile Harry Barnes stated that the public opinion polls that were conducted make it possible to establish the number of Pinochet supporters at roughly 15 percent. However, the regime has prepared itself for a substantial struggle: in June 1987, the new minister of finance, H. Buchi, obtained a deferment of payments on the foreign debt (about 11 billion dollars) until 1991 and perhaps even until the year 2000. In spite of opposition in the Air Force, the Carabineros, and the Navy, whose commanders have announced their candidacy for president—a civilian "no older than 52"—the dictator has reinforced his control in the Army and business circles. Vacillating

generals have been dismissed from key posts and persons that are more "staunch" have been appointed. With all the opposition to the regime, the atmosphere is charged with apprehension among most businessmen, as if democracy without "Pinochetism" would lead to economic chaos. The dictatorship's actively demonstrated determination to go to the end in the struggle to retain power is also having an effect on public opinion; many voters will prefer to vote for Pinochet than for civil war: a civil war "complex" may create a "negative majority" for Pinochet. For this reason, H. Barnes' statement that "despite the current unpopularity of the head of the military junta, it is impossible to predict how Chileans will vote" is not a diplomatic maneuver, but the verdict of an attentive and interested expert. The U. S. Senate's decision to allocate 1 million dollars for the opposition was evidently dictated by the desire not to "lose out" with any outcome: the presence of a strong right-centrist opposition, in Washington's opinion, should serve as a kind of counterbalance to a possible nationalistic turn by the dictator in the event of his victory in the plebiscite.

Meanwhile, the regime is avoiding widespread repressions in the current period. It has become possible for a number of prominent political figures in the left-wing movement to return to the country. A process of partial liberalization in the field of information is under way. In accordance with the dictator's plans, these measures have been called upon to bring a more substantial return from the economic modernization and to strengthen the regime's social support. Pinochet's feeling for the situation cannot be denied; he is demonstrating his ability to maneuver and to make use of his opponents' weaknesses correctly. The atmosphere of the political struggle which is under way is determined to a large extent by the dictator's resolve—which he is making a display of—to retain power "until the end." How justified is Pinochet's "optimism?"

A mass popular movement is on the rise in the country. The preconditions and heralds of the changes to come are here. No one intends to give way. A time of decisive battles lies ahead.

Women's World Congress in Moscow

18070107 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 88 pp 55-57

[Article by T. Yu. Zabelina: "Unforgettable Meetings"]

[Text]Women are the givers of life. The world needs them like air. This is why they advanced the slogan "Toward the year 2000—without nuclear weapons! For peace, equality, and development!" at their world congress held last summer in Moscow.

The congress convened 2,800 delegates from 150 countries who represented 1,003 national and 102 international and regional organizations. The breadth of the social and political spectrum was unprecedented. Women with various ideological and religious views were assembled. But they were united by the desire to make their own contribution to resolve the current global problems and sharp social conflicts, to bring about an end to the arms race and to utilize the resources made available for the struggle against hunger, disease, infant mortality, and poverty.

The words spoken by M. S. Gorbachev at the forum's opening met with a warm response: "Disarmament for development, trust, and cooperation—these are the only three 'whales' on which we can proceed in the future. There is no longer any alternative."

The World Women's Congress has become a model for relationships of trust and cooperation to a large extent. Its participants have sought to find a common language, to consider each other's opinion, and to be sufficiently tolerant in the search for overall solutions. The vast amount of preparatory work by women's organizations has contributed to the establishment of such an atmosphere to a significant extent. The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) held more than 50 preliminary consultations in various regions. Significant positive changes also have taken place as the result of the Decade for Women (1976-1985). Various meetings, seminars, and conferences held in Latin America during the 1980's were devoted to the struggle for national independence and peace (Managua, 1982), the problems of women in urban and rural areas (Mexico, 1983), and the effect of the crisis on the status of women in the region (Mexico, 1985). The Continental Front of Women Against Intervention organized a meeting in Havana in June 1985 devoted to the status of women in Latin America and Caribbean countries; 296 delegates from 27 countries took part. Representatives of 58 organizations in Central America and the Caribbean took part in the seminar "Women in the struggle for their rights and in defense of life" (Managua, December 1986). It was prepared by the WIDF jointly with the Luisa Amanda Espinosa Association of Nicaraguan Women.

