



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

Soviet Union

International Affairs

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

19980625 061

10
39
A03

Soviet Union

International Affairs

JPRS-UIA-88-003

CONTENTS

19 JANUARY 1988

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, CEMA

Duties of CEMA Executive Committee Detailed [<i>EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	1
--	---

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1987 [<i>AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	2
Review of the Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 10, 1987 [APN Daily Review, 28 Oct 87]	2
Asian Solidarity, Nonalignment of Past 4 Decades Praised [<i>V. Vykhukholev; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	3
Political Character of ASEAN, 20 Year Existence Assessed [<i>G. Chufirin; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	6
China: Problems with Economic Reforms, Building Socialism [<i>V. Gelbras; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	8
USSR's Asian Policy 1 Year After Vladivostok Speech Reviewed [<i>G. Drambyants; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	12
Study of Russian in African Countries Described [<i>V. Shaklein; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	14
'Information Imperialism' Explained in Response to Reader [<i>V. Filippov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	15
Book on Factors in National, Social Liberation Reviewed [<i>V. Agafonov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	16
Book on South Korea's Role in World Economy Reviewed [<i>V. Kremenyyuk; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	16

GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

USSR Enterprises Need More Trade Know-How [Ye. Zhurabayev; TRUD, 19 Nov 87]	18
Kaluga Firm Sells on Foreign Market [<i>I. Shedvigovskiy; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 8 Nov 87</i>]	20

UNITED STATES, CANADA

PRAVDA Publishes Article by Former U.S. Senator Tower on Restructuring	21
--	----

EAST EUROPE

Soviet Journal Carries Article by Hungarian Politburo Member [<i>Janos Berecz; POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE Dec 87</i>]	23
Follow-Up on CSSR Complaint About USSR Export Quality [IZVESTIYA, 12 Oct 87]	23
Polish-Soviet Foreign Trade Technical Center [O. Losoto; PRAVDA, 2 Oct 87]	24

LATIN AMERICA

Contents of Journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 10, 1987 [<i>LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	25
Guatemalan Accord, Central American Integration Praised [<i>Editorial; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	25
Latin American States' Role in 'Pacific Community' Assessed [<i>N. I. Zhdanov-Lutsenko; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	27
American Enterprise Institute Works on Latin America Reviewed [<i>O. A. Kolobov, A. P. Sergunin; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 10, Oct 87</i>]	31

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

Farah Described as Afghanistan's First 'Peace Province'	
[M. Kozhukov; <i>KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA</i> , 3 Nov 87]	34
Kabul Russian-Language School Highlighted [AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI, 2 Sep 87]	35

Duties of CEMA Executive Committee Detailed

*18250018a Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE
SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in
Russian No 10 Oct 87 p 59*

[Unattributed article: "CEMA Executive Committee: 25 Years"]

[Text] Twenty five years ago, in 1962, the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance convened in Moscow. The principles for international specialization and cooperation in production in the sphere of machine building among CEMA member countries, developed by the CEMA Permanent Committee for Machine Building, were approved during this meeting. A review was undertaken of a number of problems concerned with economic and scientific-technical collaboration in other branches of the national economy. Decisions were handed down on organizational matters. A work plan for the forthcoming period was approved.

The CEMA Executive Committee was created in conformity with a decision handed down during the June (1962) Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of CEMA Member Countries and the 16th (special) meeting of a session of the council. Its structure included representatives of all CEMA member countries (one from each country), who were deputy heads of their governments and in charge of matters concerned with international economic collaboration. They simultaneously became permanent representatives of these countries in CEMA.

The Executive Committee directs all work associated with the carrying out of tasks advanced by decisions handed down during a session. It organizes and implements observation over the fulfillment by countries of their obligations resulting from recommendations by CEMA organs, understandings reached within the framework of these organs and also over the course of collaboration carried out within the framework of multi-lateral agreements concluded on the basis of such recommendations and understandings.

An important task of the Executive Committee is that of directing the coordination of national economic plans, the development of production specialization and cooperation, the development of the principal trends for an efficient division of labor in the more important branches of the national economy and the development

of commodity turnover and an exchange of services among CEMA member countries and their scientific-technical collaboration. The Executive Committee is also tasked with directing the work of CEMA representative organs — committees, permanent committees and permanently active conferences at the level of leaders of corresponding ministries (departments) and the CEMA secretariat and institutes. Towards this end, it approves the statutes governing these organs, the structure and staffs of the CEMA Secretariat and institutes and the CEMA budget and it assigns the CEMA deputy secretaries and the leaders of the principal structural subunits of the CEMA Secretariat.

The representatives of the CEMA member countries take turns in serving as chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee. Each one of them performs this duty for a year's time.

As a rule, the sessions of the Executive Committee are held in Moscow where the CEMA Secretariat is located. By special invitation by the Republic of Cuba and the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic], these sessions have been conducted in their capitals. The principal questions examined during these sessions — assistance for the mentioned countries in accelerating growth in and raising the efficiency of their economies.

The Executive Committee, with the participation of its representatives, defines the CEMA position in various international forums and it also establishes CEMA's relationships with countries which are not members of CEMA and with other international organizations.

Practically all questions presented to a CEMA session are discussed in advance by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee also discusses questions concerned with the development of direct relationships among enterprises, associations and scientific-technical organizations of CEMA member countries (especially in the area of cooperation), the construction on a collective basis of large-scale installations and the creation of favorable economic and organizational-legal conditions for the formation of joint enterprises, firms and temporary collectives of specialists.

COPYRIGHT: Sovet Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi Sekretariat

7026

**Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA
SEGODNYA No 10, 1987**

*18070028z Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in
Russian No 10, Oct 87 p 1*

[Text] V. Vykhukholev. For Peace and Security in
Asia 2

G. Chufirin. ASEAN: 20 Years Later 4

**TOWARD THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF GREAT
OCTOBER**

A. Volodin. The Ideas of Lenin and the Revolutionary
Experience of Vietnam 8

IN THE COUNTRIES OF SOCIALISM

V. Gelbras. China. Socio-Economic Problems in the
Construction of Socialism 12

THE MOTTO—SOLIDARITY

G. Drambyants. The Vladivostok Program in Action . 16

S. Kalandarov, D. Zgerskiy. North Yemen. Behind
Ancient Facades 18

PROBLEMS AND DISCUSSION

Yu. Aleksandrov, V. Maksimenko. Once More on the
Problem of Socialist Orientation 22

COUNTRIES, PEOPLE, TIME

V. Isayev. Kuwait: The End of "Oil Prosperity?" 27

EVENTS... FACTS... FIGURES... 30

READER DISCUSSION 34

OUR STATISTICAL BUREAU

Volume 3. The Foreign Trade of the Countries of Asia,
Africa and Oceania 35

TRAVELS, MEETINGS, IMPRESSIONS

V. Tyurkin. Ghana. Phoenix 38

L. Shaposhnikova. India. The Gates of Shambala. Con-
clusion 41

CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART

D. Kasatkin. Tunisia. Cultivating Patriotism and Civic
Spirit 45

Sijuko Natsuki (Japan). Fish in Troubled Waters. Novel.
Conclusion 46

THE PAGES OF HISTORY

A. Petrov. "The Unshakable is Shaking..." 49

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, MORES

N. Zhukovskaya. Mongolia. "Let Your Sheep Be
Fat" 52

I. Aleshina. China. Tea, Teapots and Brewing 55

SPORTS

N. Abayev, G. Yesilkov. Japan. Aikido 57

NUMISMATICS

N. Ivochkina. China. The "Flying Money" of the Time
of the T'angs 60

THE WORLD OF BOOKS 62

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva
"Nauka"

12821

**Review of the Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA
SEGODNYA No 10, 1987**

*18070028a Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English
28 Oct 87 pp 1-4*

[Text] The October issue opens with V. Vykhukholev's article "For Peace and Security in Asia," devoted to the 40th anniversary of the convocation of the first Asian conference in Delhi. The conference elaborated ideas of unity and solidarity in the effort against colonialism, war and oppression, for peace, independence and security, says the author. In the new historical conditions, those ideas demonstrate their viability and magnetic force. They inspire nations to work for the noble ideals of peace and progress. Last November's Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi gave a new impetus to positive processes in Asia. The example of the Soviet Union and India helps consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, puts an obstacle to trends leading to nuclear disaster, and opposes manoeuvres by imperialists and war-mongers. The Soviet and Indian leaders signed the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a non-violent and nuclear-weapon-free world: a graphic example of new political thinking.

G. Chufirin, Doctor of Economics, contributes the article "ASEAN: Twenty Years Later." The ASEAN anniversary is a landmark in international life, because the organisation is one of the few political and economic in the Third World—Asia's only one—to withstand numerous home and international problems and reveal and ability to progress, says the author.

ASEAN member states (excluding Brunei) increased their total share in world exports from 2.1 per cent to 3.9 between 1967 and 1985, the figures for the Third World being 9.3 and 16 percent, respectively. Twenty years ago, ASEAN countries offered only mineral and agricultural raw materials on the world market. Now they also export finished products. This does not mean that ASEAN has steadily progressed and encountered no crises. Even now, it has a number of involved problems, says G. Chufirin.

As the crisis in the world capitalist economy came to an edge, the early 1980s saw raw material prices fall the lowest and quickest ever since the Second World War. Protectionism grew in foreign trade, and developing countries' foreign debt skyrocketed. ASEAN economic progress was hampered. It became all the more clear that its members have to improve their common platform for negotiations with the West and launch economic cooperation onto a new stage.

Like its economic activity, ASEAN policy is dominated by two trends, the author points out. Its Right Conservative and anti-Communist ruling echelon determines one trend, which has led the Association to formal and informal contacts with the West in the last ten years. ASEAN owes the other, objectively anti-imperialist and nationalist, to national bourgeoisie and broader sections of the population. Toward the end of the year, the third ASEAN summit will gather in Manila. To all appearances, it will clearly show which of the two trends gains the upper hand.

The section "In Socialist Countries" carries an article "China. Social and Economic Problems of Building Socialism" by Doctor of Science (Economics) V. Gelbras.

The 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of the 2nd convocation held in December 1978 was the starting-point for the changes now taking place in the People's Republic of China, the author writes. It adopted a decision to shift the centre of gravity in the Party's work from "class struggle" to "socialist modernisation," to development of the productive forces, and laid a foundation for the subsequent full condemnation of the theoretical postulates and practice of the "great leap" and "cultural revolution." It also declared an intention to carry out a "serious reform of economic management and methods of management" and to extend relations with other countries.

The author of the article describes the realistic approach of the PRC leadership to the current problems of China, the scientific basis of reform, the labour resources and the contradictions of the economic aspirations. He notes, in particular, that Chinese society has entered the stage of socialism but it is "in its initial phase." For many years the idea of by-passing capitalism and building socialism in countries with an undeveloped economy and an archaic social structure and the conviction that it

was necessary and possible to accelerate the process of historic development were voiced, as a rule, beyond the context of the real problems of development, including the problems which do not exist in any other country and frequently require non-trivial approaches, the author concludes. The search for such approaches is going on. Ever broader masses of people are being drawn into it, and this is the strongest guarantee of the progressive character of China's development.

"More on the Problem of Socialist Orientation" is the title of an article by Yu. Aleksandrov, D.Sc. (Economics) and V. Maksimenko, Ph.D. (History). Analyzing the ways of theoretical approach to the Socialist orientation of developing nations in Soviet scientific publications, the authors dwell on two questions which, in their view, require a rethinking today: "The full theoretical substantiation of the presumption that emergent nations can achieve socialism, skipping capitalism" and "The relation of politics and economics in the course of socialist-oriented development and the extent to which a socialist option operates as an alternative to capitalism."

The concept of socialist orientation arose from the surging tide of the anti-colonial struggle when the empires that had taken decades to build crumbled to pieces. That tide, the two scholars maintain, revalidated Lenin's idea that certain economically backward countries can avoid a capitalist stage in their development. Yet it has turned into an assumption of the inevitable break of most of what are now free countries with capitalism in their national democratic revolutions.

One may argue that the socialist orientation of certain developing nations of Asia and Africa is, as a phenomenon, not a prelude to socialism, nor a sure staging base on the way to it. It is rather a field of confrontation of what are essentially dissimilar variations (to which the mass of the people can by no means be indifferent) of the national democratic revolution as an epoch.

Socialist orientation is a way to resolve the problems of the national democratic revolution, involving an attempt at switching over to a socialist track as an alternative to capitalism.

The magazine also carries an article by A. Volodin "Lenin's Ideas and Vietnam's Revolutionary Experience," devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, one by G. Drambyants "The Vladivostok Programme in Action" (dealing with the issue of ensuring peace and security in the Asian and Pacific region); notes on the Yemen Arab Republic and Kuwait, new books, and other items.

Asian Solidarity, Nonalignment of Past 4 Decades Praised

18070028b Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 2-4

[Article by V. Vykukholev: "For Peace and Security in Asia"]

[Text] Four decades have passed since the convocation of the first conference of Asian countries in the Indian capital of Delhi that posed as its chief goal ensuring peace and security for the Asian peoples, achieving the most rapid possible independence of the former colonies and semi-colonies and establishing solid friendly contacts and mutually beneficial collaboration among the states of that extensive, multi-faceted and heavily populated continent.

The conference in Delhi took place a year and a half after the end of the Second World War. German fascism—the most evil and dangerous enemy of peoples—had suffered a crushing defeat. Its fate was also shared by Japanese militarism, which had tried to re-draw the political map of Asian in its own imperialist interests. Peoples crushed by poverty, deprivations and colonial exploitation awoke to a new life. The national-liberation movement expanded. The colonial system of imperialism, which for centuries had kept whole peoples in a cabal of slavery, burst at the seams under its mighty pressure.

The process of winning political and economic independence by the former colonial and semi-colonial countries proved to be difficult. The imperialists tried to retain influence in their overseas territories by fair means or foul so as to “leave while staying.” And it was no simple matter to oppose the military, political and economic blackmail of the colonizers alone. Naturally, the peoples awakened to independent life came to seek first and foremost collective forms for repulsing the various imperialist contrivances and demands and the neocolonialist maneuverings and intrigues of the Western powers.

As early as in 1945, the prominent figure of the international communist and national-liberation movement and president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, proposed to the government of Indonesia the adoption of a joint declaration that envisaged a unification of the efforts of the two states in the fight against capitalism and the creation of a preparatory commission to arrange collaboration in Southeast Asia.

General Aun San, the founder of the Burmese state and an eminent figure in the Burmese national-liberation movement, came out in favor of a unified Asian front against the imperialists. In January of 1947 he advanced the idea of creating an Asian community called upon to guard the independence of the young national states, as well as speaking out in favor of an economic alliance of the countries of Southeast Asia.

A great contribution to the cause of cohesion among the Asian countries was made by the great India, where in August of 1946 a transitional provisional government was formed in which the post of vice premier was occupied by the noted figure of the Indian national-liberation movement and one of the leaders of the Indian National Congress party, J. Nehru. The following month this government firmly declared the neutrality of the

country and its refusal to enter military blocs. The chief principles that were to lie at the foundation of the future peace-loving foreign policy of India were defined.

It was namely at the initiative of J. Nehru that the first conference of Asian countries was convened, and representatives of 32 states, including six Soviet republics, took part in its work. It became an international event of exceptional significance that attracted the steadfast attention of broad state and political circles. The conference testified to the rapid awakening of the peoples of the continent and the fact that the enormous majority of the former colonies and dependent countries were being turned from the passive objects of imperialist exploitation into active subjects of international policy and creators of a future re-arrangement of the world.

In opening the conference, J. Nehru declared that “Perhaps one of the most material consequences of European rule in Asia was the isolation of the Asian countries from each other... To the extent that this rule recedes into the past, the walls surrounding us are falling down and we again see each other and meet as long-lost old friends... In order to create a ‘world of unity,’ we in Asia should think about mutual collaboration of the Asian countries in achieving this broader ideal.”

Conference participants exchanged opinions on the basic problems facing the countries of Asia at the time. They spoke candidly about the difficulties of the fight for national independence, the transition from a colonial to a national economy and the necessity of accelerated industrialization and the consistent implementation of agrarian transformations in the interests of the landless and small-landowning peasantry. The representatives of the Central Asian and Caucasian republics of the USSR spoke of the successes that had been achieved over the years of Soviet power in the realms of economics, education, health care, science and culture.

The report of a group that had studied the problem of national-liberation movements pointed out that the Asian countries should proceed rapidly toward freedom on the basis of democracy and recommended support for their demands to be received as members of the UN.

Also subjected to discussion were such issues as racial discrimination and inter-Asian emigration. The document that was adopted stated that full equality of all citizens before the law and full freedom of religion should exist, and there should be no racial discrimination. Individuals settling in alien countries should be granted legal rights equal to those of local residents.

