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JPRS-UIA-86-011

4 March 1986

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4 March 1986

USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

NEW FORMS OF ECONOMIC AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow *SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA* in Russian No. 5, Sep-Oct 85 pp 105-116

[Article by V. D. Popov: "New Forms of Economic Cooperation between CEMA Member-Countries and Developing States"; passages printed in all capital letters are printed in italics for emphasis in original]

[Text] The article undertakes an attempt to thoroughly analyze the development of new forms of foreign economic ties between the CEMA member-countries and the developing states and to show their stimulating influence on the economic development of the young states, as well as on the development of their trade-and-economic ties with the socialist countries.

The USSR and the other CEMA member-countries ascribe great importance to the establishment and development of foreign economic ties with the developing countries. Of particular interest among these ties are the new forms of economic cooperation between the socialist and the developing countries.

In expanding and deepening the traditional trade-and-economic ties with the young states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the CEMA member-countries are creating new opportunities for a complete utilization of the advantages of the international division of labor (MRT) in the interests of increasing the effectiveness of social production in both groups of countries. The following data testify to the enormous scale of the trade-and-economic cooperation between the socialist and the developing countries.

Thus, for example, the USSR had at the beginning of 1985 trade-and-economic ties with 144 countries, including ties with 100 developing countries. Goods turnover between the USSR and the developing countries grew from 5.8 billion rubles in 1974 to approximately 17 billion rubles in 1984 [1], i.e., it tripled. The other CEMA member-countries have also developed their own foreign economic ties with the developing states at the same high rate.

With the cooperation of the USSR and other CEMA member-countries about 3700 facilities have already been built and put into operation in the developing states. During the next few years more than 5,000 more facilities will be built in more than 100 developing countries [2, No. 10, 1984, p 44].

In the declaration concerning the basic directions for further developing and deepening the economic, scientific, and technical cooperation of the CEMA member-countries, as adopted at the Economic Conference of the CEMA member-countries, held at the highest level on 14 June 1984 it was emphasized that in the future they would continue to expand their cooperation with the developing countries, proceeding from the fact that this would facilitate the upsurge of the national economies and strengthen the economic independence of the indicated countries, as well as develop mutually profitable economic ties with them [3].

The rapid development of trade-and-economic ties between the CEMA member-countries and the developing countries is characterized not only by quantitative indicators of the growth of goods turnover, economic and technical cooperation, but also by substantial qualitative changes. This has been reflected, above all, in the development of new forms of foreign economic ties, such as cooperation on a compensatory basis, production cooperation, licensing-patent trade, modernization of industrial enterprises, joint creation of agro-technical complexes, cooperation in the field of scientific-research, planning and design projects, along with the joint development of plans for the developing countries and cooperation in the field of other types of planning activity, an exchange of information in the field of new technology, scientific and technical developments, as well as in the field of socio-economic planning and forecasting, the training of national personnel, etc.

An important place among the new forms is occupied by cooperation between the CEMA member-countries and the developing states on a compensatory basis. The gist of it consists of granting these states financial and material resources with a targeted goal (usually in the form of targeted credits) for creating new or modernizing and expanding existing production capacities. Clearing off (compensating) these resources of the developing countries is carried out by deliveries of items produced at the new capacities or by deliveries of analogous products of other enterprises.

In 1984, for example, the USSR had approximately 30 compensatory agreements with the developing countries; among these agreements the most important were the agreements with Guinea regarding bauxite (1969), Syria and Iraq--regarding petroleum (1969 and 1975), Morocco--regarding phosphates (1978), the NRK [People's Republic of the Congo]--regarding polymetals (1981), and others [2, No. 3, 1984, p 26]. Other CEMA member-countries have more than 20 such agreements with the developing states.

Cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist states on a compensatory basis makes it easier for them to solve the problem of financing capital investments, since a considerable portion of them is covered by means of targeted credits for the supplier [12]. This is likewise profitable for the socialist countries, which supplement their national resources by means of such cooperation, economizing on foreign currency, which is in short supply, and freeing up part of their production capacities and labor resources for producing other items extremely necessary for national consumption. Furthermore, an important role is also being played by the demographic factor, more precisely speaking, the shortage of manpower in the CEMA countries and its surplus in the developing states. By committing additional production capacities to fill

the orders of socialist countries, the developing countries thereby make it possible to reduce their own existing unemployment.