Considerable efforts to prepare for the forum in Moscow were made at the national level as well. Preparatory committees functioned in many countries on the continent. Women's organizations welcomed the forthcoming congress and provided information in their publications, expressing confidence that the World Women's Congress in Moscow would become an important stage on the path of reinforcing the women's democratic movement and would work for unity and joint actions in the name of humanitarian goals.

The slogan and goals of the congress were warmly supported by the Melida Montez Union of Salvadoran Women for Liberation and the National Union of Guatemalan Women, which put information on its preparation and heartfelt words of solidarity in their bulletins. Women's organizations in Argentina, Brazil, Nicaragua, and other countries on the continent prepared special

leaflets, bulletins, posters, and commemorative postcards. More than 300 delegates from the continent came to Moscow. They included the leaders of regional organizations such as the Latin American Association for the Development and Integration of Women, the Continental Front of Women Against Intervention, the Christian Conference for Peace in Latin America and the Caribbean, and others. The composition of national delegations reflected the political diversity of public life in the continent's countries. The largest delegations were from Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba, Mexico, and Panama. The delegates included representatives of organizations especially for women and feminist movements and activists from different parties, trade unions, peasant and cultural associations, journalists, teachers, scientists, and those taking part in actions against violence and repression. The names of many are well-known: Fanny Edelman, member of the WIDF leadership (Argentina); Luisa Alberti, a deputy in the Argentine Parliament; Rosilda Freitas and Abigail (Feitos), deputies in Brazil's National Congress; Marselli Taylor, deputy in Costa Rica's Legislative Assembly; Vilma Espin, president of the Federation of Cuban Women and member of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee; Mercedes Cabanillas de Llanos, deputy in the Peruvian Parliament; the legendary Nidia Diaz, commandant of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation; and the prominent Brazilian sociologist (Eleas Saffioti).

The continent's representatives worked fruitfully in all the congress' eight committees and three topical centers and they took part in lively and frank discussions on peace; disarmament; women's contribution in the struggle for national liberation, independence and self-determination; the status of women under socialism; women's role in the family and society; the violation of women's rights; and the contribution of nongovernmental organizations in implementing the long-range strategies to improve the status of women which were adopted at the World Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985.

Opinions were exchanged in the form of dialogues and discussions and in the framework of topical meetings, "round tables," rallies and solidarity evenings. The evening devoted to solidarity with the women of Central and Latin America left an unforgettable impression. The antiwar rally attended by many thousands in the Central Park of Culture and Rest imeni Gorkiy became a magnificent event. Microphones spread the impassioned words about peace in many languages. And the sorrowful white kerchiefs of the mothers from the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires demanding that the children who disappeared during the dictatorship be found, that the persons responsible for the patriots' deaths be punished, and that the possibility of a new war against their own people be prevented were not lost among the multicolored posters, flags, and antiwar placards...

Each delegate was able to address the forum from the rostrum and suggest a topic for extended discussion. The statements by representatives of the indigenous population, containing angry words about the distressing situation of the Indians in a number of Central American countries, were memorable. The situation is especially tense in Guatemala, where an Indian woman is generally not considered to be a person, according to Carmen, an activist in the organization "For Peasants' Unity."

The Latin American women held the problems discussed by members of the "Woman, Family and Children" committee, addressed by 118 women from 70 countries, close to their heart. They discussed the absence of equal rights in many families and the problems of health and protection of children's rights.

Lively discussions on the problems of new technologies and their effect on the status of women were held in meetings of the "Woman and Labor" committee, which was addressed by 120 delegates from 85 countries. Work was conducted actively in the "Problems of Development and Women" committee, in which more than 200 representatives, mainly from Asia, Africa and Latin America, took part.