It cannot be said that the discussion of all problems at the conference went smoothly or without a struggle of opinions or opposing points of view. Sharp disputes were provoked by the issue of economic assistance by the imperialist states to the liberated countries of Asia, who were facing the full magnitude of the task of considerably

increasing industrial and agricultural production, surmounting the backwardness and onesidedness of the economies inherited from the colonial past and freeing themselves from the utmost from the economic control of the former mother countries in the shortest possible time periods. In discussing these issues, some conference participants welcomed the assistance coming from the West, feeling it to be a consistent and essential condition for their future economic development, while others saw in it a real threat to the independence of the young sovereign states.

In evaluating the significance of the Delhi conference through the prism of the experience of the past four decades, it should be stated that notwithstanding certain difficulties and the powerful opposition of the colonial powers and their puppets, the first step was taken there along the path of uniting the efforts of the young independent states of Asia. The general direction was chosen correctly overall. All that was lacking were real force and political experience so that the desires and aspirations of the former colonial peoples could be turned into reality at that historical stage of development.

The first conference of the Asian countries can with complete justification be called the forerunner of the Bandung Conference of 1955, where the developing states declared at the top of their lungs their solidarity in the fight for freedom and their true right to conduct independent policies in the international arena, and where the five well-known principles of the co-existence of states of "Pancha Shila" were not only approved by the countries representing the majority of the population of the globe, but were then even expanded into the ten principles of Bandung. And after another six years, in 1961, the non-aligned movement was born in Asia, and today has become one of the most important factors in world politics today.

The representatives of the Asian countries that had assembled in Delhi declared their complete determination to fight for the maintenance of peace and security with combined efforts. This call is topical today as before. After all, contemporary Asia is a most unsettled continent. The most armed conflicts have occurred in this part of the planet since the end of the Second World War. American imperialism has unleashed two major wars—in Korea and in Vietnam. Serious seats of armed conflicts still have yet to be extinguished on the continent. Undeclared wars are being waged against Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The bloody armed clashes between Iran and Iraq continue. Nuclear weapons continue to be accumulated in the Asian Pacific region, new military bases are being created and plans for whipping up new aggressive blocs are being hatched.

The efforts of imperialist circles in the United States to make use of the Asian-Pacific region as an arena for military and political confrontation with the USSR, the other socialist states and the forces of national liberation have become noticeably more active in recent years. The

Pentagon is striving to turn a number of Asian and Pacific countries into the same kind of beachhead for the deployment of forward-based forces as they have in Western Europe and the Atlantic.

The Soviet Union is conducting diametrically opposed policies in the Asian-Pacific region. In his speech in Vladivostok in July of 1986, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev clearly formulated the Soviet concepts for ensuring peace and security in the region and advanced broad-scale and concrete proposals that are called upon to embody the hopes of the Asian peoples for lasting peace, good-neighbor relations and mutual collaboration, that is, the implementation of those ideals toward whose achievement the participants in the Delhi conference were summoned.

A powerful impetus to positive processes in Asia was imparted by the Soviet-Indian summit negotiations in Delhi in November of last year. The USSR and India, by the force of their example, are facilitating the affirmation of the principles of peaceful co-existence, impeding trends leading to nuclear catastrophe and opposing imperialism and militarism. The Delhi Declaration on principles for a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons that was signed by the leaders of the two countries is a shining example of the new political thinking.

The leaders of the Soviet Union and India devoted particular attention in the negotiations in Delhi to the problem of improving the political climate on the Asian continent. The necessity of further continuing the search for ways of ensuring a lasting peace and stability and developing equilateral economic collaboration in this extensive and heavily populated region of the globe was emphasized. In speaking of the far-reaching proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi noted: "It is appropriate to recall your stirring thoughts on this topic expressed in Vladivostok. The basic postulates of 'Pancha Shila,' Bandung and non-alignment to which you referred provide a framework for analyzing the complex and historically specific problems of peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region."

The idea of ensuring peace and peaceful collaboration in the Asian-Pacific region is attracting more and more attention from broad political and social circles. At a consultative meeting of the leaders of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the states of that region that was held in July of this year in Ulan Bator, the firm conviction was expressed that a fundamental revival of the political climate requires the active participation of all states and the broad popular masses. The importance of the contribution that could be made to the cause of reinforcing peace by national-independence movements, as well as political parties and trade-union, women's, youth, religious and other organizations that are in favor of turning Asia and the Pacific Basin into a zone of peace and progress, was noted.

M.S. Gorbachev, in answering the questions of the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*, gave an optimistic evaluation of the development of events in this part of the world, noting that "with all of the complex and multi-colored nature of the Asian-Pacific picture, with all of the shadings in the distribution of light and dark tones, the anti-nuclear composition of the overall picture stands out."

Four decades have passed since the first conference of the Asian countries. The ideas of unity and solidarity in the battle against colonialism, war and oppression and for a peaceful life, independence and security that were devised at it, however, continue to demonstrate their vitality and magnetic power and serve as an inspiring symbol to people in the fight for the shining ideals of peace and progress under the new historical conditions as well.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

Political Character of ASEAN, 20 Year Existence Assessed

18070028c Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 4-8

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Chufrin: "ASEAN: 20 Years Later"]

[Excerpts] *This year the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), composed of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and, since 1984, Brunei, marks the 20th anniversary of its formation. This was without doubt an important event in international life, since ASEAN is one of the few political and economic organizations of developing countries in general and the sole one in Asia that has not only withstood both a multitude of internal and external problems over such a long period of time, but has also demonstrated an obvious ability to develop. Starting off extremely sluggishly and in that way providing grounds to foretell its early demise, by the start of its second decade it had become an important subject of international political and economic relations and had obtained universal recognition.*

In creating ASEAN, the states that joined it named this organization an association, and not a community, as was done, for example, by the members of the EEC. In that manner they seemingly emphasized that their goal was the development of mutual collaboration, but with no material limitations of national, political or economic sovereignty thereby. And this in turn signified that the members of ASEAN in fact were not considering integration according to the Western model, which, by the way, objectively reflected the real possibilities and limits of integration processes in the developing world.

At the same time, the countries in ASEAN were not simply a group of states that were associated with each other only through geographical proximity and historical, cultural and business traditions. They are also united by a commonality of ideology of nationalism and similar tasks in internal economic development, identical interests in the world markets as exporters of one and the same types of mineral and agricultural products and, lately, a number of industrial items as well. The ruling elites of the ASEAN countries are conducting largely similar domestic and foreign policies, while a most important part of their entrepreneurial segments—the local Chinese bourgeoisie—has long gravitated toward the development of national and regional ties. These specific features of the nature of the base and superstructure are leaving a deep imprint on all aspects of ASEAN activity and, ultimately, on the degree of its effectiveness.

* * *

Although ASEAN was created as a regional organization with primarily economic functions, it has actually served the political collaboration of its members since the moment it was founded, and the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 can justly be considered the first joint political document of the countries of the association. The political side of ASEAN activity was manifested as early as in 1968, when Malaysia came forward with a proposal to create a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia. The essence of that proposal consisted of trying to take the association "outside the brackets" of global political contradictions and ensure the preservation of the balance of power extant in Southeast Asia. The Malaysian proposal received the official support of the other members of the association in November of 1971 at a conference of the foreign ministers of ASEAN countries and became part of the foreign-policy platform of ASEAN. Five years later, the Malaysian concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, along with the Indonesian doctrine of "national and religious resistivity," was at the foundation of the ASEAN Declaration of Accord that was adopted at the first conference of the heads of state and governments of the association.

Another important document was also signed at that conference—an Agreement on Peace and Collaboration—in which was formulated the most important principles of political collaboration among ASEAN members, as well as the procedure for settling disputes and conflicts arising among them. The signing of agreements on mutual visa conditions, the rendering of mutual assistance in the event of natural disasters, the fight against the drug trade and piracy, etc. also served to reinforce the political foundations of collaboration within the association. The re-organization of the organizational structure of ASEAN that was done after the Bali Summit Conference and the creation of a whole series of social and political organizations (the Interparliamentary Union, the Federation of Women, the Youth

Collaboration Committee, the ASEAN Council of Trade Unions et al) also met the goals of intra-regional political collaboration.

As important as intra-regional collaboration is, however, foreign-policy problems have actually come to the fore in ASEAN political activity over the last decade. Such was the immediate reaction of the ruling authoritarian bourgeois-bureaucratic regimes in the ASEAN member countries to the victory of the peoples of three neighboring countries in Indochina in the middle of the 1970s in their anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggles. Vietnam's rendering of assistance to the patriotic forces of the Khmer people, who had fallen under the yoke of the Pol Pot regime, was perceived by the ruling circles of ASEAN not only as a disruption of the balance of power in Southeast Asia, but also the materialization of a threat to the very foundations of the socio-political institutions of the association's member countries.

It is therefore not surprising that the members of ASEAN took a guarded and then openly hostile position in relation to Vietnam from the very beginning of the Kampuchean crisis. One reflection of this was the resolution of a conference of ministers of these countries held in Bangkok and on the island of Bali in 1979. The countries of the association continue to hold this position today, affirming it not only in joint documents adopted at the regional level, but also in the most varied of international forums, including the annual sessions of the UN General Assembly.

A real threat has even arisen that the "Kampuchean problem" can come to dominate ASEAN, imparting ever different directions to its activity. The imperialist powers, headed by the United States, are in essence pushing ASEAN toward namely this, striving for its transformation into a military-political organization. These goals are also served by the mass shipments of modern types of arms to the members of the association, right up to F-16 aircraft, and the standardization of the organizational structure for troop management according to American models, the establishment of multilateral ties among the intelligence services of the ASEAN states and the United States, the arrangement of training for military personnel according to unified rules and instructions, again with American aid, etc.

Testifying to the scale of these efforts, for example, is the fact that the United States sold a total of 960 million dollars' worth of arms to the countries that make up ASEAN today on commercial terms over 1950-1978, and these sales were 6.328 million dollars, or an increase of 6.3 times, over 1979-1984. As for outright American military aid to these countries, including the training of personnel, its scale had doubled by 1986 compared to 1978, and for the period from 1979 through 1986 totaled about 100 million dollars.

These acts by international imperialism have found support among the most conservative and militantly anti-communist circles of the ASEAN member countries, right up to individual representatives of the ruling elite. In the vanguard of the proponents of turning the association into a military pact are the representatives of Singapore, one of the major business centers of Eastern and Southeast Asia, where the interests of local and regional Chinese capital are intertwined most tightly with the interests of the major international monopolies in the United States, Japan and Western Europe.

These militaristic tendencies, however, supported and inspired from without, have not come to their logical conclusion, being perceived extremely negatively in the majority of the ASEAN member countries, and first and foremost in Indonesia. As a result, the proponents of turning the association into a military organization have not achieved their goals even under the conditions of the maximum sweep of the anti-Vietnamese campaign that was fanned around the "Kampuchean problem" at the beginning of the 1980s. After a dialogue was gradually arranged between Indonesia and Vietnam with the intention of finding a mutually acceptable political solution to the conflict, despite the difficulties remaining on that path, the grounds for the militarization of ASEAN began to disappear completely.

At the same time, this in no way signified a dying out of the foreign-policy activeness of the association. In the middle of the 1980s, the question of proclaiming Southeast Asia a nuclear-free zone was placed on the agenda through the efforts of Indonesia and Malaysia, which was not only a logical development of the foreign-policy doctrine of ASEAN as formulated in the 1976 Declaration of Accord, but was also a new stage in the political thinking of the leaders of this group. And although the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia is of a largely declarative nature in its treatment by ASEAN and is, in particular, in clear contradiction to the fact that American military bases are preserved on the territory of the Philippines where nuclear weapons can be stored or could be shipped in, the very fact of its advancement testifies to the profound concern of the leaders of the association for the growth in international tension in the Asian-Pacific region and its possible consequences.

The new Soviet foreign-policy initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in answer to the questions of the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* have for that reason evoked much approval and support among state and political figures and broad circles of society in the countries of the association. The implementation of the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union, as is emphasized in the press of the ASEAN states, will assist in a decrease in tensions in the Asian-Pacific region and the elimination of medium-range missiles on the continent, will provide guarantees of freedom of navigation and will reduce the presence of foreign naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

The negative position of ASEAN on the question of creating a "Pacific community" is also largely explained by a desire to impede the deepening of polarization processes in the Asian-Pacific region. Its members are guided herein, moreover, by considerations of another sort, assuming, and not without reason, that such a "community," headed by the United States or Japan, would simply swallow up the association. In any case, the negative attitude of ASEAN has ultimately decided the fate (at least for a time) of the "Pacific community" and has actively fostered its transformation into the idea of "Pacific collaboration."

In other words, two trends are operative in both the political and the economic activity of ASEAN. One of them is defined as the rightist-conservative and anti-communist nature of the ruling echelons of the association's members and has facilitated its clear tilt toward formal and informal ties with the West over the last decade. The other, conditioned by the interests of the national bourgeoisie, which is gathering force, not to mention the interests of broad segments of the population (as demonstrated by the events in the Philippines connected with the elimination of the Marcos regime), is of an objectively anti-imperialist and nationalistic nature. Which of these two trends will become stronger in the near future will possibly be shown by the third summit meeting in Manila at the end of 1987. For the long term, the political activity of ASEAN will be determined to a considerable extent by the fact that representatives of a new generation will be coming to power in the member countries of the association at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s whose world view was formed under post-colonial conditions and is defined by a new sum total of values, obligations and interests.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

China: Problems with Economic Reforms, Building Socialism

18070028d Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 12-15

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Gelbras under the rubric "In the Countries of Socialism": "China—Socio-Economic Problems in the Construction of Socialism"]

[Text] The 11th Convocation of the 3rd Plenum of the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] Central Committee that was held in December of 1978 has become the point of departure for the changes transpiring in the People's Republic of China [PRC] today. It decided to shift the center of gravity in party activity from "class struggle" to "socialist modernization" and the ascent of the work-force and created the foundation for the subsequent complete repudiation of the theoretical postulates and

practices of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The plenum also announced the intention of implementing "serious reform of economic management and methods of economic operation" and arming themselves with a policy of expanding ties with other countries. Then the chief shortcomings of the mechanism of economic operation and the fundamental directions for restructuring it were determined. The multitude of discussions that had spread across the country by that time on the critical problems of the political economy of socialism, philosophy and scientific communism obtained new impetus and new reference points in their development. An experimental search for different variants for improving the mechanism of economic operation in the economy was begun.

As for the urban economy and the non-agricultural sectors, the resolutions of the plenum have completely justified themselves overall, and six years later the 12th Convocation of the 3rd Plenum of the CCP Central Committee (October 1984) obtained the opportunity, on the basis of a summarization of theoretical developments and accumulated practical experience, of devising an expanded decree on operational economic reform oriented first and foremost toward toward the urban economy and reckoned for realization over the course of the remaining portion of the 1980s.

The situation has turned out to be more difficult in agriculture. On the one hand, in 1978 the CCP Central Committee oriented the party toward the urgency of raising it up, pointing out that "the whole party should concentrate its chief forces on ensuring a further ascent in agriculture." It made a series of decisions that facilitated a revival in this sector of the national economy and removed moral prohibitions that had been established in preceding years on subsidiary plots, subsidiary cottage industries, market trade, raised procurement prices etc. These decisions played a positive role. On the other hand, however, the plenum tied future development with "people's communes" and their production teams as a form of organization for collective economy. This hope has not justified itself.

A Realistic Approach

At the time, according to survey data from the PRC State Statistical Administration, over 80 percent of peasant households had an annual income per capita of less than 200 yuan, including over 33 percent at less than 100 yuan, which was less than a living wage. A search for organizational measures and forms to give the peasants a vested interest in their work was expanded in the villages. In some provinces (Anhui, Sichuan, Gansu), the extension of the section and household contract was begun. The CCP Central Committee changed its position quite quickly both in relation to the contract and to the "people's communes." As Shi Shan, a prominent Chinese agrarian, wrote, in 1978 the Central Committee had

pointed out that the household contract "is not permitted," while in 1979, in an approved variant of a resolution on accelerating the development of agriculture, it eased its position, writing into the document that this form "is not recommended." In document No 75 (1980), the party Central Committee noted that "some regions can employ the household contract." Finally, in 1981, it was announced that all forms of contract were "forms of production responsibility in socialist collective economics." By this time, the spread of the contract had already been practically completed: in November of 1981 almost 98 percent of the production teams in the country were using contract forms for operational organization, including over 60 percent using individual and household contracts.

The CCP Central Committee is adopting a resolution on the elimination of the "people's communes," and by the end of 1984 the formation of volost governments that took into their hands the political and military functions of the former "communes" was coming to close; independent collective and state-collective farms have been appearing on the basis of operational economic entities belonging directly to the organs of management of the "people's communes" and teams. The "people's communes" have disappeared.