The particular value of compensatory cooperation between the socialist and the developing countries lies in the fact that in the future it can grow into PRODUCTION COOPERATION, especially in the processing industry. In this regard, compensatory agreements can become an important form of gradually making the transition from one-time, isolated commercial deals to a more efficient and stable, long-term PRODUCTION cooperation, affecting many spheres of material production.

The most widespread types of production cooperation between the socialist and the developing countries are the following: a) joint production of items necessary for both partners; b) cooperative production on a contractual basis; and c) output of items at jointly created enterprises, etc.

Thus, the production of T-25A tractors was set up in Mexico with the USSR's cooperation [2, No. 10, 1984, p 45]. In accordance with an agreement concluded in 1974 between the Traktoroeksport V/O [All-Union Association] and the Mexican State Company Siderurhico Nacional (Sidena), Mexico is being supplied with assemblies and parts in order to assemble the above-indicated model of tractor. Soviet specialists are rendering aid to the Mexican company in assembling the tractors as well as in teaching the local specialists how to service, repair, and operate these tractors [13]. The agreement provides for a gradual increase in the proportion of Mexican-produced parts, assemblies, and components in the assembly of these tractors. The USSR is developing analogous cooperation as well with other developing countries, particularly with India. In particular, the Soviet Union is supplying India with certain units for the production of certain types of power-engineering equipment [2, No. 12, 1983, p 13].

Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Poland have also been actively developing production cooperation with the developing countries. Thus, in Argentina with the aid of Hungary the production of spare parts for locomotives has been set up; these are frequently based on Hungarian assembly parts. In Colombia the assembly of Fiat passenger cars is being carried out, using assemblies and parts from Poland.

Since the late 1970's the practice of relations between the CEMA member-countries (principally Hungary, Romania, and Poland) and the developing states has seen the development of such a form of production cooperation as the creation of JOINT PRODUCTION ENTERPRISES (society-type companies) in various branches of industry. For example, the Bulgarian-Congolese Sofosco engages in searching for and extracting phosphates, the Polish-Nigerian company Motor Assembly assembles motor vehicles, and the Hungarian-Indian company Temiz Chemical Ltd. produces Vitamin B₁₂, satisfying 25-30 percent of the demand for this substance on the Indian market.

The Long-Term Program of Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and India (1979) can be considered one of the first steps in this direction. A special section of the Program is devoted to developing production cooperation and specialization between the Soviet Union

and India, the possibilities of the partners have been defined along with the forms of cooperation and the sectors of its application.

Since the mid-1970's ties have begun to develop between the planning organs of the CEMA member-countries and those of the developing states. Besides help in drawing up plans for the development of the national economy, help being rendered by specialists from the socialist countries to a number of the young, independent states, and the exchange of various information, methodology, and scientific developments in the field of planning and forecasting, the initial steps have been undertaken to coordinate the plans for developing certain economic sectors of a number of countries. Thus, in 1979-1980 USSR Gosplan and the planning organs of the other CEMA countries held consultations with the planning organizations of certain young, socialistically-oriented states for the purpose of reckoning the needs for importing goods necessary to them and the possibilities for exporting them during the period extending to 1985 and to 1990.

In order to render effective assistance to the developing countries for conducting scientific-research and planning-design work, the socialist partners are utilizing such a form of cooperation as the creation of engineering-consulting firms directly in the client-countries. For example, the Bulgarian Association Bulgargeomin has consulting-technical offices (for geological prospecting and mining work) in Algeria, Iraq, Libya, and Tunisia. The Agrokomplekt organization is engaging in the study of the possibilities for using Bulgarian equipment, technology, and experience in agro-industrial complexes in seven three Arab, and two Latin American countries. Analogous problems are being studied by branches of the GDR's organizations known as Agrokonsult and Industriekonsult.