In the course of discussions from the different rostrums, Latin American women spoke of the need to do away with the huge foreign debt, stressing the interrelationship between a solution of this problem and democratic rights for women. They expressed their fervent determination to combine their efforts and to cooperate with their governments in the struggle for democracy.

Film Festival in Havana

18070107 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 88 pp 87-89

[Report by T. N. Vetrova from Havana and Moscow: "El Salvador on the Screen"]

[Text]The jury's decision was greeted with thunderous applause at the grand conclusion of the Ninth Havana Festival of New Latin American Films: "Salvador," by Oliver Stone, was recognized as the best film on Latin America by a director not from Latin America. And here is the smiling director holding the elegant "Coral" prize—a gift of the Caribbean Sea—in his hand.

The jury's decision was well-deserved recognition. It was reaffirmed by the long lines at Havana's "Yara" theater, where this film was shown. A great deal came together here—the Cubans' interest in the vital theme of the Salvadoran people's fight for freedom and their feelings of solidarity with it, and at the same time, the desire to see on the screen the work of a director who recently became famous for the film "Platoon" (which won several Oscars), a humanist artist pointing to the most terrible evil in our world—the cruelty of war. And one more factor of no small importance must be taken into

account: an American citizen who once fought in Vietnam himself is giving his viewpoint on what is taking place in Central America, where the unseemly role of his homeland's government is well-known to everyone.

The film "Salvador" proved to be worthy of the most keen interest... The audience sees the image of a suffering country where violence has become almost an everyday reality. What the film's hero, American photographer-reporter Richard Boyle, first encounters when he arrives here in search of sensational material are the burning piles of corpses right on the road. They are killing a young Salvadoran right here before his very eyes. The hero is presented with more than one opportunity to catch sensational pictures in his lens: the place where the "death squads" discard their victims, with a vulture circling above; the assassination of Archbishop Romero; and actual combat operations by the National Guard against the rebels, with the participation of American tanks and aircraft.

At a press conference during the festival, Oliver Stone acknowledged that he supports the reflection of authentic reality in film, but at the same time he considers his films primarily dramas of human personality. There is such a drama in the film "Salvador" as well. Journalist Richard Boyle is not a fictitious hero. In 1985 he showed Stone his notes on El Salvador. The two of them outlined the plot together and left for El Salvador, where they wrote the script from January to March, and took trips to Honduras, Costa Rica and Mexico. As Stone recounted in one of the interviews, "when I saw the poverty and everything the local residents have to face, I became furious. If Shakespeare were alive, it is possible that he would have become a screenwriter and written about El Salvador. It is a horrifying picture, and no one in the United States knows anything about it. They have regarded the script for "Salvador" as too anti-American...But I knew that except for me, no one would make such a film. It is true, I knew this. I felt that I should tell about everything..."

Richard Boyle was played brilliantly by the American actor James Woods. In the first scenes of the film, he is an unemployed journalist, rather cynical, thinking only about how to catch the luck that escapes him. But when he is gradually drawn into the cycle of struggle in El Salvador, Richard discovers the true state of affairs. He sees American instructors arriving to train members of the National Guard, and he sees the "death squads" in action. He becomes aware of the anger that has developed in him against the policy of his country's government, and a spiritual regeneration takes place. Stone himself said that "when you arrive in Central America, you change: everything happens simply and rapidly, and no words and discussions are needed for this. People are being killed before your eyes, and your eyes are opened..." This insight of an American is one of the most important themes of the film. Many representatives of the American intelligentsia are now experiencing such insight; an example of this was the book by American author and journalist Joan Didion which was published in LATINSKAYA AMERIKA. (Footnote) (See LATINSKAYA AMERIKA Nos 10 and 12, 1987 and Nos 1 and 2, 1988)

Oliver Stone's film is not only a work of cinematography, but an important political testament by an artist of integrity. The picture, which has won recognition in many Latin American countries, will soon appear on the Soviet screen as well.