Changes that were in essence revolutionary occurred in the villages. The popular idea defeated the bureaucratic one and engendered genuinely academic inquiries: what should be the relations and interrelationships among individual and household contracts, on the one hand, and the collective farm, on the other, and what ways and in what forms the collective farm should be developed, how to construct the mutual relations between the state and the peasantry, and many more.

The realistic approach allowed the CCP Central Committee in 1981 to formulate an incomparably more balanced evaluation of the contemporary stage of the development of Chinese society than ever before. The elimination of the exploiting classes and the sway of state and collective forms of ownership allowed the conclusion to be drawn that Chinese society had entered the stage of socialism, being, however, in its "initial stage," "incomplete" and without a stable ascent of productive forces and unable to provide for the ongoing development of social relations.

Further, one of the most important theoretical conclusions reached by the CCP based on summarizing the experience in the construction of socialism in decades past was the conclusion that socialism could not arise on the basis of a subsistence economy. At first glance, this conclusion could not be considered innovative. In reality, socialism has always been depicted in Marxism as the result of natural historical development, the objective outcome of resolving the contradictions of capitalism as the highest phase in the development of a commodity economy. In practice, however, as well as in theory, the situation has been much more complicated for many years.

The idea of the possibility of bypassing capitalism and building socialism in countries with undeveloped economies and archaic social structures and the conviction of the necessity and possibility of accelerating the process of historical development has been expressed for many years, as a rule, outside the context of the problems of transition from a subsistence economy to a commodity-based one. This is understandable, since many politicians and theoreticians of socialism have long had an attitude of suspicion, most often quite negative, toward any provisions of the commodity economy under socialism. Many in the PRC—and not only there—have repeatedly called for the utmost limitation of money-exchange relations and tried to implement such limitations in practice. Deplorable results were obtained as a result in every case: the resurrection and conservation of social relations typical of a subsistence economy, a slowdown in the process of the division of labor, the development and enrichment of social ties and ultimately, the construction of socialism in general. The most consistent and mass political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual form for the conservation of a subsistence economy in the PRC was the "people's commune," declared in 1958 to be the "best form" for transition "from collective ownership to nationwide" in the village and from a socialist society to a communist one.

In 1981 the party Central Committee acknowledged these concepts to be erroneous. The most important substantiation for this conclusion arose from a realistic evaluation of reality: the "communes" were a political superstructure on top of a subsistence or semi-subsistence economy, primitive exchange, episodic ties and the preservation of backwardness. The entrepreneurial economic spirit of the people showed a way out of the situation. The CCP opted for its consolidation and development, including permitting individual labor activity, pointing out the diversity of the needs of society at this stage and the impossibility of satisfying them at the given stage through state and cultural forms of the economy alone. In 1981 the CCP Central Committee asserted that "the individual economy of laborers permitted within a certain framework is an essential supplement to socialist social economics."

The conclusion of the incompatibility of a subsistence economy and socialism was literally won by the Chinese people, and it was not arrived at simply. The party Central Committee approved a whole set of measures in 1984 for the development of a socialist commodity economy, repudiating the bygone leftist qualification of it as "capitalism." The village economies are facing the task of transition "from a subsistence or semi-subsistence economy to comparatively large-scale commodity production."

The approach to commodity production was elaborated and made concrete. In 1981 the CCP Central Committee pointed out that "It is essential to develop socialist commodity production and exchange to the utmost,"

and in 1984 it elaborated that "The complete development of a commodity economy is... an unavoidable stage in the development of a social economy and an essential condition of the modernization of our economy." Formulated at the same time was the task of forming a unified nationwide market.

The Scientific Foundation of Reform

"Utmost" and "complete" development has been conceived of from the very beginning within the framework of socialist commodity exchange, and no other.

Socialist commodity exchange differs fundamentally from any other, including capitalist. The passions, prejudices, illiteracy, mystifications and all sorts of mercenary concoctions and actions whose essence is the conscious or unconscious ignoring of fundamental boundaries in commodity-exchange relations under capitalism and socialism exist everywhere. The PRC is not an exception in this regard. Much work, and not only of an elucidatory nature, thus had to be done in the PRC—creating a system of disciplinary, review and judicial organs called upon to put in their place those who had begun to make use of commodity-exchange relations for mercenary purposes and to the detriment of society. Production and the market are limited under socialism; the production of military weaponry for personal use and the output and sale of luxury items, pornography and the like are not permitted; production and the market are called upon to serve the needs of the working classes and segments and are subordinate to the interaction of their interests and the reproduction of social relations that rule out the exploitation of man by man.

In going for the development of commodity-exchange relations, Chinese society has encountered a multitude of problems and contradictions that are completely new to them and have set about gradually resolving them.

It was established in the PRC that at the current stage, the development of money-exchange relations should first and foremost facilitate the uplifting of the production workforce, growth in the social productivity of labor, economic efficiency in production and business activity, the creation of viable enterprises and flexible management structures and the formation of the individual. His world view should be defined by the interests of all of society rather than the narrow horizon of the subsistence economy. The worker is called upon to strive for the utmost development of his knowledge, skills and abilities and the practical application of the achievements of science and technology and not to be bound by the philistine and consumerist world whose motto is "everything for the sake of money."

In the socialist economy there can be no spheres that are isolated from commodity-exchange relations and the market, and in the PRC they have been much developed in recent years, encompassing not only the production of consumer goods and the service sphere, but also the

production of capital goods, transport, construction, banking, finance, monetary circulation and the achievements of equipment and technology. A manpower market has begun to take shape.

In the PRC, as in other socialist countries, conclusions regarding the necessity of the complete development of money-exchange relations under socialism were formulated in the course of harsh testing. They formed up the scientific foundation of economic reform, defined the specific paths for the renewal of all of society and created new conditions for living and for the development of all classes, social segments and population groups.

Personnel

The PRC has plenty of labor resources at its disposal. The overwhelming body of them are young people under 35 years of age. The labor potential is enormous: it is greater than that of any two major countries of the world taken together, and these resources will increase at least until the beginning of the next century. Unfortunately, a considerable number of the laborers are illiterate or barely literate. According to the 1982 census, they made up 23.5 percent of the population over 12 years old, and another 35.4 percent had only completed elementary school.

There is no doubt of the fact that the introduction of universal and compulsory free elementary education and, where possible, partial secondary education in the country could impart an unprecedented dynamism to the country's development. In the last several years Chinese society, having shed the postulates of the Cultural Revolution that glorified backwardness and ignorance, has come to devote more attention to solving this problem. Due to a shortage of resources, skilled personnel and the need to surmount the residual socio-psychological effects of stereotypes of the Cultural Revolution, however, as well as the expenditure of considerable resources on the professional training and re-training of workers, much time will be required to raise the general educational and professional-training level of personnel to modern levels and reduce the cultural and technological gap between the city and the village.

The climate of renewal, inquiry and dynamism that took shape in the PRC at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s has imparted an especial acuity to an old and large problem: what is the person—the goal or the means of social development? For many years, during the time of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, the person was in essence considered to be just a means of social development. Human losses in each of these generally peaceful periods were analogous to or greater than those inflicted on our country over the years of the most severe struggle against German fascism. And whereas today, some 40 and more years since the end of the Great Patriotic War, its wounds still make themselves felt in practically every Soviet family, in the

PRC the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution caused such an upheaval in society that there are few analogues in the country's recent history, even though it has been quite dramatic. The ethical and moral losses in Chinese society from the Cultural Revolution were also great. Wang Meng, a famous writer and the minister of culture in the PRC, as well as some other major authorities, feel that two or three generations will be required to overcome the effects of the Cultural Revolution.

The person is the goal, not the means, of social development. This is one of the most important conclusions that Chinese society arrived at after the Cultural Revolution. The next conclusion: movement forward is possible only based on the real independence, initiative and genuine creativity of the masses to the extent of their readiness for each new step in the restructuring of social relations. No one can have pretensions toward the truth in this last instance and can define either the nature or the breadth of such steps without error. The laboring masses had and retain the last word.

The history of the household contract in the village, which has opened up an expanse for the enormous creative power that was hidden in the hearts of the many hundreds of millions of peasants, was sufficient proof of that. Over several years, the peasantry has put into action powerful reserves for growth in production that had lain within under the "commune" system.

Contradictions of Economic Aspirations

Independence, initiative and genuine creativity by the masses cannot be introduced by slogans and decrees alone. This has long been well known. The problem consists of how to make them everyday norms of social life in which various segments and population groups with different and sometimes contradictory and even opposing interests interact. One can judge the depth of the differences based on the peasantry, which comprises an absolute majority of Chinese society.

According to the data of the agrarian research centers of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and the PRC State Council, more than 26 percent of peasant households had an annual income of less than 200 yuan at their disposal in 1984. As they say in China, they have not yet solved the problem of "warmth and satiety." Some 48.4 percent of households had annual per-capita incomes of 200 to 500 yuan in 1984. This is the level of simple reproduction. Only 25.3 percent of households, receiving annual incomes above 500 yuan per capita, carried out expanded reproduction and produced products intended for the market. Almost 5.5 percent of the households in the last group, whose annual per-capita incomes exceeded 1,000 yuan, had reached the level of "medium prosperity," as they say in China. The whole country, according to existing plans, will reach that level by the beginning of the next century. This portion of the

peasantry, striving for a continuous expansion of production, has proven to be able to make capital investments that are quite large under the conditions of the country and have been able to go over to hiring manpower. The portion of the peasantry that seems most literate and professionally strongest and most enterprising and creative, the households with annual per-capita incomes above 500 yuan, are developing at the fastest rates.

According to data of the well-known Chinese economist Liu Guoguang, the share of households that are currently resorting to hiring manpower is not great. They comprise roughly one percent of all peasant households, while the number of hired workers is two or three percent of the village workforce. The number of households hiring more than seven workers approaches 25 percent of the households resorting to the hiring of manpower. Some of them have capital of over 10,000 yuan, while the number of hired workers fluctuates within the bounds of several dozen to a hundred and even more. The question arose on the agenda: is a private-capital economy permissible under modern conditions in the PRC, and what should the policies of the CCP and the state be?

It is clear that the interests, business aspirations and economic and cultural opportunities of certain segments and groups of the peasantry differ materially from each other. Notwithstanding the changes in institutions and the organization of business life, roughly 70 percent of peasant households are still associated with subsistence or semi-subsistence farming. The most understandable and desirable ideal for them is social insurance. More than a quarter of the Chinese peasantry has broken into the expanse of money-exchange relations. Collective farming for them is a means of accelerated growth in production and income and of a rise in work efficiency. Many of this part of the peasantry are striving toward a better life, relying only on the manpower and resources of the family or entering into temporary, as well as more or less permanent, business combinations with other households.

Quite complex social distinctions are also typical of other segments and groups in Chinese society. It is consistent, since business reform has today reached a stage where further political restructuring has become necessary to create or improve institutions that represent the whole aggregate of the interests of society for the purpose of combining and coordinating them. The fact that these interests have an effect on the policies and activity of the CCP and the state is an organic feature of socio-political life in the PRC, and in this regard it does not differ from other socialist states.

The distinctions are concealed in something else. The more actively the segments and groups of the population that are at different levels of economic, cultural, spiritual, social and political development are drawn into the

process of historical creativity, the more complex and distinctive the tasks of the CCP become by virtue of the specific nature of the social structure and cultural development of the country.

One specific feature of China arises from the traditional prestige of cultivating the land and the traditional approach toward trade as a contemptible occupation that is incompatible with honesty and high moral and ethical standards. This tradition has been consolidated for more than 20 years by the moral and political prohibitions on money-exchange relations. Another specific feature is the traditional norm of "ku le bu zhun" ("equality in difficulties and delights"), the foundation of egalitarianism. But egalitarianism has also been cultivated for many years, first and foremost among the workers and peasants. Only stereotypes of consciousness must now be broken.

There exist other cultural-historical and socio-cultural features of Chinese society as well. The point is not to refer to them—they are a topic for special analysis. It is more important to be aware of them and take them into account politically, since they can either facilitate or hinder the solution of urgent problems of development. The verdict of public opinion is harsher than the court, more severe than politics. It cannot be appealed, it cannot be brushed aside. A verdict passed on the basis of traditional postulates or ideological illusions and dogma that constitute distinctive obstacles in the path of social progress is often most inexorable of all. The search for optimal economic solutions in the PRC is thus not always successful at once, it must sometimes be conducted with a regard not only for economic criteria, but also be supplemented with political measures and work among the masses oriented toward local conditions and uniquely differentiated for the aspirations and hopes of various segments and population groups.

The experience of all of the countries of socialism shows that the process of self-improvement should be continuous for a new social structure. A "cavalry charge" here can cause much misfortune and solve nothing. The state of the production workforce and the need to develop it is the foundation of industrial relations, but an identical level of production workforce in no way dictates a single "model" for industrial relations, there exists a variety of them. The PRC is coming up against many most complex problems of development, including such that any other country in the world does not and cannot have. They frequently require non-trivial approaches and solutions. The search for them is underway. Ever broader and broader popular masses are becoming involved in this under the guidance of the CCP, and this is the most faithful pledge of the progressive nature of the development of this society.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

USSR's Asian Policy 1 Year After Vladivostok Speech Reviewed

18070028e Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 16-17

[Article by G. Drambyants under the rubric "The Motto—Solidarity": "The Vladivostok Program in Action"]

[Text] The scroll of international life has been inscribed with an event that is truly prominent in its political importance and long-term nature—the speech of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok in July of last year that advanced a broad-scale and comprehensive program for ensuring peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region. The clear, weighty and constructive initiatives of the Soviet leader call for the practical realization of the concept of an all-encompassing international security and the ideas of peaceful co-existence, good-neighbor relations and mutually advantageous collaboration in this extensive part of our planet, exceptionally important in economic and strategic regards. These initiatives have found a path to the hearts and minds of the many millions of people in Asia, been greeted with approval by all of peace-loving humankind and have given a powerful impetus to creative academic and political thought.

The past year convincingly demonstrated the vitality and fruitfulness of the ideas and proposals contained in the Vladivostok speech of M.S. Gorbachev. Their significance and role in the cause of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and constructive collaboration in the Asian-Pacific region and their influence on the development of the political situation, public opinion and the solution of the difficult domestic and international problems of the region were the object of an all-round interested discussion at the conference on the topic "The Vladivostok Program of Peace and Collaboration in the Asian-Pacific Region in Action" that was held in Moscow at the initiative of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa and the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Eminent Soviet public figures, Oriental-studies scholars and representatives of the diplomatic corps of a number of Afro-Asian countries took part in the conference.

In opening the conference, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs I.A. Rogachev noted that a fundamentally new approach by the Soviet Union to ensuring lasting peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region was formulated in the Vladivostok program. This approach is based on a profound understanding of the essence and nature of contemporary world development, the terrible threats of the nuclear era, an awareness of the close

interconnection of states and the priority of the human-kind factor in resolving the most vital and cardinal task of our day—eliminating the danger of nuclear war. The provisions of the program, which have found concrete reflection and incarnation in the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons, were further developed and summarized in the proposals to reinforce stability and reduce tensions in the Asian-Pacific region that were outlined by the Soviet leader in an interview with the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*. Our country has in this manner demonstrated anew its adherence to the idea of turning the region into a peaceful and nuclear-free zone and its true vested interest in accelerating processes that are able to remove the acuity of the military confrontation there and stimulate the active arrangement of relations of trust and collaboration along with a constructive search for ways of resolving conflict situations.

M.S. Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa and director of the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, dwelled in detail in his speech on the key aspects of the Vladivostok concept and analyzed its first results, emphasizing therein the exceptional importance and topicality of implementing the set of measures it proposes that meet the vital interests of the peoples in the countries of the Asian-Pacific region and the reinforcement of their national independence and sovereignty along with socio-economic progress overall.

The solution of the agonizing and at first glance insoluble problems facing the peoples of the region must begin with dialogue and negotiation, the speaker emphasized. Negotiations are not only a means of resolving specific problems, but are also a convenient opportunity for arranging a far-reaching system of contacts, based on which broader problems concerning the entire Asian-Pacific region could also be resolved. That is why our country is proposing a "three-stage" idea of dialogue: bilateral, then multilateral-regional and then, possibly, in the form of a broad high-level forum. It is namely in this light that the Soviet Union regards a number of the meetings that have been and will be held with the leaders of countries on the continent.

Our country is countering the policies of creating new blocs, fanning tensions and dividing up into closed economic groupings with a clear alternative: imparting greater dynamism to bilateral and multilateral relations and the arrangement of widespread collaboration, the peaceful settlement of conflicts and the reinforcement of security with a reduction in the level of military confrontation. These three directions should in the future also be encountered at the point that is becoming the "Asian-Pacific Helsinki."