Multi-lateral, economic ties of the CEMA countries within the framework of such cooperation can be called a relatively new phenomenon in the practice of cooperation with the developing countries. Dissemination of this form of joint activity is to be explained by the scope of the plans as well as by the deepening of specialization and cooperation between the socialist states, and by the objective trend to expand the international division of labor. With the assistance of the USSR, for example, Nigeria is carrying out the construction of a metallurgical plant. The light-section and wire mills for this enterprise are being supplied by the GDR, while the medium-section mill is being supplied by Czechoslovakia. In Libya, commissioned by the Tekhnopromeksport V/O (USSR), the Bulgarian organization Tekhnoeksportstroy has carried out construction operations on building an electric-power transmission line.

During the last few years there has developed such a form of cooperation on the part of the socialist countries in carrying out plans in the developing states as the creation of temporary associations (consortiums). For example, 1978 the foreign-trade organizations of Cuba, the USSR, and Poland created a consortium to build an agrarian complex in Nigeria for growing and processing sugar-cane.

Having achieved some definite successes in the field of industrialization, included those achieved with the assistance of the socialist states, certain developing countries have mastered the production of quite complex types of

machinery and equipment, which has created the prerequisites for developing their industrial exports. Cooperation with their socialist partners in going out after the markets of third countries allows the liberated states to ensure the charging of their production capacities and the expansion of exports.

The most active participation in such cooperation has been undertaken by India, which supplies certain types of equipment for the metallurgical plants in Nigeria and Algeria under construction with the help of the USSR. Indian companies have cooperated with Hungarian organizations in building electric light-bulb plants in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka; also with Czechoslovak firms building enterprises to assemble motorcycles in Iraq. One of the new trends in such cooperation is the joint planning and production of finished goods with the prospect of selling them on the markets of third countries.

The fruitful cooperation between Soviet and Libyan organizations in such an important and progressive field as the joint production and use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes at the Tazhura Research Center (30 km from Tripoli) could be called a trend with good prospects. This center has been furnished with a research reactor, a Tokamak installation, and an elementary-particle accelerator, all of which have been operating successfully for several years now. Here too a radioactive isotope laboratory has been successfully functioning [2, No. 2, 1984, p 45]. This center is considered to be the largest of those similar to it in the Arab countries [14]. It not only carries out the production and use of nuclear power but conducts large scientific research projects and the training of national personnel in the field of nuclear-power engineering.

In recent years development has been observed of such a sphere of exchange of the results of scientific research and experimental-design developments between the CEMA member-countries and the developing states as LICENSING-PATENT TRADE. The Litsenzintorg V/O was created in the USSR as far back as 1962. During the 1970's and 1980's other CEMA member-countries adopted a number of appropriate legislative and normative acts, forming the contractual-legal foundation for licensing relations with foreign partners. The mid-1970's in the USSR and the other CEMA member-countries witnessed the beginning of the planning of licensing activities, including as well cooperation with the developing states. Moreover, particular attention is being accorded to defining the optimal correlation between the export of finished goods and the export of licenses and patents, inasmuch as a miscalculation of the latter could negatively affect the licenser of the corresponding items in the markets.

By the early 1980's Soviet licenses and patents were being used in 40 of the world's countries [2, No. 2, 1980, p 20], including several developing countries (India, Algeria, Iran, Afghanistan, Mexico, and others), the number of which is increasing every year. From 1971 to 1980 alone the amount of licenses sold by the Soviet Union to the developing countries increased more than 10-fold [2, No. 3, 1983, p 30]. Licenses and patents of the GDR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia are quite widely utilized in the developing countries.

Licenses and patents now comprise one of the most important technological components within the complete-set types of deliveries for enterprises now under construction in the developing countries with the assistance of the CEMA

member-countries. They are rendering a fruitful influence on speeding up the implementation of programs and plans for industrializing the economies of the young states (see [15]).