Latin America-Caribbean Economic Conference in Havana

18070107 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 88 pp 138-139

[Interview with Osvaldo Martinez, director of the Cuban Center for Research on the World Economy, by LATINSKAYA AMERIKA Havana correspondent V. N. Lunin: "In Search of Alternate Paths of Development"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text]The Third Congress of the Association of Economists of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin (AEALC) was held in Havana from 23 to 26 November 1987. The congress was opened by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers of Cuba, and Fidel Castro took part in the final session. More than 750 representatives of 21 Latin American countries took part in the work of this international forum. The Soviet Union was represented by V. V. Volskiy, director of the ILA [Latin America Institute] and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and A. D. Bekarevich, chief of an ILA sector and candidate of economic sciences.

The journal's correspondent in Havana, V. N. Lunin, asked the distinguished Cuban scientist Osvaldo Martinez, the chairman of the congress' scientific commission, director of the Center for Research on the World Economy (CIEM), and candidate of economic sciences, to recount the results of the congress' work.

[Answer] The current crisis is not an ordinary occurrence of a transient nature which can be rectified with the aid of economic measures alone. This involves a deep structural crisis in Latin America's dependent capitalism. Fundamental reforms of the basic economic and social structures of the region, as well as changes in the international economic system, are necessary to find a way out of it.

Within the framework of the alternative solutions proposed in speeches at the congress, our attention is drawn to a number of common elements which are in agreement. They include the categorical unacceptability of any kind of political formulas imposed on Latin American countries by the transnational banks. The congress participants arrived at the opinion that it is impossible to

resolve the debt crisis, or more accurately, the socioeconomic crisis, which Latin America is experiencing at present by changing economic policy in conformity with formulas dictated by creditors.

The congress participants had no doubts about the impossibility of paying off the debt itself. Discussion was centered not on how to pay the debts, but how not to pay them. This is the essence of the problem. In my opinion, Fidel Castro's proposal to write off the debt by reducing part of the creditor states' military expenditures is receiving more and more support. I also believe that it is in keeping with the recent Soviet proposals for disarmament, that is, the proposals on the limitation of nuclear weapons and the interrelationship between the strengthening of peace, disarmament, and development. It seems to me that Fidel Castro's idea and the proposals by M. S. Gorbachev which were advanced recently are receiving an ever-increasing response from Latin American economists. One of the congress' working sections sent a special message to the Washington meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. It stated that this meeting is an important step on the path toward realization of the Soviet proposals for strengthening peace, halting the arms race, and disarmament, which are global in importance and play the role of a most important tool in resolving the problems of development in "Third World" countries. Many congress participants supported the thesis that just as there can be no development without safeguarding peace, it is impossible to maintain peace without an economic and social upswing in the developing countries.

Discussion of two other problems was of vital importance in the congress' work—the necessity of fundamental structural reforms in the continent's countries and the development of Latin American integration. We cannot help but note that new aspects were emphasized in the conception of this. The time when integration was interpreted only as a mechanism for expanding mutual trade has passed. Integration now is beginning to be viewed primarily as a tool for protecting the region from imperialist policy. The times of integration plans such as the LAFTA [Latin American Free Trade Association], the CACM [Central American Common Market], and even the Andes Pact have been left behind. Latin American integration is interpreted now as a search for a regional development alternative which limits the harmful effect of destructive trends in the world capitalist system on the economy of the continent's states.

Fidel Castro took part in the concluding plenary session. His discussion with delegates continued for nearly 4 hours. The manner itself in which this dialogue was conducted and the opportunity to ask the head of the Cuban state and government questions on any subject in a frank manner left a strong, indelible impression on the congress participants. A wide range of topics were examined in this dialogue—from Latin America's foreign debt problem and its evolution in the past 2 years to crucial questions of everyday Cuban life.