M.S. Kapitsa further analyzed in detail the purposeful activity of Soviet diplomacy in the given directions and showed the significant real contribution that our country is making to the cause of ensuring peaceful conditions

for the development of the states in the Asian-Pacific region. The Soviet Union, he noted, is proceeding firmly and consistently along the difficult but sole true path of reinforcing security and expanding collaboration, considering this path as part of a unified Euroasian process able to serve as a stimulus to the creation of an all-encompassing system of international security.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok was a distinctive catalyst to public awareness that has to a considerable extent incited the peoples of the Asian-Pacific region to weigh and evaluate the possibilities for preserving and reinforcing peace in the region in a new way. The activeness of the antiwar and antinuclear movements, along with all the forces of reason and good will, has grown sharply. Professor I.I. Kovalenko devoted his presentation at the conference to the important role of the non-aligned states in the fight for peace in the Asian-Pacific region. In advancing initiatives to ensure security, he said, the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that a fine historical tradition of collaboration in the development and implementation of the international legal principles upon which the house of peace could be constructed in the Asian-Pacific region already exists. It is namely those principles that have been embodied in the activities of the non-aligned movement.

The Asian states that participate in this movement are strengthening their convictions and aspirations through active efforts in favor of the peaceful political settlement of conflicts, the elimination of regional seats of tension and the creation of regional peace zones in Asia. They have come out against foreign military intervention in the affairs of sovereign states and against the United States' deployment of nuclear weapons on foreign territory and nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

The similarity of the positions of world socialism and the non-aligned movement on the cardinal problems of world politics, including issues of Asian-Pacific security, and the proximity or coincidence of their long-term tasks in the problems of war and peace, disarmament and development are inspiring hope for the successful advancement of the cause of the struggle for peace in Asia and in the whole world, the speaker emphasized.

The expansion and deepening of collaboration, interaction and friendly ties with North Korea, China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea occupy an especial place in the Asian-Pacific area of USSR foreign policy. These states display constant concern for reinforcing peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region, coming forth into the international arena with important initiatives for the radical revival of the political climate in the region.

Ts. Gurbadam, the Mongolian ambassador to the USSR, related to conference participants the activity of the Mongolian leadership for the purpose of turning the Asian-Pacific region into a zone of peace, security, good-neighbor relations and collaboration. This

country's proposal to create a mechanism that would rule out the application of force in relations among the states of Asia and the Pacific has struck an international chord in particular. Pointing out that the Mongolian people consider the initiatives of the Soviet Union advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in the *Merdeka* interview to be a continuation and development of the Vladivostok program, the ambassador noted that Mongolia, along with the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states, is consistently in favor of strengthening the foundations of peace and security in Asia and on the whole planet.

The creation of an atmosphere of trust and good-neighbor relations in the Asian-Pacific region is naturally inseparable from the establishment of equal, mutually advantageous and stable economic, trade, scientific and technical collaboration among all of the countries of this region. This important aspect was illuminated by USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Deputy Director Professor G.K. Shirokov in his presentation. Showing the place and role of these countries in the world economy and international economic relations, he turned the attention of the audience to the processes of internationalization of economic life that are transpiring there. One cannot count on successful growth of the economy in any of the existing world systems and widespread collaboration among them if it is not reinforced by a detente in international political relations. It is no accident that the highest rates of increase in world gross domestic product and world trade were noted in the years of the warming of the political climate on our planet.

The eastern regions of the Soviet Union are called upon to play a substantial role in the expanding trade, economic, scientific and technical collaboration in the Asian-Pacific region. The main emphasis in the recently adopted, new and exceedingly extensive long-term program for the development of eastern Siberia and the Far East was placed on the creation of a highly efficient national-economic complex there that would be organically included in the system of nationwide and international division of labor. The acting director of the Institute of Economic Research of Far East Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, P.A. Minaker, related ways of resolving this complex and crucial task.

The Moscow conference demonstrated convincingly that the Vladivostok program, as incarnated by the Soviet strategy of peace, contains enormous creative potential. Even in a comparatively brief time interval, it has not simply demonstrated, but has rather repeatedly affirmed, its socio-political significance for the fate of peace in the Asian-Pacific region.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

Study of Russian in African Countries Described
18070028f Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 p 34

[Article by Candidate of Philological Sciences V. Shakhlein under the rubric "Reader Discussion": "The Russian Language in the Countries of Africa"]

[Text] "*Our newspapers and magazines often report on the strengthening collaboration of the USSR with the countries on the African continent,*" writes D. Litvinov from Zagorsk. "*I would like to know—do Africans have the opportunity to study Russian?*"

The study of the Russian language in Africa began in the second half of the 1960s, when the majority of the countries of the continent, liberated from colonial dependence, entered onto the path of freedom and progress. It is being taught today in 30 African states.

Elective courses in Russian exist in the training programs of schools in Ethiopia, the lycees of Madagascar and Mali, all secondary institutions in the Congo and the university and polytechnical institute in Tunisia. They also study Russian in Senegal, Togo, Ghana, Angola, Mozambique, Mauritania and a number of other states.

Russian is studied as a secondary foreign language in the universities of Madagascar and Nigeria and as one of the principal ones in the Institute of Living Languages in Tunisia. Russian is a required scholastic discipline in the divisions of Algiers University, the Higher Teaching School in Bamako and in departments of the universities in Madagascar and the Congo.

Several countries are taking the first steps to organize the final cycle of Russian-language instruction—elementary school-lycee-institution of higher learning (Congo)—or are opening refresher courses for Russian teachers (Mali).

The skill level and professional experience of African Russian scholars not only allows them to do teaching and methodological work, but also to engage in academic research. Fruitful work in this area is being done at Ibadan University (Nigeria) and in the universities of the Sudan, Algeria, Madagascar and the institutions of higher learning of Mali.

Russian scholars are working in Africa whose activity has received widespread recognition. Among them are the candidates and doctors of sciences that are defending dissertations in leading Soviet institutions of higher learning. The names of Shegun Odunugu from Nigeria, Breayma Dumbii from Mali and Felix Ovuusu from Ghana are well known among their colleagues from many countries.

African Russian scholars take part actively in the activity of the International Association of Instructors of Russian Language and Literature. The vice-president of this association is Doctor Shegun Odunugu.

A significant event in the life of the African Russian scholars was the holding of the "Topical Problems in the Instruction of the Russian Language in the Countries of Africa" regional conference, the first that was held on the African continent, that was held in Ibadan (Nigeria) in 1983.

Among the factors restraining the spread of the Russian language in some African countries are included the traditional orientation of the Africans toward English, French and other Western languages, the weakness of the teaching and methodological base and the lack of instructor personnel and the essential literature. Nonetheless, the Russian language—the language of peace and friendship—has become a real factor on the African continent, and there are good prospects for its further study.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987 Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

'Information Imperialism' Explained in Response to Reader

18070028g Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 34-35

[Article by V. Filippov: "Spiritual Imperialism"]

[Text] "One frequently encounters terms like 'spiritual imperialism,' 'spiritual colonialism' and 'information imperialism' in the press and in radio and television reports. What do they mean?" ask readers M. Agambekov from Baku and R. Rustamova from Andizhan.

The terms cited in our readers' letters—with this or that extent of distinction—signify the imperialist system of ideological means for influencing the mass consciousness and social psychology of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is devised and applied for the purpose of substantiating, justifying and reinforcing the unequal and dependent positions of these peoples in the world capitalist system.

Spiritual colonialism was born during the era of colonial seizures and is based on reactionary and non-scientific theories of the superiority of the white "supreme" race over the backward "inferior" ones, biological limitations and the physical and psychological inferiority of "colored" and "black" peoples and their imagined inability for independent development. The colonizers strove to cancel out the original cultures of the oppressed nations, discredit their traditions and customs and foist concepts

of bourgeois ethics, aesthetic values and social orientations onto them as the highest achievements of the culture of the ruling white race.

To the extent of the development of the liberation movement and the growth in national awareness among the enslaved peoples, the bourgeois propaganda has striven to camouflage the racist essence of spiritual colonialism, bringing to the fore super-class concepts of the cultural superiority of the "developed West" over the "backward East."

In the era of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of dozens of young sovereign states, the class function of spiritual colonialism is becoming the ideological substantiation and propagandistic support for neocolonial forms of exploitation and oppression. Its principal goal is the incorporation of ideas of the historical consistency and necessity of following the capitalist path of development, dependent upon the West, into the mass consciousness of the liberated peoples. It also foists on them vital values, social reference points and programs for economic growth that meet the interests of imperialism, and first and foremost the multinational corporations, rather than national interests. The whole broad spectrum of means and channels of information imperialism is employed for this: press, radio, television and film.

Making use of the extreme weakness of the material base of the mass media in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the West is conducting broad-scale propaganda campaigns in them, glorifying the chase for profits and the bourgeois way of life and propagating the cult of force, sex and permissiveness, passing off as anathema the ideals of goodness and social justice and cultivating hatred of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and communist ideals.

The social and cultural environment of the developing countries and their original national cultures are violated in the same way, and their place is being taken by the values of bourgeois culture and its standardized products, called upon not to permit progressive changes in the world and to ease the social revenge of imperialism in the zone of the national-liberation movement, fan international tensions, accelerate the arms race and poison the souls of people with the bile of mistrust, rivalry and hatred.

The peoples of the liberated countries, and first and foremost the socialist-oriented states, are waging a more and more active struggle against the ideological expansion of imperialism. They see a means of spiritual emancipation of the people in the resurrection of national culture. Architectural monuments destroyed by the colonizers are being restored in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and national schools of painting, national-dance troupes and song and theatrical studios that turn to folklore for creativity are being created.

It must be noted that the resurrection of traditional spiritual values, especially religious ones, in a number of the liberated countries is transpiring under the banner of national uniqueness and in isolation, rejecting any significance and usefulness for Western culture. This is leading to negative consequences, stagnation and even regression in the spiritual life of the people. On the other hand, in places where the many centuries of Eastern culture are not juxtaposed with the culture of the West, the process of emergence of national originality, awakening and enrichment of national awareness and growth in the common culture of the people is transpiring more fruitfully.

In striving to put an end to the sway of the bourgeois mass media, the developing countries are making demands for the establishment of a just world information order and are creating their own information agencies and international associations such as the Pool of Information Agencies of the Non-Aligned Countries, PANA and OANA, along with developing equal collaboration with the mass media of the socialist countries.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

Book on Factors in National, Social Liberation Reviewed

18070028h Moscow *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA* in Russian No 10, Oct 87 p 62

[Review "The Decisive Significance of Social Liberation" by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Agafonov of book "Natsionalnoye i sotsialnoye osvobodzheniye: vneshniye i vnutrenniye usloviya" [National and Social Liberation: External and Internal Conditions] by G.B. Khan. Alam-Ata, Kazakhstan Publishing House, 1987, 192 pp]

[Text] Until recently there has been no special work in Oriental-studies literature devoted to the dialectic between the external and internal conditions of the revolutionary-liberation process in the Afro-Asian countries. G. Khan's monograph fills this gap to a certain extent, since it is a comprehensive piece of research which uncovers the complex interconnections of external and internal conditions of contemporary national-democratic revolution in building the way to the new formation in the future.

The author's attempt to delineate and analyze various aspects of the global correlation of forces in the context of its immediate influence on the development of national-democratic revolution (pp 42-43) is deserving of attention. Political, economic and military factors are correspondingly considered. The book emphasizes that two trends are acting in contradiction in contemporary

international relations: the objective necessity of resolving the confrontation of capitalism and socialism exclusively in the form of peaceful rivalry, and at the same time the right of every people to armed defense of their revolutionary conquests from the encroachments of imperialism and internal reaction.

The new international situation of our time and its positive influence on the expansion of the real possibilities for the transition of the liberated countries to a non-capitalist path and mechanism for the formation of internal conditions for the realization of the transformative potential of contemporary national-democratic and their subsequent outgrowth into a socialist revolution are uncovered in the work in comprehensive fashion.

The author considers the interaction of internal and external conditions of revolutionary development in this or that country in the context of world history as a unified and integral system within which this or that society resides and develops.

It can be stated with complete justification that G. Khan's work is a material contribution to the philosophical interpretation of the dialectic of external and internal conditions of contemporary national-democratic revolution and the general laws of its outgrowth into a socialist revolution.

The book, meanwhile, has some shortcomings. In considering the problem of "modern times and the worldwide nature," it would have been well-founded to show the importance and necessity of the new political thinking of both Marxists and non-Marxists in resolving the global problems of mankind.

Some formulations require elaboration. The title of the second paragraph of Chapter 2, for example (see p 112), is incorrect, since a national-democratic revolution does not "convert," but rather develops, into a socialist one.

Overall, the monograph of G. Khan is of considerable interest not only for specialists, but for all Orientalists as well. Readers from the developing countries will also find much that is useful for themselves in it.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12821

Book on South Korea's Role in World Economy Reviewed

18070028i Moscow *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA* in Russian No 10, Oct 87 p 64

[Review "Economic Policies of the Seoul Regime" by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Kremen'yuk of book "Yuzhnaya Koreya v sisteme mirovogo kapitalisticheskogo khozyaystva" [South Korea in the World Capitalist Economic System] by V.I. Shipayev. Moscow, Oriental Literature Section of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 285 pp]

[Text] Two aspects of this monograph attract particular attention: the economic support for the military and political role of South Korea in the system of U.S. strategic interests in the Far East and the direction of economic development of the southern part of the country, which is being forcefully foisted onto other developing countries as a sort of "model" for imitation. U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz spoke directly of this in his speech at Stanford University on 15 May 87.

V. Shipayev had as his task researching the distinctive phenomenon of the economic "miracle" where a country that was backward in the past has moved into the world market in a compressed historical time frame, and not only with traditional goods of the shoes, textiles and food-products types, but with its own electronics and machine-building products as well. The author correctly notes that Taiwan and South Korea "play a special role in the military and political strategy of imperialism." "That is namely why," he writes, "international capital (and first and foremost American)—in spite of its typical nature and as the rarest of exceptions—looks after their 'prosperity.' It is consequently first and foremost extra-economic causes that lie at the foundation of their economic development" (p 7).

The principal portion of the book is devoted to a purely economic analysis of the problems. The author reviews the stages of development of the South Korean economy and the specific features of it, the role of foreign capital and the multinational corporations in this process, the foreign trade of South Korea and the export of manpower, construction services and capital. The research is based on high-quality information, statistics and a careful study of documents. Detailed statistical tables and other information of a reference nature are presented in the book in the form of a supplement.

The analysis of the South Korean economic "prosperity" is interesting in and of itself. One cannot quarrel with the fact that South Korea has achieved notable successes on the path of creating a modern economy and has reached the level of the industrially developed countries of the world under the conditions of the harshest of dictatorships. It is also no less important to understand the inside story of this process and its basic premises. The

author correctly interprets the main reasons for the economic dynamism: the exceptionally important role of foreign capital, not only in the exporting of financial resources, but in the transfer of technology, and military-dictatorship methods of organizing the workforce and stimulating local capital in providing the administrative and bureaucratic conditions for the economic boom.

Shipayev's book thus makes it possible at least partially to investigate one instructive example on the nature of the "new industrialization" that has attracted so much attention among specialists and business circles.

The author's analysis is incomplete, however, in another regard—researching the flip side of the South Korean "phenomenon." Before the anti-Shah revolution of 1979 in Iran, our academic literature tried quite timidly to interpret every possible consequence—social, political, cultural, etc.—of economic boom in a backward country with a despotic regime. As a result, the revolution in Iran and its consequences proved to be unexpected for many. Something similar could also be observed today in researching all aspects of the South Korean "phenomenon."

It is quite apparent that rapid economic progress in any country and under any regime leads to a worsening of contradictions and the accumulation of explosive social factors. Means are usually found to lance social "boils," however, in countries with other, non-dictatorial political systems. Under a dictatorship there are no means except one—elimination of the regime—as occurred in Iran or, considerably later and in a different fashion, in Brazil.

Where is industrial progress leading in South Korea? Where are the reserves of the anti-dictatorship movement forming up? What are they like? All of these are far from idle questions. They have great significance for South Korea, for the climate on the peninsula and for the whole situation in the Far East. I would certainly like to have answers from the author of such a successful book on the economy of South Korea in this regard as well.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1987; Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka" 12821

USSR Enterprises Need More Trade Know-How
18250022a Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Ye. Zhurabayev, special TRUD correspondent: "He Is at Risk Who Does Not Undertake a Risk"]

[Text] Since the beginning of the year, foreign trade firms have appeared at 78 large enterprises of the Soviet Union. The reasons for the initial successes and failures of plant trade representatives are to be found not only in the objective production conditions but also in the characters of the leaders of the foreign trade services and in the level of their competence. Their right to independence requires that they display decisiveness, organizational talent and a willingness to accept the burden of responsibility and risk during difficult situations, of which there are many in a new and large undertaking. This then is the subject of publications released from Leningrad and Moscow by our special correspondent Ye. Zhurabayev.