The CEMA member-countries regard licensing-patent trade not only as a separate and independent type of foreign-economic ties, assigning as its goal the solution of specific tasks of developing and strengthening scientific, technical, and production potentials but also as an important instrument for deepening economic cooperation with the developing states. By utilizing this instrument both sides are attempting to ensure the achievement of closer mutual ties between the individual links of the entire chain "science--technology--production--marketing" within a system of the international division of labor (MRT). This circumstance likewise determines the prospective line of development of licensing-patent trade between the socialist and developing countries as a potential means of deepening and broadening specialization and cooperation of reciprocally conditioned production. Of great importance is the modernization and expansion of industrial enterprises and other facilities in the developing states with the assistance of the CEMA countries. For example, the USSR has been rendering aid for a lengthy period of time already to many developing countries (India, Algeria, Afghanistan, Syria, and others). During the present five-year plan (1981-1985) the value of modernization projects, according to the contracts concluded, has increased by a factor of more than 1.5. This helps the USSR to increase the amount of foreign-economic ties and to obtain currency. This currency is used in the developing countries to purchase goods the production of which is lacking in our country or whose production volume is insufficient to satisfy the constantly increasing needs of Soviet working people.

With the aid of the USSR and the other CEMA countries the developing states are obtaining the possibility, within a shorter period than they would by relying merely on their own efforts, of reconstructing and modernizing their existing enterprises and speeding up the industrialization of their own economies, taking into account the latest scientific and technical achievements.

Thus, contracts signed between the USSR and India have provided for the joint modernization and expansion of the Bhilai and Bokara Metallurgical Combines and other facilities built with the assistance of the USSR as far back as the initial stage of Soviet-Indian cooperation (during the 1950's and 1960's). In Algeria the USSR is carrying out the modernization and expansion of a metallurgical plant. The GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland are furnishing assistance in modernizing enterprises built by them earlier in India, Turkey, Algeria, and other developing countries.

At the Seventh Session of the Joint Soviet-Argentine Commission, held in Moscow in July 1983, it was decided to begin during the very near future the modernization of the seaport at Bahia Blanca, the construction of fishing ports (the cities of Madrik, Ushuaia), as well as the electrification and modernization of the Retiro--Rosario Railroad, and other facilities [2, No. 11, 1983, p 38]. There are quite a few other examples of fruitful cooperation between the USSR and other CEMA countries and the developing states in this new form of foreign-economic ties.

In rendering aid in solving the problem of retooling the national industry of developing countries, the USSR, for example, carries out an entire complex of services--ranging from supplying various machines and equipment and providing assistance in installing them and fine-tuning their operation to training national personnel. For this purpose approximately 70 inter-governmental and inter-departmental agreements are signed every year [4]. Based on them, the USSR is expanding not only the export of their own goods but is also carrying out the transfer of sample models and documentation for new items and new technology for manufacturing them, which makes it possible for the developing countries to make the transition to producing items in a new assortment and quality more rapidly and effectively than would be the case by using merely their own efforts.

A number of enterprises being modernized in the developing countries with the aid of the USSR are carrying out the optimalization of the technological process; workshops are being created for reprocessing waste products and making new, high-quality items of various uses from them. It should be noted that in the above-indicated agreements the development of this new form of economic cooperation is regarded from the viewpoint of a comprehensive approach. This gives us grounds to assume that in the future it will serve as an important stimulus for speeding up the development of production cooperation, i.e., in the future it could become the material basis for a rational division of labor between the socialist and the developing countries.

Of considerable importance during the last few years has been the construction of comprehensive agricultural facilities in the developing countries with the assistance of the USSR and other CEMA member-countries [16]. The speed-up in the development of this new form of economic construction has been facilitated by the creation within the CEMA member-countries of special construction-and-installation organizations (Tekhnoeksportstroy and Agrokomplekt, Promeksport in Bulgaria, Industriekonsult and Agrokonsult in the GDR). The Selkhozpromeksport V/O was created in the USSR in October 1964. In 1980 it was awarded the Golden Mercury International Prize for successes achieved in developing foreign-trade turnover and international cooperation [2, No. 10, 1984, p 16]. Over a period of the last 20 years hundreds of agricultural facilities have been built with the assistance of this association in 62 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America [2, No. 10, 1984, p 16]. More than 100 agricultural facilities are being built with the help of Bulgaria, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia [18].