Regional Conference Nov 87

18070107 Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Apr 88 pp 142-144

[Report from Mexico by A. N. Borovkov under the "Commentaries" rubric: "An Important Step on the Path Toward Unity"]

[Text] Presidents of the eight Latin American republics united in the Contadora Group (Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Panama) and the support group (Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay) held their first conference in the Mexican resort city of Acapulco from 27 to 29 November 1987. Its convocation was preceded by a combined search for a solution to the Central American and debt problems. It was the first time that such a representative Latin American forum at the highest level was convened without the participation of the United States. It marked the beginning of work by a permanent regional political consultative mechanism to coordinate policy with respect to the industrially developed world.

The speech by Brazilian President Jose Sarney, which placed responsibility for the imposition of foreign development schemes and the region's backwardness on the developed capitalist countries, attracted considerable attention. Speaking of the necessity for a comprehensive approach to resolve the problem of economic and scientific and technical development, he stated frankly: "The era of waiting for emergency assistance from outside has ended. The industrially developed countries are not displaying the political will to bring Latin America out of its tragic backwardness. We must struggle with our own forces. The foreign debt, backwardness, low prices for raw materials, high interest rates, sanctions and victimizations—all this points to the fact that we should have no illusions."

Venezuelan President Jaime Lusinchi noted during the conference that the time had come to put the great Bolivar's conception of Latin American unity into effect. "The present situation," he said, "requires pragmatic solutions, united efforts, and full utilization of all resources and potentialities."

The problem of Latin American countries' political and economic integration was examined at the conference in the context of uniting all countries in the region, including Cuba. At the same time, the conference participants stated that they in no way seek to put themselves in opposition to the existing regional organizations; on the contrary, they support their reinforcement and effectiveness. In this connection, particular attention was devoted to the OAS and the need for a detailed review of its functions with the aim of turning it into "a forum for dialogue between North and South in the Western Hemisphere."

Full coincidence of views was apparent when the problems of maintaining peace in the region in general and in Central America in particular were discussed. These problems were considered to be inseparably linked with the need for respect of the right of peoples to self-determination.

After discussion of a wide range of problems during the 3 days, the concluding document "The Acapulco Commitment in the Interests of Peace, Development and Democracy" was adopted. It is interesting that the word "declaration" which had appeared in the draft was replaced by the word "commitment," which unquestionably attests to the serious, businesslike mood of the conference participants. The document reflects the intention to extend the process of coordinated actions, to turn such meetings into a permanent consultative organ, and to promote the reinforcement of Latin American solidarity and work out new concepts for development in the interests of socioeconomic progress. (Footnote) (It is planned to hold the next meeting of "the Eight" in Uruguay in the second half of 1988.) An appeal to the leaders of all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean basin to associate themselves with the process of integration on a new basis begun by "the Eight" with the aim of increasing the continent's role and influence in the international community was given an important place in the document.

In analyzing the region's position in the modern world, the meeting's participants noted the pernicious effects of the arms race and approved of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

Considerable attention was devoted to the problems of peace and security in general. Precisely in this connection, the following specific but exceptionally important points which attest to the heightened sense of regional solidarity were included in the "Acapulco Commitment": support for the Panamanian Government in the struggle for strict implementation of the 1977 agreement on the Panama Canal, and support for Argentina's soverign rights to the Malvinas Islands. The document stressed that peace and stability in Central America is directly linked with the national interests of each one of the "Eight" countries. The importance of the understanding reached on this matter in Acapulco lies in the resolute demand for strict implementation of the Guatemala Agreements and in the aspiration to establish favorable political and economic conditions for this, and in particular, to determine ways for "the Eight" to make a real contribution to the Extraordinary International Program of Economic Cooperation for Central America. At the same time, the latter is defined more specifically in the following points: stimulation of intraregional trade among Central American countries and the establishment of favorable conditions for their export commodities to gain access to the markets of "the Eight" countries; reinforcement of financial cooperation, including the allocation of resources for the Central American Bank of Economic Integration; support for efforts to revitalize Central American integration; and assistance in commissioning individual projects in the agricultural field, training skilled personnel, and so forth.