Leningrad—An Independent Voyage

I will begin with an example, albeit a minor and intolerable one from the standpoint of commercial activity. I reached the well known Leningrad Elektrosila Association, where a conference for the representatives of eleven local foreign trade firms was about to take place, one half hour prior to its commencement. The conference was organized by GVEK [Gosudarstvennaya vneshneekonomicheskaya komissiya; State Foreign Economic Commission]. Nevertheless I was late by a full 45 minutes — the protocol service of the foreign trade firm, when notifying the participants in the conference, managed to confuse the access roads to its own enterprise. As a result, in addition to myself the directors of some other Leningrad firms were also late. After displaying persistence and the required degree of enterprise, we finally entered the meeting hall where a serious discussion concerning the work of plant trade representatives was already in progress.

Thus, exactly what hidden reefs, in addition to the basic ones, pose a threat to the pioneers in their independent voyage among the expanses of world markets?

A shortage of knowledge. It was noted during the conference that even in Leningrad, with its seemingly tremendous fund of highly skilled specialists, there is a shortage of experienced merchants. The tables of organization for a majority of those industrial Leningrad giants which have been authorized to take their places in the foreign markets have not been filled out completely.

As expressed by a representative of the Nevskiy Plant, V.I. Savoshchev, "the situation had become worse as a result of all of the rights extended to us." An examination revealed that the situation had worsened for plant trade representatives owing to a lack of experience and the absence of precedents which were dear to the heart of each economic executive. One can understand their

position — indeed they are today fully responsible for a financial risk computed not only in rubles but also in dollars, levs, crowns and marks. Yes and there are many other factors in the new work that are not altogether clear — the idea proclaimed in governmental decrees has still not been covered fully in the normative documents.

It must be assumed, it was noted during the conference, that fear of the unknown is gradually disappearing. But towards this end the plant specialists must master completely the art of trading. And certainly, those lectures which are organized from time to time by the Academy of Foreign Trade of the USSR MVT [Ministry of Foreign Trade] are clearly inadequate in this regard. As mentioned by a GVEK representative, a decree is presently being prepared in connection with the creation of an orderly system for training the foreign trade personnel required for industry. The principles of foreign economic relationships will be taught in a number of Soviet VUZ's and a specialized institute with branches in various regions of the country is being created. Meanwhile, the recommendation has been made to attract a greater number of specialists from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and its subunits to serve in plant firms, since there has been a substantial reduction in the number of such specialists available. A new trend will be introduced into operational practice — that of supplying the plants with foreign trade workers from Moscow who are undergoing training for extended temporary duty trips abroad.

In foreign trade activity at the enterprise level, the recommendation has also been made to make greater use of the opportunities afforded by Soviet trade delegations and representatives of GKES [State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations] stationed abroad. What does the export output consist of? This question is not quite as naive as it might seem to an inexperienced individual. In the language of those participating in the conference, this stumbling block was referred to as the "residual principle for ensuring exports." In our country, as is well known, a large portion of the raw materials and other materials are still in short supply and are being distributed on a centralized basis by USSR Gosplan and Gossnab. A complete conversion over to wholesale trade is a matter for both immediate and future concern. And still the paradoxes of supply are engendering commercial paradoxes. Representatives of the foreign trade firms Izhorskiy Zavod and Elektrosila discussed at length the amount of effort they must expend in order to interest foreign customers in their products. A series of business-like meetings, dozens of clever arguments and prolonged and detailed discussions. But a foreigner must display "unplanned interest" in purchases, just as the plant trade representatives are forced to obscure and drag out negotiations. Everything is dependent upon operational support in the form of the required resources — production programs containing an excessive number of plan orders. As a result, time and profitable contracts are lost. A shortage of funds is like a vice that compresses plant exports.

Advertisements and information. Earlier this function was undertaken entirely by foreign trade associations of the MVT and the Vneshtorgreklama All-Union Association, with the leading enterprises suffering not at all. And thus, having been extended broad independence, the Leningrad workers began to complain regarding the difficulties which arise in the production of prospectuses and other advertising products.

Certainly, difficulties do exist and yet they are surmountable. The director of the Burevestnik foreign trade firm (industrial X-ray units), V.A. Sidorenko, who spoke during the conference, quickly sent his advertising orders not only to Leningrad printing enterprises but also to Hungary (using funds obtained from export deliveries to this country). The enterprising director went further in carrying out his advertising work: a motor vehicle route is presently being prepared for Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for two autobuses which will carry samples of the enterprise's products. B.A. Sidorenko proposed to his colleagues that those who complained regarding the difficulties participate in the work of organizing this motor vehicle route. However, no interest was displayed in this proposal.

It bears mentioning that the Burevestnik foreign trade firm participates actively in international fairs not only for the sake of contracts but also for the purpose of clearly comparing the level of its own output against foreign output and also for checking upon market conditions. At the last Leipzig Fair, the firm concluded contracts valued at one half million rubles.

The enterprising nature of the work performed by the Burevestnik foreign trade firm is borne out by the fact that in addition to working in behalf of its own enterprise it also provides commercial services in the carrying out of negotiations for other plants which lack their own foreign trade services. This is done on the basis of economic agreements. Customers transfer commission amounts in foreign currency to the firm for assistance provided in the drawing up of contracts.

Since, owing to an active foreign trade balance, 500,000 rubles in the currencies of socialist countries have accumulated in the Burevestnik accounts, the firm is prepared to issue loans to other enterprises. For the purpose of satisfying the needs of its own collective, the plans call for the purchase of a dental office in the PRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] and small prefabricated houses in the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and HPR [Hungarian People's Republic].

Instead of concluding remarks. Thus the plant trade representatives from Leningrad have taken the initial step in what is for them a new undertaking. True success will be achieved by those who perform in an enterprising manner. Those who do not wait for detailed instructions from above and who boldly utilize the broad rights extended to them by the state. In short, he is at risk who does not undertake a risk.

Moscow—The "Flight" Is Gaining Altitude

Two thirds — such was the proportion for export deliveries at the First Watch Plant, which I visited upon my return to Moscow. Moreover, 65 percent of all exports are being shipped to developed capitalist countries. The unique status of the "Flight" firm, selling its own output for export [zavodskaya vneshtorgovaya firma], derives from the scale of shipments of finished products. With the support of Minfin [Ministry of Finance] and Vneshtorgbank [Foreign Trade Bank], it has succeeded in obtaining the status of a legal entity (in the USSR, there are only three firms selling their own output [zavodskiy firmy] holding such a status). Meanwhile, all foreign trade organizations of the MVT engaged in carrying out the lion's share of export and import operations are classified as legal entities. This status furnishes true independence in financial affairs and instills trust in foreign partners.

"From the very beginning" stated the "Flight" director K.A. Medvedev, "considerable importance has been attached to developing the firm's regulations in a thorough and detailed manner. This is making it possible to remove a considerable portion of the agreements and controversial aspects in future activities and to untie one's hands in all undertakings.

"I myself came to the "Flight" firm from the Tekhnoin-torg Foreign Trade Organization. The work became considerably more interesting. One senses more completely the results of his work and he is able to influence production and to solve what formerly were difficult problems within a matter of days or months. The plant's board of directors trusts its firm to a considerably greater degree than any outside organization. Thoroughly aware of our own production operations, we purchase precisely that which is needed for the plant and we strive to carry out completely each export order at the markets, even small ones. Taking into account the international demand, we are presently carrying out negotiations for the purchase of a line for the modern processing of watch casings. In terms of a bulk amount of currency, 50,000 watches in new casings will be used instead of the exporting of 1 million watch mechanisms. But the imports must be offset by exports and offset with interest. Since 1 June alone, we have concluded export contracts worth 10 million rubles with many socialist countries, France, Japan, Pakistan and Hong Kong.

Since there are no foreign trade firms at the country's 12 other watch plants, "Flight" often represents their interests during negotiations concerned with the importing of equipment. Many plants have asked us to represent their export potential, since they believe that we, as a result of thorough familiarity with the foreign markets, will achieve more advantageous contracts than MVT organizations.

"You have a considerably more optimistic attitude than many of your colleagues from Leningrad. Is everything really going smoothly?"

"Certainly, there are complications. They are caused by the fact that life at times produces situations which are not provided for in the controlling documents. As the saying goes, it is impossible to foresee everything. Thus we are continuing to work in an active manner with Vneshtorgbank, Gosplan and other departments in developing new and, in our opinion, necessary statutes and we are preparing appropriate proposals for GVEK. We wish to achieve complete foreign exchange cost accounting — to select the carriers ourselves (not necessarily Aeroflot), the insurance agent and a bank for accounts — depending upon the conditions proposed by them.

In my opinion, a chief consideration is the fact that the "Flight" firm has proven its capability in international markets. Further interest in our products will now depend upon the creative capabilities of the enterprise's entire collective — of both production workers and merchants. 7026

Kaluga Firm Sells on Foreign Market
18250016 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by I. Shedvigovskiy: "Made in Kaluga"; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] An order came from Japan: We will buy 10,000 square meters of sigran and the license for the technology of its manufacture. The construction firm reported that the samples sent passed the strictest tests successfully.

I hold in my hands a light facing tile. The glass surface delights the eye with the intricate interlacing of brown, pale yellow, and white veins. Ground granite?

"Yes, granite," V. Peshkov, director of the Kaluga Glass Plant, confirms. "Only not natural, but synthetic. Essentially, sigran is glass..."

What sort of miraculous tile is this? Scientists at the Moscow Chemical and Technological Institute imeni D. I. Mendeleev in cooperation with specialists at the Kaluga Plant were the first in the world to find a method of developing a glass ceramic finishing material successfully competing with natural materials—granite and marble.

P. Sarkisov, rector of the institute, doctor of technical sciences, professor, explains:

"Life itself forced us to search for it. About 9 million square meters of natural materials for finishing work are annually produced in the country. The need for them is growing, but an expansion of open pits is not desirable. Nature spent millions of years on the formation of granites. An appropriate replacement for them—sigran—can be made in a few hours. In its outward appearance and beauty it greatly resembles certain types of natural materials and in its physicomechanical properties surpasses them."

The professor shows a table. In bending and compression sigran is twice stronger than granite and twice or three times, than marble. It does not pass moisture, nor does it abrade. It is virtually eternal. And what about expenses? It has been estimated that they are one-third of those involved in the production of a facing material from natural granites. Sigran can be manufactured by the method of flow mechanized glass technology. The raw materials are also cheap.

"Blast-furnace slag is the basis for the burden," adds plant director V. Peshkov. "We take it from the neighboring oblast. This is convenient for us and Tula metallurgists are satisfied: The dumps will be smaller. Combining additives, we can achieve colors, of which nature 'did not even think.'"

News flies quickly. The news that a beautiful, strong, and cheap facing material began to be manufactured in Kaluga quickly reached builders. Orders began to pour in and representatives went off. However, the low-power experimental line made without assistance could not even meet a small share of the demand. The RSFSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry adopted a decision to build a large shop in Kaluga.

People abroad began to be interested in Soviet sigran and requested samples. In addition to Japan, which more quickly than others recognized the value of this innovation, Italy, Spain, Austria, India, and Mexico expressed the desire to buy the license.

It is well known that the profit from the sale of licenses is not big. To appear on the international market with the "technology-plus-equipment" set is another matter. Intensive negotiations with one of the foreign firms on a joint implementation of such a project are now going on.

Our participation involves a license for the production of sigran and heat engineering equipment, which includes a glass making furnace, a crystallizer, and electronics for them. The firm promises to deliver grinding and polishing equipment, a manipulating robot, and automatic facilities. In addition to its direct purpose—the annual output of 100,000 square meters of the new material—the automated line will serve as its own kind of advertisement for potential clients from different countries: Look, we can also make the same for you!

The beautiful, durable, and inexpensive material will find the widest application in construction practice for finishing sports installations, motion picture theaters, subway stations, and building foundations. Appearing on the world market, Soviet sigran will serve the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign partners.

PRAVDA Publishes Article by Former U.S. Senator Tower on Restructuring

18070019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 87 p 6

[Article by former U.S. Senator John Tower: "View of Perestroika: Freeing Ourselves of Fear"]

[Text] *Note: The article below was written by a well-known political figure in the United States, the former Senator John Tower. He sent the article to PRAVDA because he wanted to familiarize the readers of our newspaper with his views on the changes in the Soviet Union.*

John Tower is an influential figure in the conservative wing of the Republican Party of the United States. He is well connected in the Pentagon and in the offices of the military monopolies.

In the United States today there are few people who will not follow the events in the Soviet Union with great interest. The changes that took place in March 1985 in the Soviet leadership were described by certain people in the West as the harbinger of new thinking which could radically alter both domestic and foreign policy.

Many Americans recall the reforms that were undertaken in 1956 and 1965 and the hopes in the West that they aroused. We have been repeatedly disappointed by the failure of domestic reforms and by events abroad such as the invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan. There is an essential need, then, to explain why the United States is skeptical about the reform. At the same time, we welcome its constructive elements.

General Secretary Gorbachev has been the initiator of the campaign for a "restructuring" of society aimed at reversing the trend toward social and economic decline. Radical measures are being taken both to inform the Soviet public about the problems and also to enlist its help in solving them.

The means of informing the Soviet public which has come to be called "glasnost" is an official policy of sincerity and self-criticism. We in the West see that the Soviet mass media are covering topics and events which have not previously been discussed in public. It is evident that the limits of acceptable criticism have been broadened in order to allow expression on the question of mistakes of the previous leadership.

A liberalization of cultural policy has begun. Those of us in the West who for a long time have enjoyed the creativity of authors whose works were previously either subjected to restrictions or were banned are gratified that the Soviet people can finally reap the fruits of its own legacy.

The attention of many Americans was drawn to the release of 140 Soviet citizens arrested because in actuality they had simply demonstrated in public against the

policy of the government in the field of human rights, religion, and emigration. The question of how a particular government treats its citizens has immense importance, since lack of respect for the rights of its people leads to lack of respect for and repression of the rights of other peoples. We deem to be fundamental rights the freedom of speech and the press, the freedom of religion and travel, and also the opportunity to influence the policy of our country by going to the ballot box.

While recognizing that Americans welcome the positive steps that have been taken, I still must call attention, then, to those points which we still consider to be the implicit limits of glasnost. The allowed criticism of government policy, it would seem, is mainly limited to criticism of policy in the past, and many forms of freedom of speech and public activity remain clearly regimented. Thus, although more freedom has been given to people in the arts, that freedom is highly selective. At the same time, although certain persons kept in confinement for political reasons have been released, the fate of many others remains uncertain.

So, while welcoming the beneficial influence of glasnost which we observe in certain areas, we have yet to make out what the limits of the freedom of self-expression will ultimately be. For example, we ask ourselves whether the tolerance to other views will not diminish if perestroika is successful in invigorating the economy.

Americans reject the opinion that the rights of man are exclusively a matter of internal jurisdiction of a particular state. It is our view that the rights of man inevitably affect the interests of many countries both from the legal standpoint and also the ethical one. In our country we are trying to correct our own injustices and we are mindful of the suggestions made by others.

Many Soviet people think that to satisfy the United States the USSR must renounce its system and values and put itself at the mercy of the West. On the contrary, we firmly believe in the right of every country to choose its own destiny, especially if that choice is made by democratic means.

I am making these remarks in order to further an understanding that Americans perceive the present events in the USSR in the context of American concern and in the context of those values which influence that perception. It is important to understand this if we want to avoid a repetition of the disappointments of past years. In this connection I must frankly declare that it is not clear to me whether glasnost and perestroika will in the future affect some of the most important sources of tension in Soviet-American relations.

Americans are made especially anxious by the manifest readiness to resort to armed force in the attempt to spread influence or to act as an arbiter in local conflicts in Central Asia, Africa, or in our own hemisphere. Both our countries must seek ways of regulating these disputes

by peaceful means. Yet at the same time it is indispensable to achieve respect for personal freedoms and democratic rights of nations involved in conflicts so that they do not experience fear of armed intervention from outside.

Our two countries are agreed that the level of nuclear arms is too high. We have achieved some progress in solving the problem of nuclear arms reduction. But we

still have not achieved comparable progress in the sphere of strategic nuclear arms reductions or on the question of reduction of conventional weapons.

Americans are striving to build relations with the other superpower of the world which would be free of fear.

07045

Soviet Journal Carries Article by Hungarian Politburo Member

[Editorial Report] 02101138 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 87 (signed to press 16 Nov 87) on pages 114-120 carries an approximately 4,000-word article by Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, entitled "Current Questions of the Development of Socialism in Hungary."