In connection with the worsening of the situation in the agriculture of many developing countries, a situation which has already lasted for many years, especially in the area of food crops, the USSR and the other CEMA countries render them great assistance in building and modernizing hydraulic-engineering and irrigational structures, mechanized farms for producing grain and vegetable-oil crops, for cultivating cotton, as well as in building livestock-raising farms, poultry plants, veterinary points, scientific-research stations and laboratories for introducing new, highly productive methods of conducting dry and irrigational farming [17, 5 April 1982, p 4]. At the same time enterprises and workshops are being created for the repair of agricultural machines and various types of tools, stations for rolling agricultural equipment, and pumping stations.

One of the most important facilities in the Near East is the Euphrates Hydroelectric-Power Complex. The following data testify to the scope of this enormous structure. The 12 billion m³ of water accumulated in the Al-Assad Reservoir are sufficient to irrigate 640,000 ha [hectares] of arid lands. This reservoir alone has provided Syria with the possibility of doubling the expanse of its irrigated lands [18].

The hydro-complex on the Akhuryan border river is a custom-built facility of joint Soviet-Turkish construction, built on parity principles. The dam (with a height of 59 m and a length of 224 m) and the reservoir (with a volume capacity of 525 million m³ of water) make it possible to irrigate more than 100,000 ha of arid and previously poorly fertile lands along both sides of the Soviet-Turkish border [8].

Also impressive is a third project in this region--the mainline canal of the Kirkuk-Adkheym irrigation system in Iraq. Put into operation in November 1983, it provides Iraq with the possibility of irrigating 362,000 ha of arid lands, which were previously considered to be infertile [2, No. 10, 1984, p 18].

And finally, one of the world's largest hydroelectric power complexes, built with the assistance of the USSR, is the Aswan High Dam in Egypt with its enormous reservoir with its capacity of 56 billion m³. Utilization of the water resources of this reservoir has now allowed the creation of an optimal system for irrigating 520,000 of new lands and large areas (about 420,000 ha) of old lands which were previously of low productivity. Introduction of irrigational agriculture has allowed the Egyptian fellaheen to obtain up to three harvests a year where previously they obtained only one. Thanks to the abundance of moisture, Egypt has been transformed from an importer of rice to an exporter. On the whole, the land areas being cultivated in Egypt have been expanded by a third [5]. This dam, as the Egyptian MENA Press Agency noted on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the beginning of its construction, saved Egypt from ruinous floods in 1975 and 1977 and from devastating droughts, especially from the 1984 drought, which rolled throughout almost all of Africa.

In noting the enormous importance of the Aswan Hydro Complex for the country's economy, the Egyptian press has emphasized that the USSR rendered aid at a time when the Western countries, in attempting to exert political pressure on Egypt, refused to finance the construction of this facility [6].

For 20 years now the USSR has been rendering assistance to the PDYR [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] in building or modernizing many hydraulic-engineering dams, canals, and other projects. Nine dams have been put into operation, along with 120 km of mainline canals; more than 130 wells have been drilled and set up [2, No. 10, 1984, p 19].

In working out the designs for water-retaining dams, Soviet specialists have not only taken into account the characteristics of the dry climate in the developing countries but also the possibilities for making maximum use of flood and sub-surface waters for providing a regular supply of drinking water to the population and for irrigating arid lands. Such dam designs allow even the minimal flow to be caught and directed into the drinking or the irrigation networks.

An important characteristic of the cooperation by the USSR and other CEMA member-countries with the developing states is the fact that they assist in creating and expanding profitable state farms and cooperatives on the lands being irrigated. Taken into account, moreover, is the factor of limitations on the land resources which are suitable for dry farming. In many of the developing countries these resources have become practically exhausted [19]. At the present time lands to be irrigated comprise the principal reserve for increasing the volume of agricultural production in these countries. In addition to the USSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary are participating in the solution to this problem for the developing countries.