In considering the problems of socioeconomic development and the foreign debt, the basic direction for action by "the Eight" countries was outlined in the document: obtaining the necessary credits from commercial banks under acceptable conditions which make it possible to continue the implementation of development programs. This presupposes the creation of additional financing mechanisms which are free from the imposition of any demands; a review of IMF policy and stimulation of the role of the IBRD [Intenational Bank for Reconstruction and Development]; rejection of private credit allocation contingent upon preliminary agreement with the IMF and the IBRD; the availability of favorable financing conditions for the most backward cuntries in the region; and the establishment, within the framework of the Uruguay round of talks, of an interrelationship between servicing the foreign debt and providing access for the export commodities of debtor countries to world markets. The statement acknowledging the right to adopt unilateral solutions to meet the debt obligations of debtor countries in the event that there are no appreciable results at these talks is an important one.

The document stresses the importance of regional integration in resolving economic, political and social problems, as well as problems of culture and education. The conference participants declared their determination to promote the implementation of different integration programs both within the framework of "the Eight" as well as with the involvement of all Latin American and Caribbean countries. The ultimate objective of this process should be the establishment of a Latin American Common Market. (It was decided to charge the foreign ministers with drafting more specific proposals to develop integration at their next conference in Punta del Este.)

We cannot help but note that the coincidence between the directions planned for action by "the Eight" and the principles of foreign policy and foreign economic relations of the socialist countries establishes new grounds for collaboration in the interests of peace and progress and, in the final analysis, for the correlation of forces in the spirit of the new thinking in international affairs.

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U.S. 'Undermining' Contadora Process, 'Interfering' in Panama

18070136[Editorial Report]Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 June 1988 publishes on page 6 a 1500-word article by V. Listov about the United States' implementation of "Operation Panama." Listov claims that the

United States is using all available means, including blackmail, slander, and a financial noose, to damage the Contadora process and consequently block a political settlement of the regional conflict. He notes that, although Venezuela and Argentina announced that they, like the United States, continue to recognize former Panamanian president Delvalle, attempts to isolate Panama from Latin America have not succeeded. Listov states that "A host of governments, including Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala, have come out against U.S. interference in Panamanian internal affairs." He accuses Washington of conducting psychological warfare against Panama. "American use of mass media on the Panamanian situation deflects the Latin American public's attention away from the conflict in Central America, away from Wahington's continuing support for the Nicaraguan contras, and from other acute problems of general importance to the continent as a whole." Listov claims that there is considerable evidence that American military bases in the Panama Canal Zone serve as staging points along which cocaine and marijuana pass from Latin America to the United States. "As long as the United States maintains a military presence in Panama, opportunities for the narcomafia remain and will remain in the future, regardless of the government in power in Panama."

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Academic Reassesses History of Soviet-Egyptian Relations

[Interview by D. Makarov with G. I. Mirskiy, chief scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute on the World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), on the history of Soviet-Egyptian Relations. Date and place of interview not given]

18070143[Excerpt]CORR: Was it within our power to promote the preservation of the progressive reforms which had been implemented in Egypt during Nasser's reign?

G.M.: I do not think so. But it was not only possible, but necessary to prepare for the erosion of Nasserism, to foresee the probable course of events. However, this was not done. Even after Nasser's death in September 1970, the prevailing thinking among us was that nothing irreparable would happen, that the solid bases for non-capitalist development of Egypt and for Soviet-Egyptian friendship had already been laid. This was self-deception because it was easier and more advantageous to report to the highest authorities what they wanted to hear.

CORR: But was it possible, knowing the personality of Sadat, to assume that he would take another direction?

G.M.: In the first place, in our country they did not believe that Sadat would become the real master in the country. They underestimated him, considered him a temporary figure—this opinion was suggested to us by Egyptian left circles, which soon paid dearly for this. Secondly, we did not investigate with sufficient depth the essence of the internal processes taking place in Egypt, but exaggerated the influence of the left; we did not want to note the growth of the bureaucratic and parasitic bourgeoisie's power and the disillusionment and apathy of the masses.