The article deals with an MSZMP theoretical conference, "Current Questions of the Development of Socialism in Our Country," held in February 1987. Berecz discusses the role of theoretical conferences in the ideological work of the MSZMP and the relevance of the processes now under way in the USSR, which are "an important incentive for our work and which are expanding our international field of activity."

Berecz notes that almost 180 reports were presented at the conference and that their subject matter may be condensed into three main areas: Socialism, self-management, and reform. Outlining the first category, Berecz says: "Obviously, the socialist building is not yet finished. However, this does not belittle the significance of the path we have traversed and does not call into question the meaning of our activity."

Turning to the issue of self-management, Berecz notes that in the course of the reform of economic management in Hungary, which began in 1968, "it was realized that a variety of interests exist in our society, including public, groups and personal interests." He continues: "The implementation of power must be carried out within the framework of a comprehensively developing system of institutions, in which the leading role belongs to the party. Moreover, it is necessary that the implementation of power rely on cooperation between various social groups and allow various interests to manifest themselves in political institutions and to assist movement toward the common goal."

Discussing the question of reform, Berecz says that it provides an opportunity to use socialism's potential, and "proceeding on this basis, the party protects itself from any actions that complicate the development of reform and that hamper this process. At the same time, it opposes attempts to openly or covertly use the slogan of reform to weaken the socialist system."

In conclusion, Berecz again stresses the importance of the conference.

The full text of Berecz's article will be published in the Hungary section of the JPRS Report: East Europe.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo TsK KPSS "Pravda", Politicheskoye Obrazovaniye. 1987

Follow-Up on CSSR Complaint About USSR Export Quality

18250012 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 87
p 2

[Text] "The Customer Complaint. What Is Behind It With Respect to Export Products"—that was the title of an article published in IZVESTIYA (No 226) by our correspondent in Czechoslovakia L. Kornilov. On the basis of data obtained from responsible officials of the technical center of the Soviet foreign trade association "Stankoimport" the author cited a number of examples where claims were filed against machine tools and machines sent to Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union because of various defects in their manufacture.

One of the suppliers of these products that was specifically mentioned was the Gorkiy Machine Tool Building Production Association (GSPO). Our correspondent in Gorkiy Oblast A. Yershov has told the readers of IZVESTIYA about the conclusions being drawn by the people in Gorkiy, how they are restructuring themselves so that they do not allow anything of the kind in the future ("And Once Again About the Customer Complaint," IZVESTIYA, No 237). "In the past year," the author noted, "the association has had to pay tens of thousands of rubles for rejects. Unfortunately, in meetings with its managers we had occasion to hear only promises that the situation with the quality of machine tools, including those intended for export, would be corrected in the very near future...."

Gorkiy Oblast procurator Yu. N. Shcherbakov has informed the editors that the Gorkiy Oblast procurator's office has conducted an inspection attended by a representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade on the basis of the articles published in IZVESTIYA. It was found that 11 claims have been filed this year against machine tools in the export version. Seven of these claims because of defects originated with failure of the electrical systems which the association receives from the Bystrovka Electrical Equipment Plant (KiSSR).

The procurator's office issued a citation to V. G. Skachkov, general director of GSPO, based on the results of the inspection; he was warned that it was intolerable for the association to manufacture products of poor quality. Criminal charges were instituted by the procurator's office on the basis of the substandard products manufactured by the Bystrovka Electrical Equipment Plant.

Both exchanges, published in IZVESTIYA, and also the results of the inspection, the Gorkiy Oblast procurator reports in conclusion, have been discussed in a joint session of the association's party commission and export commission, and a number of measures have been worked out to improve the quality of machine tools being manufactured.

"Exports are a crucial matter; particular exactingness is expected of the export version—that is a truth as plain as the ABC's," L. Kornilov concluded his article sent in from Czechoslovakia. The response the editors have received instills hope that this truth which is as clear as the ABC's has finally gotten through to the Gorkiy machine tool builders.

07045

Polish-Soviet Foreign Trade Technical Center
18250007a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by O. Losoto, PRAVDA special correspondent, Warsaw: "New Prospects"]

[Text] Recently a new entry was added to the chart for Soviet-Polish collaboration: the technical center of the Tekhmasheksport Foreign Trade Association.

This association maintains long-term and fruitful contacts with Polish customers for textile and printing machines, technological equipment for the food, light, chemical and other branches of industry. The association has accumulated a great amount of experience in the organization of services. As early as 1977, jointly with the Polish Varimeks foreign trade enterprise at Lodzi, the first Polish-Soviet service organization Tekstilservis, for the servicing of non-shuttle weaving machines, was created in the PPR [Polish People's Republic].

For what reason was a new technical center opened in Warsaw? I addressed this question to its general director A. Demkov. "This came about" he stated, "as a result of a need for further improving the technical servicing of machines, equipment and instruments supplied on the basis of mutual trade. Poland is receiving a large quantity of traditional types of equipment that are already well known to the consumers. But in addition, new types of equipment that require considerable efforts in connection with the organization of servicing are being supplied annually. For example, this year the PPR will receive for the very first time 15 technological lines for the processing of flax and the task of our technical center will be that of organizing the installation of this equipment and training the Polish specialists in the operation and servicing of it. In addition to servicing, the technical center will organize capital repair work for equipment supplied earlier, the timely supplying of spare parts, advertising, engineering-technical work and the testing of new models of Soviet equipment. An important task of the

technical center will be that of promoting an expansion in direct production contacts between the enterprises of our countries and creating joint Soviet-Polish enterprises."

The technical center is taking its first steps. Workers attached to the center informed me that one of the most critical problems is a shortage of servicing specialists from those plants which produced the export products. Actually, the volume of equipment deliveries to all countries has increased considerably and thus the plants are unable to assign skilled technicians and engineers to all of the addresses.

"I see a solution in the possibility of employing Polish specialists at the center" continued A. Demkov. "Their training must be organized at four plants so that they will become familiar with all of the intricacies associated with adjusting and servicing the equipment and be able to carry out the work as representatives of the Soviet plants."

And what do our Polish colleagues think about the new technical center?

This question was answered by the deputy director of Tekstilservis in Lodzi, engineer Stanislav Kashe:

"At the present time, the Soviet Union has supplied Poland with more than 10,000 non-shuttle weaving machines. They have been installed at 56 plants and factories. Tekstilservis must provide technical servicing for this machine pool. With the aid of Polish and Soviet specialists assigned to Tekstilservis, a technical institute has been created for teaching Polish workers how to service these machines. Nine hundred individuals have already earned master certificates. The experience that has been accumulated is making it possible to convert over to the technical servicing of a wider assortment of Soviet machines in the weaving and spinning branches. This is an important task and the opening of the technical center will undoubtedly aid in reaching an effective solution for it."

And here is what the general director of the Polish Varimeks Foreign Trade Society had to say:

"The opening up of still another Soviet technical center in Warsaw serves as new evidence of the fact that Polish-Soviet collaboration is expanding in all directions. The technical center represents an important link between Soviet producers and Polish consumers. We are expecting high quality improvements in our interaction.

7026

**Contents of Journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA
No 10, 1987**

*18070024a Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in
Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 3-4*

[Text] TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COLUMN

"Central America: On the Path Toward Peace, Democracy and Development" 5

N. I. Zhdanov-Lutsenko, "Latin America in the Pacific Context" (Part 2) 8

K. A. Khachaturov, "Protestants Instead of Catholics?" 19

FACTS AND REFLECTIONS

I. M. Bulychev, "The Contras: The War of the Doomed" 34

F. M. Sergeyev, "A Fit of Rage (Grenada, 1983)" 45

TRANSLATIONS

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "The Bolivian Diary" 57

500 YEARS SINCE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA:
THE MEETING OF CULTURES AND CONTINENTS

B. G. Kapustin, "'Discovery' or 'Meeting': The Relativity of Social Progress" 71

ART AND LITERATURE

V. Yu. Silyunas, "Holidays and Nightmares on the Stage of the New Theater" 76

L. I. Tananayeva, "Strokes on the Portrait of Pogolotti (Marking the 85th Anniversary of His Birth)" 90

ARTISTIC JOURNALISM

Joan Didion (United States), "Salvador." Foreword by A. Zverev, Translation by S. Mitina 101

THE JOURNALIST'S NOTEBOOK

N. N. Komin, "On the Large and Small Islands of Guadeloupe" 117

MATERIALS FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

Carla Anne Robbins, "Juan de Onis. Legalized Guerrillas" 128

THE BOOKSHELF

SURVEYS

O. A. Kolobov and A. P. Sergunin (Gorkiy), "Studies of the American Enterprise Institute" 131

REVIEWS

V. Z. Komarov, "Carlos Prats Gonzales: Memoirs. The Testimony of a Soldier" 134

M. G. Kotovskaya, "L. A. Fainberg: Illusory Paradise (A Man in the South American Tropics)" 135

V. G. Aladyin and A. Cruz (Cuba), "Pablo Guadarrama Gonzalez: Essays on Cuban and Latin American Philosophy" 136

S. A. Ayala Diago (Colombia), "S. Galvis and A. Donadio: Nazism in Colombia, 1939-1945" 138

Yu. N. Girin, "The Literature of Latin America: Its History and Current Processes" (V. A. Kuzmishchev, managing editor) 139

LETTERS TO THE EDITORIAL STAFF

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Nauka", "Latinskaya Amerika", 1987

8936

Guatemalan Accord, Central American Integration Praised

*18070024b Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in
Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 5-7*

[Article under the "Editorial Column" rubric: "Central America: On the Path Toward Peace, Democracy and Development"]

[Text] With the victory of the Sandinist revolution, the peoples of Central American countries felt confident of their abilities, as never before, to put an end to the poverty and backwardness, to fundamentally change their own destinies, and to join the course of world development. But the eagerness for a revival has been perceived by the U. S. Administration within the framework of the traditional, onerous thinking of the postulates of pan-Americanism. Active support for the Contras, turning Central America into a zone of conflict, is the result. However, the dialectics of it are such that Contadora, which has embodied the concepts of Latin American inflexibility and will for peace in its activity, came into existence. Its efforts, which are aimed at providing for regional security as well as resolving the problems in overcoming the backwardness of the sides drawn into the conflict, are becoming a reality by means which attest to the unique originality of the Central American community of states.

Official circles in the United States have tried to predict the failure of Contadora time and again, painting a picture of the uselessness of its efforts. But the result turned out to be diametrically opposite. And this is not only because a support group emerged in the form of such prestigious states on the continent as Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Uruguay, but also because the Contadora process aroused the political will of the presidents of Central American countries, who signed the declaration "The Way of Establishing a Lasting and Enduring Peace in Central America" in the capital of Guatemala on 7 August 1987.

Although the document adopted in Guatemala is not the final word by Central American countries in their search for a way out of the critical situation in the subregion, it unquestionably attests that elements of new political thinking have taken root and is a step toward beginning the restructuring of subregional relationships. It is no coincidence that the signing by the heads of state of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala took the White House, which has been accustomed to feeling that it is the boss of Central America, by surprise. But the situation has changed. "Iran-Contra-gate" demonstrated that the actions of the United States are no different from the habits of Central American reaction, which counts on clandestine and open violence. However, the Central American peoples have fully resolved to put an end to this. This is why the demand for a cease-fire (within 90 days of the signing) was put first in the declaration.

National reconciliation is conceived as both the discontinuation of aid to irregular armed groups and a dialogue with the opposition forces. All five countries came to an agreement to declare an amnesty and to put assistance by any states (military, financial, propagandist, and so forth) to irregular military units "outside the law." An important condition in settling the conflict is the democratization of Central American countries. This process provides for guarantees of personal immunity, the maintenance of citizens' freedoms and security, access to the mass media, and the freedom of assembly and travel, as well as territorial integrity and each citizen's right to select a socioeconomic model for development. The Guatemala meeting adopted a proposal to hold elections to a Central American parliament in the first 6 months of 1988; its charter should be drafted within 150 days after the declaration is signed. The presidents of the Central American states will meet again to approve it. The objective is to discuss models for subregional integration that will be effective in resolving socioeconomic and political problems.

In addition, agreement was reached on united efforts to return thousands of refugees to their homes and to repudiate the availability of territory and assistance to individuals and organizations that attempt to destabilize the situation in Central America.

A decision was adopted to establish national and international verification commissions for implementation of the commitments made. The latter will include the secretaries general of the United Nations and the Organization of American States or their representatives and the foreign ministers of Central American countries and the Contadora and support groups.

The White House, which had put forward its plan for a "peaceful solution" a day before the conference in Guatemala, was put on the spot by such a turn of events. Essentially it boiled down to providing for the "survival" of the Contras. But Washington miscalculated. Nicaragua did not refuse to discuss this plan, which was followed by silence from the White House. As a result, the Guatemala Declaration was signed. The Central American countries did not begin waiting for Washington to condescend to formulate its policy on the conflict once again; they adopted the political decisions which are convenient for them.

The triumph of reason in Central America is not accidental. The ideas which matured in the course of the Contadora process and in the nonalignment forum in Harare were discussed recently in Georgetown and were embodied in the search by states in the Central American subregion to find their own way out of the crisis. The new political thinking has proved to be more attractive than the enslaving dollar sops of the United States. The meaning of the ideals incorporated in the genius of Bolivar, Marti and Sandino has come to light in it for the Central American peoples. In order for Latin America to become an integral part of the interdependent world and to bring influence to bear on the course of its progressive development, its consolidation and liberation are the main objective. The eagerness for independence within the framework of overcoming violence and the struggle for democracy are thereby becoming a decisive stimulus for Central American unity and integration of the subregion.

Washington has deliberately confirmed its adherence to a military solution of the conflict: Reagan received the Contra leaders twice, and then introduced a bill for Congress to appropriate 270 million dollars for them. So there is evidence of a policy aimed at disrupting the agreement reached in Central America.

It is well known that the government of Nicaragua was the first to come forward to carry out the commitments adopted in Guatemala. President Daniel Ortega met with opposition party leaders and Cardinal Obando y Bravo to form a commission for national reconciliation. Similar steps have been taken in El Salvador in relations between the FNOFM [as transliterated; the Salvadoran opposition] and Jose Napoleon Duarte. These processes, in spite of their complexity (opposition from the United States, the short periods of time, the problem of disbanding the irregular armed groups, and so forth) are gaining strength, which attests to the potential of the circles that are thinking realistically in the awakened subregion and

the effectiveness and meaningfulness of Latin America's growing solidarity with the sovereign political initiatives of the Central American states aimed at a political settlement of the conflict situation.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Nauka", "Latinskaya Amerika", 1987

8936

Latin American States' Role in 'Pacific Community' Assessed

18070024c Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 8-18

[Conclusion of two-part article by N. I. Zhdanov-Lutsenko: "Latin America in the Pacific Context"]

[Text]

Reconsideration of the Unilateral Orientation Toward the United States

The fact that Latin America has begun to be more actively involved in trade and economic relations with countries in the Pacific region in recent years attests to its well-known divergence from unilateral orientation toward the United States. This has been a logical continuation of the struggle for independence which the peoples of Latin America have waged over the past three decades. It is sufficient to say that 198 foreign enterprises, 158 of them American, were nationalized in the 1960-1976 period alone.

A change in the structure and direction of foreign economic ties and the use of collective forms of action at the regional level are a characteristic feature of the Latin American countries' struggle. It is natural that their eyes are turning not only toward the power that is the capitalist world's second in industrial might—Japan, but toward such nontraditional partners as the socialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, whose political and economic influence on the course and direction of the processes of Pacific regionalization is becoming more and more significant.

With the completion of the Baykal-Amur Mainline to the Pacific coast in the vicinity of the port of Vostochnyy (near Nakhodka), the Soviet Union had a new strategic transportation artery which reinforced the link of the country's European part not only with areas in Siberia and the Far East, but essentially with the entire economic organism of the Asia and Pacific region.

The countries of Latin America have regarded the activation of the Soviet Union's Pacific policy with interest and understanding. In this connection, the broad Latin American representation at the International Seminars on Problems of Collaboration in the Pacific Basin, which

have been held regularly since 1974 in the Soviet Far Eastern port of Nakhodka, are attracting attention. It may appear that the Nakhodka movement is a special case among the large number of spontaneous initiatives here and there throughout the entire Asia-Pacific region as a reflection of integration trends, and that it is not comparable with those overall regional macroprocesses which make it possible to speak of the origin of a new "Pacific world order." However, this is not the case. The Nakhodka meetings have earned the ideological capital which has been at the foundation of the conceptual directions of Soviet Pacific policy formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and in the speech by M. S. Gorbachev at Vladivostok, as well as in his interview in July this year with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA. Let us remember that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee proposed a constructive alternative to the attempts to militarize and undermine confidence in the region, both in Moscow and on the Pacific coast: settlement of regional disputes; no extension of nuclear arms to Asia and the Pacific; talks on reduction of naval activity; the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Asia; and practical discussion of confidence measures and the nonuse of force.

The Soviet initiatives to safeguard peace in the Pacific, and especially the latest proposal on its readiness to eliminate all medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR as well, have met with broad support in Latin America. They are in keeping with the ideas of establishing a nuclear-free zone on the continent and the same zone in the South Atlantic, with the proclamation of the nuclear-free status of the South Pacific, the dissolution of the ANZUS bloc (following the collapse of SEATO earlier), and the demands that nuclear weapons be banned in the ASEAN countries. The "neoglobalist" accent which the United States is attempting to give to "Pacific cooperation" is not being overlooked by the states of Latin America, either.

Opportunities for Latin America to Participate in Integration Processes

Objective integration processes in the Pacific basin put on the agenda the question of establishing a regional mechanism which would bring the diversity of economic ties among the countries of this vast region, which are so different in level of development, together into a unified system. The "Pacific Community" concept was in the discussion stage at the academic level for more than 10 years, then it began to be heard from statesmen, and in Japan it has taken the form of a still vague concept of "Pacific cooperation." The shift of the discussion on a "Pacific community" from the nongovernment to the government level is apparently linked not only with interests in economic development of the countries in the region, but with specific political objectives, which at times become the principal driving force for creating a new regional organization.

The fact is that military and strategic considerations in the region have historically overtaken the trend toward economic rapprochement, and have even stimulated it to a certain extent. An entire system of imperialist blocs and bilateral agreements has already taken shape in Asia and the Pacific and further military and political rapprochement is under way. The bloc element unquestionably is incorporated in the "Pacific Community" concept as well. Thus, a report prepared by S. Okita (he was Japan's minister of foreign affairs) timed for the trip to Australia by the late prime minister M. Ohira stated directly that the "security" of the region in the "Asia-Pacific era" should rest on the "Japanese-American Security Treaty" and on the ANZUS. It follows from this that primarily the United States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada are assumed to be included in the "Pacific Community." It is typical that practically all the basic potential members of the community being planned take part in the "Rimpac" military maneuvers conducted regularly in the Pacific. The fact that Japan has taken part in these maneuvers has been assessed as implementation of the United States' intent to integrate it into the overall system of military blocs and to make use of the Japanese armed forces in its aggressive global strategy.

It should be noted, however, that Japan has not been objectively interested in ensuring that Pacific integration assumes a political or strategic military nature in conformity with the United States' "neoglobalist" plans. In the view of Japanese business circles, the process of integration in the Pacific has to be maintained in the field of economic ties by any means. As Noboru Goto, president of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, stated in an interview with the weekly SHUKAN POST, "Japan should play a deterrent role with respect to the United States in the Pacific basin. Military and political aspects cannot assume first priority, inasmuch as in the final analysis this will disrupt the system of dialogue which has been developed with such effort between Japan and the region's developing countries. It must be done so that the policy of the United States is not imposed on Pacific states." Things that are quite specific are behind such a position: the foundations for the infrastructure of regional economic development are already being laid now, the question of establishing a unified structure of banking ties and a Pacific data system by means of unifying national computer memory banks is under study, and regional organizations are working on power engineering problems.

We can ascertain that there has been an increase in recent years in the effort to develop intraregional economic contacts, not only in accordance with the traditional "North-South" principle (developed and developing countries), but in accordance with the horizontal "South-South" principle (the developing states of Latin America and Southeast Asia, let us say). There are a number of contributing factors, including the common character of orientation toward Spanish culture and

Catholicism dating from colonial times not only in Latin American countries, but in an ASEAN member state such as the Philippines.

A more active position by the countries of Latin America and their own integration associations with respect to Pacific regionalism has already begun to attract attention. Although the question of specific participation by the Latin Americans in the various plans and structures of the "Pacific Community" are practically never discussed in the West at present, variations of Latin America's incorporation in the "new order" in the Pacific are nevertheless being miscalculated for certain in the "brain centers" of developed capitalist powers. It is being ascertained whether it can play the role of a distinctive "Trojan horse" for the doubting countries (primarily in Southeast Asia) if it graphically demonstrates the tactical advantages of economic collaboration with the organizers of the "Pacific Community."

During his tour of the South Pacific early this year, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs T. Kuranari made it unequivocally clear that Japan, as one of the initiators of the "Pacific Community," would be unstinting in its "aid." Expressing the intention to begin increasing economic "aid" to developing states in the Pacific basin, Kuranari confirmed the readiness to spend part of the vast gold reserves generated from foreign trade on the needs of developing countries. This approach has already been nicknamed the "Japanese Marshall Plan."

An intensive search for answers to the questions of how to draw Latin America into the establishment of a new regional Pacific organization and how to focus the attention and initiative of Latin American states in precisely this direction is under way both in Japan and the United States. The frequent allusions to countries in Latin America (Chile, Panama, Mexico) among the possible participants in the "Pacific Community" attest to this. Moreover, The United States has planned to include Latin American states on the Pacific coast (Mexico, the Central American countries, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and Peru, as well as Brazil on the Atlantic) among participants in the Organization for Pacific Trade and Development (OPTAD)—a sort of prototype of the "Pacific Community." OPTAD, according to the conception suggested in 1968 by the Japanese Center for Economic Research, should be established as an intergovernmental organ which would be consultative in nature and be concerned with the conduct of a unified policy by Pacific countries in the field of trade, capital investments and aid,

In November 1979, a "group to study cooperation in the Pacific basin," created at the personal instructions of Prime Minister M. Ohira, prepared and submitted to the head of government a preliminary report on the prospects for establishing a "Pacific Community," which noted in particular that all the preceding and currently existing regional organizations had limited objectives, united a small number of countries, and were private and

nongovernmental in nature, as a rule. In light of Japanese-Latin American relations, it is noteworthy that the "Pacific Community" is defined as a "system" in which the economy of countries which are being developed the most dynamically, a continent and oceans which hold rich natural resources, and various civilizations are being combined." [initial quotation mark omitted in text] The report singles out features of the future "Pacific Community" which the earlier regional organizations did not have. To begin with, it should unite a considerably larger number of countries which at the same time have little in common (!) in the historical, cultural, economic and other fields.

Articles in the Japanese press on the community being planned, as well as materials from the preliminary report of the "group to study cooperation the Pacific basin," point out the tasks which are supposed to be resolved within the framework of this organization: extension of mutual understanding among states by expanding exchange in the fields of science, education, information and culture, and simplification of procedures related to the entry into and departure from countries in the community; expansion and intensification of collaboration in the joint development of sources of power and raw materials, as well as in solving the food problem; assistance for the development of all countries in the region by providing aid, primarily from the United States and Japan; and expansion of economic cooperation and the organization of joint capital investments in the economy of other states, improvement in the currency and financial systems, and improvement in the conditions for access to the domestic markets of each of the community's countries.

If each group of objectives is closely examined from the viewpoint of improving the conditions for Japan's expansion in Latin America, such an analysis will show that it is quite obvious what the underlying reason is for establishing the "Pacific Community." First of all, in fact, "exchange in the fields of science and culture" has been called upon to balance the economic list in Japanese expansion which has led to dissatisfaction and protests. Secondly, the "expansion and intensification of collaboration to develop fuel and raw material resources" has been subordinated to the Japanese policy of diversifying sources of energy, raw materials and food, in which the most important direction, as noted previously, is expansion into Latin America. Thirdly, Japan's provision of "aid" to future Latin American members of the "Pacific Community" has been called upon to entangle these countries with the threads of not only the traditional dependence, but new dependence as well. And fourthly, "improvement in the conditions for access to the domestic markets of each of the community's countries" is quite openly directed at the Latin American states, inasmuch as Japan already has relatively free access to the domestic markets of the United States, Australia, ASEAN, and other possible participants in the community. Thus the concept of the "Pacific Community," even if the term "community" itself is not

emphasized and the accent is shifted to "collaboration," is the most important long-range stratagem in Japan's foreign policy; the entire regional political and economic status of this power seriously depends on its successful implementation.

While the "Pacific Community," which could include certain Latin American states among its proposed members, is being planned by Japan as a structure to serve its economic interests, the United States sees in the broad regional mechanism only a means of consolidating the forces of its basic military and political allies in the Asia-Pacific region. There is obvious lack of harmony between the intentions of Washington and Tokyo, on the one hand, and the developing countries of the Pacific basin, including Latin American states, on the other hand; the latter are in no hurry to offer themselves as an object of institutionalized foreign economic expansion or as chess pieces in a large-scale geopolitical game which is alien to their national interests.

* * *

To sum up certain points that have been made, let us note that the processes of Pacific integration also have a global and historical aspect. It may be said that, while we are not now participants, we are witnesses to the natural development of a new world order which is being formed around the planet's largest ocean. This approaching world order has been conceived by contemporary imperialism as a sort of "social revenge," as an attempt to prove that the future lies not with socialism, but with a regional version of a "postindustrial society." This is why the market economy is the determining factor in every one of the concepts of integration processes and their organizational makeup which have been proposed by Japan, the United States, Australia, or other Western countries. In point of fact, the capitalist way is an "admission ticket" into the future community. The Soviet Union and the socialist states of Asia carefully remain outside the limits of any regional formation for this very reason. And China's participation is practically dependent on whether it follows the path of eroding the socialist foundations of its economy by such steps as establishing special economic zones, foreign loans, concessions, and so forth. In connection with Hong Kong's return to the PRC in a few years, even a new term—"the hongkongization of China"—has made its appearance. Let us remember that the attraction of the PRC was discussed most actively when the "China card" could be played against the USSR. Somehow such voices have been muffled lately.

However, it is difficult to keep the Soviet Union outside the limits of Pacific integration artificially. "The policy of the USSR," wrote the Japanese magazine JAPAN PRESS, "is now turning into the most dynamic factor in the development of the situation in the Pacific." Participation by the USSR as an observer in the Conference on Economic Cooperation Among Pacific Basin Countries (PEKK [as transliterated]) has become the most obvious

demonstration of new Soviet thinking in the regional context. The fact that China and Taiwan became full members when the Soviet Union was granted the status of observer at the (PEKK) session in Vancouver in November 1986 is attracting attention as well.

Expansion of the circle of participants in Pacific integration, including through addition of Latin American countries, obviously will be examined for a long time in the dim light of "detering" the USSR. It is not coincidental that the constructive program noted in M. S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech has been perceived in Washington and Tokyo as a "challenge to the Western camp" which requires "immediate counteraction." One of the recent examples of such counteraction is the hysterical campaign in connection with the conclusion of a fishing agreement between the USSR and Kiribati and the organization of Soviet diplomatic contacts with Vanuatu and other small countries in Oceania. In M. S. Gorbachev's responses to questions from the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, the Soviet leader noted that we have unfortunately encountered such a situation time and again, when our desire to establish good and simply diplomatic and trade relations with one country or another in the region has been immediately put in the category of crafty political intrigues. At times, the large-caliber artillery of political pressure is used in attempts to intimidate the governments and public of small states that are just getting on their feet. Meanwhile, the true intentions of the Soviet Union are completely apparent from the constructive program of measures for the further relaxation of tension in the Asia-Pacific region that was proposed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

It will be recalled that its basic directions, as they were formulated in the interview with the Indonesian newspaper in connection with the anniversary of the Vladivostok speech, include the following possible steps, together with readiness to implement the "global double zero" concept: 1) The Soviet Union is prepared to pledge not to increase the number of carrier aircraft for nuclear weapons in the Asian part of the country if the United States does not place additional nuclear weapons which reach the territory of the USSR in this region; 2) the Soviet Union reaffirms its readiness to accept reduced activity by the navies of the USSR and the United States in the Pacific, including restriction of the operating area for ships carrying nuclear weapons, submarine rivalry, and the scope of naval exercises and maneuvers in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and adjacent seas; 3) it is necessary to establish international guarantees for the security of navigation in the Indian Ocean and the seas, straits and gulfs which are part of it; and 4) the USSR proposes interaction with countries in the Asia-Pacific region in the struggle to ban nuclear testing and for nuclear disarmament.

Analysis of the different aspects of Latin America's involvement in the processes of Pacific regionalization, its relationships with leading states in the Pacific basin,

its participation in the region's most important problems, and the opportunities for it to take part in Pacific economic integration makes it possible to single out a number of factors which are responsible for Latin America's special place among the developing states and its new role in the system of international relationships in the Asia-Pacific region in the late 1980's and 1990's.

The first group of factors consists of problems related to Latin America's economic position in the Pacific basin. Ruling circles in the United States, Japan, and other developed powers in the Pacific attach particular importance to Latin America's place in the capitalist economy, viewing it as a single region located in an intermediate position between the countries of developed capitalism and the countries of Asia and Africa. Based on the level of economic development reached by Latin American countries, the theoreticians of imperialism are attempting to demonstrate the viability of capitalism for all developing countries by their example. Particular emphasis is put on the fact that each year Latin America moves farther and farther away from the peripheral countries of other regions in its level of economic development, in spite of a certain slowing in the process of industrialization. It is precisely Latin America that holds first place among all developing states in the level of productive forces and it far exceeds the overall level of industrial development in the "Third World": with one-seventh of the population in the developing world, it has about half of all its industrial production.

The Latin American countries, with their relatively developed mining and processing industry, are successfully speeding up exports of raw materials and minerals, the increasing need for which is being felt more and more strongly by industrial powers in the Pacific region. It is not without purpose that Japan and the United States are showing increased interest in studying and jointly developing Latin America's richest natural resources. The large capacity of the Latin American market, which is potentially extraordinary, is attracting the close attention of the United States, Japan, Australia and Canada, which are already assessing it as highly promising today. On the other hand, a serious obstacle to more active participation by Latin America in the economic processes of the Pacific basin is its traditional isolation from broad intraregional ties and the lack of sufficient information on how the process of economic development is proceeding in other, more remote countries in this region.

A second group of factors is related to Latin America's political and strategic importance for the Pacific basin. The dynamic Latin American subcontinent, with its rich revolutionary traditions and experience in the national liberation struggle, possesses vast potential for anti-imperialist consolidation and has already repeatedly demonstrated Latin American solidarity and coordinated actions in world forums and international organizations. Naturally, this cannot help but create concern in

the United States and Japan. After the Cuban revolution, the struggle to keep countries in the region in the capitalist system became the key orientation of their Latin American strategy.

The complex system of contradictions among the imperialists in the region and the centrifugal and centripetal trends—these are all political factors which determine the extent to which Latin America will be involved in intraregional integration processes, and in what form. The leading states in the Pacific region will probably try to control Latin Americans' efforts to achieve political and economic independence, taking advantage of their desire to diversify their own foreign contacts to the maximum extent in the process.

Rendering what is due to the objective factors which contribute to the development of a system of Pacific regionalism and which determine the extent of Latin America's participation in it, let us recall that K. Marx predicted in 1850 that "...the Pacific Ocean will play the same role now being played by the Atlantic and which the Mediterranean Sea played in ancient times and the Middle Ages..." (Footnote) (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 7, p 233) Great and small powers, developed and developing states, different social and political systems, and diverse cultures and civilizations have found themselves within the framework of a single Asia-Pacific region, and while they were previously divided by the planet's largest ocean, the extent of their interrelationship, integration and interdependence will obviously increase steadily in the coming century, which has been correctly called "the Pacific century."

There is also one more group of factors which will begin to have a more noticeable effect the more that Latin America becomes involved in the processes of Pacific integration. This relates to sociopsychological and ethnocultural problems. In order to become an integral part of the Pacific world which is taking shape, any subregion must first overcome the limitations of ignorance and lack of understanding of other sociocultural traditions. Understanding the way of thinking in Asian countries and knowing how to bring one's own value orientation to them—this is an extremely complicated task which the Latin Americans will face as well. If we remember that their experience in contact with Asian immigration has left them with a sufficient amount of prejudice and bias, it is not hard to see the difficult path that peoples of the Asia-Pacific region will have to travel to meet each other halfway before they really feel that they are joined together in a single new community. But when this actually takes place, we will then be able to say with greater confidence that the center of world politics is shifting to the Pacific basin. And the one who can surmount the centuries-old inertia of Atlantic thinking and look toward the future will be better prepared for this.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Nauka". "Latinskaya Amerika", 1987

8936

American Enterprise Institute Works on Latin America Reviewed

18070024e Moscow *LATINSKAYA AMERIKA* in Russian No 10, Oct 87 pp 131-134

[Article by O. A. Kolobov and A. P. Sergunin under the "Bookshelf" rubric and the "Surveys" subhead: "Studies of the American Enterprise Institute"]

[Text] The American Enterprise Institute (AEI) plays a special role in the system of "brain trusts" in the United States by providing direct assistance in formulating Latin American policy for R. Reagan's administration. The AEI has a special center for the study of Latin American problems; its expert assessments are widely utilized in practice by the U. S. foreign policy departments. AEI staff members have been taking an active part in the work of the bipartisan commission on Latin America (the so-called "Kissinger Commission"), created by presidential order in August 1983 to develop long-range policy in the region. More than 40 former employees of the institute have become part of the current administration, and hold high positions in all parts of the government. AEI staff members are actively engaged in propagandist activity: they travel regularly to Latin American countries for lectures, take part in conferences, and organize symposiums at which they try to provide assistance to the Latin American scientists that have been invited, translate their works into the local languages, and so forth.