As a result, events caught us by surprise. On the one hand, Sadat proved more powerful and more cunning than Ali Sabri and other leftist politicians who were sympathetic to us. In the course of the May corrective revolution in 1971, Sadat managed to "neutralize" the left opposition, having accused it of a conspiracy and sentenced its members to prison. Striving to reassure the Soviet leadership, Sadat proposed concluding an agreement on friendship and mutual assistance with the USSR, and literally within a few days after the arrest of the A. Sabri group the agreement was concluded. Having lulled our vigilance in such a way, Sadat gradually began to plan and prepare the reorientation of Egypt toward the United States.

CORR: Probably the withdrawal of Soviet military specialists during the summer of 1972 was part of this plan?

G.M.: Absolutely. Seizing on the first available pretext, Sadat demanded their immediate withdrawal. The Soviet government, naturally, satisfied the Egyptian leadership's demand and withdrew Soviet military specialists in the shortest possible time. Nowadays, looking back, you understand that it was necessary for Sadat to remove our military specialists in order to demonstrate to the United States the seriousness of his intentions to draw closer to them. But, Sadat tried, to the extent possible, to mollify this unfriendly action to the USSR in order to prevent the curtailment of military supplies and to retain for himself the possibility for diplomatic maneuvering.

CORR: Nevertheless, this action did not augment Sadat's authority either within the country or abroad.

G.M.: Sadat well understood that for a complete "denasserization" in internal and foreign policy a military victory, even a small one, was essential, and the 1973 October war comprised such a victory. This allowed Sadat to gain authority; it gave him the opportunity to speak from a "position of strength" with his internal political opponents and emboldened him to reorient Egypt away from friendship and cooperation with the USSR to an alliance with the United States and Israel, which was expressed in the tripartite agreement at Camp David in 1978. Relations with the USSR during the second half of the 1970s came to a standstill. In 1976 the Agreement on Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE) was unilaterally denounced by Sadat; Sadat imposed a moratorium on debt repayment (military and civilian) to the USSR.

CORR: In all this is there a share of guilt among those who directed our foreign policy?

G.M.: This question cannot be answered simply. I think that there were objective reasons, about which we first spoke, for Egypt's return to the orbit of imperialist policy.

But there were also subjective reasons. Former Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs I. Fahmi writes in his memoirs that the constant delays in Soviet arms supplies to Egypt, the sluggishness and inefficiency of the Soviet bureaucratic machine, and a misunderstanding of the Egyptian national spirit and traditions manifested by a number of Soviet workers in Egypt, as well as in Moscow, influenced the position of the Egyptian leadership toward the USSR.

Sadat himself, writes Fahmi, was never able to overcome his personal enmity toward Soviet leaders, based on the conviction that they were opposed to his candidacy as Nasser's successor. All the same, despite the considerable move to the right in internal policy, Egypt was able to maintain a kind of balance in its relations with the USSR and the United States. But Sadat resolved to attempt to remove Israel from the role of the United States' closest

ally in the Near East, thus sacrificing relations with the USSR. After the Camp David Accords with Israel and the United States, the entire Arab world rejected Sadat and naturally, the Soviet government had already been unable to maintain normal relations with his regime.

But years passed. Sadat paid with his life for this anti-Arab, anti-Egyptian policy. You cannot rewrite history anew, and Egypt remains Egypt. As the Arabs say, Egypt is the head of the Arab world, and the restoration of normal relations was in our mutual interests.

CORR: How are Soviet-Egyptian relations taking shape today?

G.M.: The current Egyptian President H. Mubarak is a pragmatic statesman. He has done away with a pro-American list in foreign policy and is conducting a balanced course. The moratorium on debt repayment to the Soviet Union has been cancelled. The recent visit to Moscow of Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs I. Abdel Majid and the signing of a Soviet-Egyptian agreement on economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation provides evidence of the normalization of Soviet-Egyptian relations.

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