A study of a different sort serves as the basis for this survey. A considerable number of them are monographs by the institute's staffmembers or persons closely associated with them: H. Wiarda,¹ M. Falcoff² and others. The second category of publications are collective works which are written by institute staff members as well as Latin American experts from "brain trusts" of kindred spirit.³ These works are often published to sum up special scientific conferences, symposiums, "round tables," and the like. Finally, the AEI publishes articles on Latin American subjects in its journals and prepares special thematic issues devoted exclusively to the problems of this region.⁴

Two basic research orientations stand out distinctly in the AEI studies: analysis of the current situation in the region and determination of the prospects for its future development.

The AEI researchers invariably begin an examination of current Latin American realities from assessments of the causes of the crisis in the region. In their opinion, hunger, poverty and unemployment lie at the foundation of the crisis. They believe the causes of these manifestations are primarily factors of a political nature, the inability of the political systems in Latin American countries to adapt to modern conditions. The processes of the economic system are mentioned only in last place,

and in analyzing them, the AEI researchers infer them from the global problems of the entire capitalist world: the fierce trade competition, mass unemployment, the drop in prices for agricultural products, and the like. The American specialists thereby seek to portray the imperialist states as the same victims of economic disorder as the developing countries are and to relieve the former of responsibility for Latin America's disastrous situation. For example, it is maintained that a "revolution of spiritual values," which is understood to be rejection of Latin American totalitarianism and military dictatorship and adoption of the concepts of bourgeois democracy, not the economic processes, lies at the foundation of the political crisis in Latin America.

The AEI researchers devote considerable attention to the international aspects of the crisis in Latin America. They note with concern the growth of anti-American attitudes in the region, the crisis of the Inter-American system, and the activity of Latin American states in the non-aligned movement. Dwelling on the causes of these processes, M. Falcoff includes the United States' loss of a monopoly in military ties with Latin America (in recent years, Washington's imperialist competitors—France, Israel, Britain—have been actively squeezing it out of the Latin American arms market), the United States' unfair trade policy with respect to the region, and of course, the notorious "Soviet-Cuban threat." The AEI scientists acknowledge that Washington's pro-British position in the Falklands conflict dealt a serious blow to U. S. prestige in Latin America. It should be noted that a certain reasonableness and a critical attitude characterize the AEI assessments in this part of the analysis of Latin American realities—except for the fantasy about the "Soviet-Cuban threat," naturally. The AEI specialists note with good reason that the United States itself is to blame to a large extent for the decline in its influence in Latin America. Some of them try to shift the responsibility for the setbacks to J. Carter, but the majority consider these not as errors by individual administrations, but the result of Washington's underestimation of the nature of the processes taking place in the region.

H. Wiarda notes that both Republicans and Democrats are equally to blame for this. He singles out the following aspects of U. S. Latin American policy that are faulty, in his view: the region has undeservedly held one of the last places in the system of U. S. foreign policy priorities; Washington does not understand Latin Americans—their needs, problems and specific nature—and is operating with incorrect assessments and concepts in developing its political policy; the White House's Latin American policy often is moralizing and propagandistic in nature, which at times is detrimental to its allies in the region (this means the totalitarian regimes—the authors); and the United States views the situation in Latin America through the prism of the interparty struggle.

In summing up, Wiarda draws the conclusion that the principal reason for the failures in Washington's Latin

American policy is the vividly expressed "ethnocentrism" of the United States in its approach to international problems. The author sees the essence of this phenomenon in a reluctance to acknowledge the validity of other peoples' demands and in the White House's desire to impose values and "models" for development on them which are based on Western experience, as a rule. By viewing it as a universal model for the entire world and by making "Westernization" of the "Third World" the principal objective of its foreign policy, the United States seeks to fill the role of a "patron" and "moral leader" with respect to developing states, which ends up in practice in undisguised interventionism.

The basic component in the policy proposed by Wiarda is the requirement to take Latin America's specific nature into account and to reject the imposition of Western development "models" on the region. He advocates a critical reexamination of Western experience in order to ascertain which of its values are specific and which are universal in importance. In his view, the United States is underestimating the role of Latin American "models" of development, and it is called upon to devote more attention to them, inasmuch as they may have better chances for success than the formulas imposed by the United States. The specifics of these "models," Wiarda believes, include: the informal nature of social and political institutions (activity by family and clan groups and the patronage ties which prevail over the formally functioning party system); the predominance of corporativism rooted in the traditions of Iberian political culture; and the instability of political alliances and coalitions and—as a counterbalance to this—the trend toward authoritarian forms of government.

In establishing directions for the United States' foreign economic strategy in the region, the AEI advises the administration to modify its trade system somewhat in favor of Latin America, to defer payment on foreign indebtedness by a number of countries in the region, and to increase aid programs for allies of the United States. In the last case, it is proposed that emphasis be placed not on government channels, but on private investment and the attraction of capital from West Europe and Japan. The AEI recommends that Latin Americans become accustomed to "patience" and "realism," stressing that improvement in the economic "health" of the region will take a long period of time over several decades. In this connection, the institute advocates reinforcement of the ideological and political "treatment" of Latin Americans, utilizing the channels of international assistance and cultural exchange. The AEI recommends not only that funds be allocated for these purposes, but that more teachers, agronomists and doctors also be sent to the region to enhance the prestige of the United States on the spot in the eyes of the Latin Americans.

The institute suggests that the process of replacing the military and pro-fascist dictatorships in the region with civilian regimes be promoted. At the same time, the AEI researchers believe that under conditions where there is

an upsurge in the national liberation movement and a decline in U. S. prestige in Latin America, it is necessary to resign oneself to "political pluralism" in the region and increased activity by other powers in this part of the world. Moreover, Washington should reject attempts to change the course of events in Latin America by force, even if this conflicts with the Monroe Doctrine and its "outline is obvious." A rejection of "gunboat diplomacy," in Wiarda's words, does not rule out U. S. leadership in the region: it is necessary only that it be exercised in other, "milder" forms. The emergence of a "power vacuum," in the AEI specialists' opinion, should never be permitted in any case. Nevertheless, in conducting a "mild" policy, "exceptions" and "a selective approach" are possible, particularly with respect to Cuba and Nicaragua. As applied to these countries, a policy of blackmail, threat and pressure, combined with the tactic of negotiations, provocation of differences among them, and the like is recommended. And if these methods of diplomacy do not yield a result, the use of military force is not ruled out.

In assessing the AEI's ideological and political platform for Latin American problems, we cannot help but note that the "new policy" of the United States in the region proposed by its researchers is not the same in practice. It is a version of neocolonialism that is more refined, flexible and adapted to local specifics. Implementation of the AEI recommendations by the Reagan administration has demonstrated the continuity and kinship of the "new policy" with the previous methods and forms of imperialist policy. Further escalation of the United States' intervention in the region's affairs is continuing

and all the contradictions that have accumulated there are being even further exacerbated.

Footnotes

1. H. Wiarda, "Corporatism and National Development in Latin America," Boulder, 1981; idem, "In Search of Policy: The United States and Latin America," Washington, 1984; M. Kryzanek and H. Wiarda, "The Dominican Republic: A Caribbean Crucible," Boulder, 1982; H. Wiarda, "Ethnocentrism in Foreign Policy: Can We Understand the Third World?" Washington, 1985.

2. M. Falcoff, "Small Countries, Large Issues. Studies in U. S.- Latin American Asymmetries," Washington, 1984.

3. "Latin American Politics and Development," Boston, 1979; "The Continuing Struggle for Democracy in Latin America," Boulder, 1980; M. Falcoff, G. Grunwald and H. Wiarda, "The Crisis in Latin America: Strategic, Economic and Political Dimensions," Washington, 1984; "Rift and Revolution: The Central American Imbrolio," Washington, 1985.

4. See, for example: "The Alternative Futures of Latin America," The AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review, Vol 5, No 3, Washington, 1985.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Nauka", "Latinskaya Amerika", 1987

8936

Farah Described as Afghanistan's First 'Peace Province'

18070025 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 87 p 7

[Article by M. Kozhukhov: "Farah's Craving: Characteristics of the Portrait of the First 'Peace Province' in the DRA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan"]

[Text] Farah—Kabul — When you fly over Farah it seems that this is the edge of the world, that there is nothing further and cannot be. And although the helicopters of the Afghan Air Force travel at a lowest possible altitude we cannot even see the line of the horizon — all that we can see is how the land is rounded. Burned by the sun and polished by the wind, there is not a mound or a tree on it.

And suddenly — a handful of pise structures, whitish-reddish brown, like the Farah steppe itself. It is the republic's outpost, the headquarters of independent frontier battalion number 919.

"Over there is Iran," says Senior Lieutenant Abkukhalik, pointing to the west. "On our section of the border things are quiet now. About 2 months ago, it is true, we wore out a small gang — they were trying to cross the border...But, honestly, there is nothing more to brag about, even — no occurrences. Not counting today's, of course."

Abdukhalik will probably remember this day for a long time. When we spoke with him he was still a senior lieutenant. But when we said good-bye, he was already a captain. He was informed about the promotion to the next military rank by Lieutenant General Tanay, director of the General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces.

"As you already know, Farah calls itself the peace province," said the general in front of the ranks. "This peace, the happiness of our people are today in your hands — do not forget this! And remember — Farah is the first peace province in the country."

Listen — Farah...The whispering of the hot wind, the rustle of the camel's burrs in the sand. "In this area the heat is more deadly than the enemy's sword," warns a geographical guide. This is so — even today the mercury column of the thermometer is reaching its top mark. The town seeks relief from the heat by the snow-white massive turban or a cup of astringent green tea."

Farah is located in southwestern Afghanistan. It represents the very interior of the country, but today one would hardly recognize it. The tree trunks on the main street are wrapped in lengths of colorful cashmere material. At the crosswalk there is a solemn traffic-controller in a blindingly new uniform. There is one piece of news, one event in Farah today — the jirga. This is a council of the elders, of the revered and experienced. Will there be peace in this land? They will decide.

"You ask: Why does Farah proclaim itself to be the first 'peace zone' from among the 28 provinces of Afghanistan? Well, first of all, most of our kishlaks [village in Central Asia] are under the control of the people's power," says Mirkhatam, secretary of the provincial commission of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. "This means that elections were held there, and self-defense groups and sarandoy [provincial militia] posts were created. Further — refugees are returning to the province little by little. We are accepting them and trying to find them work and to give them aid. We have returned land to some — everything by the law. Finally the basis for a coalition is taking shape. For example, our governor is a mullah. In some districts former commanders of dushman detachments have been elected to be chairmen of ispolkoms of people's representatives — as recently as yesterday this would have been unthinkable.

"We also are not sitting with our hands folded — in recent months we have opened ten schools and two nurseries. Seven new wells have appeared in the kishlaks — people will have water...But I do not want to mislead anyone — there are still many problems."

Peace and water — this is what Farah needs now. I was told in the provincial commission of NDPA [National Democratic Party of Afghanistan] that if we had been able to dam the Farakhrud River, which goes dry every summer, then Farah would probably have been able to feed not only itself with grain but all of Afghanistan — the soil here is excellent. Or here is another problem — wool. Tons of it are smuggled into Iran — we do not have our own spinning enterprises. Yet this wool, which comes back to us at a higher price, is used by the women of Farah to make amazingly beautiful rugs — you will not find their like anywhere else in this country...

It seems strange to hear the names of Russian towns here in the Afghanistan backcountry. Most common is the name Astrakhan. In Farah I was asked whether I had ever been in Astrakhan, what the people of Astrakhan were like and what they raise in their fields. This interest is understandable. Astrakhan Oblast sponsors the southwestern Afghan province. It will train teachers and doctors, technicians and agronomists for Farah in its higher educational institutions and technical schools — 25 people annually. It will accept Farah pioneers for the summer season. Almost 300 points have concluded agreements on fraternal aid, including seed and graders, school desks, sanitation equipment, and even uniforms for mailmen! Agreements have already been signed. Farah residents have already visited Astrakhan and are waiting impatiently and preparing for Astrakhan residents to visit them.

Not yet cooled down from the war, Farah is looking toward tomorrow and is hurrying time along. It is already considering capital repairs of its main road and planning the building of water canals and a new building for the electric power station. There are still interruptions in the availability of electricity for lighting — the

power is turned on only in the evenings and then only for a few hours. And a cultural center? Well, at least a movie house! — they sigh dreamily in Farah.

Today the local group of rebels has about 4,500 bayonets. Almost half of these men are irreconcilable enemies of the revolution — they flatly refused to negotiate with government authorities. However, they cannot find a common language amongst themselves — battles flame up in one district or another, and the “guardians of Islam” are elucidating relations...They have not dared to advance on the provincial center. They sit out in mountainous regions, at staging bases on the Iranian border. Sometimes they show their teeth. They abducted the teachers in Khaki-Safed and demanded an enormous ransom for each. They fired at a group of elders in Anardara district who were going to negotiations with a neutral band. In Balakh-Bulk the secretary of the district party committee was killed.

...Elders in festive wide trousers and shirts worn outside the trousers are sitting in the shade of the cedar trees, either on wooden benches or on rugs spread out on the ground. Each one has the indispensable rosary in his hands. They hold themselves with dignity — here they represent not only themselves but also the kishlak or clan which has given them authorization to participate in the jirga. The jirga says that the people want peace!

These are the obligations that the Farah elders took upon themselves that day: to secure safety of roads and state institutions and to create armed self-defense detachments. They will not allow arms caravans through their territory. They will send their young men into the armed forces.

These are the obligations that are being taken on by the government authorities: to help with arms, with ammunition, with food, with the most necessary goods on a free of charge basis. They will also provide credit, allocate seed and send doctors to the kishlaks — the list will take more than one page...

The highlight of the day was an event that had never before been seen in this region. I cannot even imagine what else could have elicited as much delight as the Niva combine which traversed the streets of Farah during the jirga! Those who lived in the village had seen this type of thing on television. But those who had come from the kishlaks were truly shocked by the combine. It was the embodiment of the long-desired peaceful life.

“I cannot deny that the decisions of the jirga will be secured by measures of a military nature,” says Colonel Dzhonboz, commander of the motorized infantry division stationed there. “Several dushman caravan routes pass through Farah. They are used to supply arms to

bands in the interior regions of the country. Further, the rebels still control a significant portion of the large district of Anardara — the residents there have asked for help more than once. Finally, we must achieve the protection of the Farah-Farakhrud road — this is the road used to supply the population with the free aid from the USSR. There are still cases in which vehicles are blown up and columns are shot at here...And if the rebels do not subordinate themselves to the decisions of the jirga we will carry out military operations.”

“Here, incidentally,” concludes the colonel, “we are obliged by a tradition of our forefathers — the decisions of the jirga are mandatory for everyone. Insubordination incurs disgrace, and in special cases the house of the violator may be burned and he himself is banished from the kishlak. A foreign place or the homeland, war or peace — let them now choose for themselves.”

Will there be peace here? What kind of peace will it be? Answers to these questions are now being sought by all of Afghanistan, which is still thundering with war and still burying its dead but which is already changed and has already acquired hope. Farah is the first victory on the path toward agreements and compromise and a union of recent enemies. During recent months it has happened that kishlaks and even districts have declared themselves to be “peace zones.” Now it is the turn of the province.

8228

Kabul Russian-Language School Highlighted

18310413 [Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 2 September 1987 carries on page 4 an unsigned note headlined “The First Experimental School” on the work of the Dusti [Friendship] school in Kabul, which is “a gift to the students of Afghanistan from our country.” The school, which uses Russian as the language of instruction, has both a Soviet director, V.Y. Bulgayev, and an Afghan director, Malikha Omar, who is a graduate of a Soviet higher school. According to Omar, “Dusti is the first experimental school in Afghanistan. In the future all subjects will be taught by Soviet teachers in Russian. Certainly, like all other Afghan students, our students will study their mother tongue, the country’s history and the fundamentals of Islam.” She added that “the experimental program to which Soviet and Afghan experts have devoted so much time intends that Dusti’s students learn Russian well.” She noted that since the April revolution more than 17 million textbooks have been published in Dari, Pushtu, Uzbek, and Turkmen.

/06662

END