An important place in the development of new forms of foreign economic ties between the CEMA member-countries and the developing states is occupied by cooperation in the fields of scientific research and design research. Use of the latest achievements of science and technology in order to speed up the industrialization of the developing countries has now become one of the most important tasks for them. Most of them have accorded top-priority attention to this problem in working out their own national plans. And this is understandable when we compare the number of the population of these young states with their scientific and technical potentials.

By the mid-1980's the developing countries will have accounted for more than 75 percent of this planet's population, whereas their share in the world's scientific and technical potential amounted to less than 5 percent. And the prospects for growth in this potential still remain limited because more than 40 percent of the population in Asia and above 60 percent in Africa still remain illiterate [2, No. 10, 1983]. Also remaining extremely small is the volume of new equipment and technology imported. According to the UN figures for exports, under the most favorable conditions it could increase in 1985 to only 15 percent of the world trade in technology, whose volume, according to the forecasts, will increase to 40 billion dollars, without counting the exports of machinery and equipment [17, September, 1984].

The developing countries' share in the world's stock of patents continues to remain at an extremely low level. Thus, out of 3.5 million patents registered in the world during the mid-1970's, only about 6 percent (200,000) were obtained by the developing countries. Statistics show, however, that the principal proportion of these patents (approximately 5/6 of them) belong to patent-holding capitalist countries, and only from 5 to 10 percent of these are used in the developing countries. And the remaining 90-95 percent of the patents, issued to foreign patent-holders remained unused [2, No 3, 1983, p 26]. The imperialist monopolies usually store them away in safes in order to protect their own commercial and production secrets from the developing countries. In this way they artificially block the emergence and development of scientific and technical potential in the young states, particularly along those lines which affect the interests of the TNC's [trans-national corporations]. A new trend of the TNC's neo-colonialist activities has been to involve the developing countries in a scientific and technical dependence on the West.

The shortage of literate, without even mentioning scientific-research, personnel, along with the limited nature of the financial resources, blocks the adequate scientific and technical provision of the needs of the liberated

countries to speed up the development of even the traditional production lines. This pertains all the more so to the up-to-date sectors and production processes. Such a situation has objectively aroused the young states to seek out new paths and new partners in solving the vital problems of eliminating economic backwardness.

Based on the example of economic, scientific, technical, and other forms of cooperation with the socialist countries, the leaders of many developing states became convinced of a principally different approach to this cooperation, as compared with the Western powers. This aroused them to expand and deepen the sphere of such cooperation, to include within it new types and forms of ties, including scientific-research and planning-design projects. India was one of the first of the developing countries which began to cooperate actively in this field with the USSR. At the request of J. Nehru, the USSR as long ago as the mid-1950's sent to that country a group of Soviet scientists from scientific-research and planning-design institutes, with whom the author had occasion to work during 1954-1955 and later in 1974 for rendering assistance to India in economic planning and other fields.

The distinctive trait of Soviet scientists is, as testified to by the director of the Calcutta Statistical Scientific Research Institute, Professor P. Makhanobis, their comprehensive approach to economic and scientific-technical cooperation [20]. It is directed primarily at developing domestic resources, with only the minimal, extremely necessary import of foreign items. Moreover, the Soviet scientists, based on numerous calculations and forecasts, selected the optimal variant for combining domestic resources with foreign ones, particularly in the area of scientific and technical assistance. It was on this principle that the basic complex was formed for developing the leading sectors of the Indian economy, while, at the same time, solving the problem of making the country self-sufficient to provide the population with foodstuffs, as well as fuel and raw materials for the processing industry by means of predominantly developing the state sector. They were simultaneously solving the problem of bringing into being and developing a general-state system of education and training for scientific and technical personnel, medical services, housing construction, and social security. Nowadays there is, perhaps, not a single sector of the Indian economy which has not cooperated with the USSR, beginning with studying the earth's deep resources and ending with exploring outer space.

In contrast to the practice of the capitalist powers, the USSR and the other CEMA member-countries strive to render assistance in developing, first of all, basic research, which is the foundation for the applied sciences and experimental design work.

In this regard, we can cite the vivid example of the scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and India in the areas of nuclear electric-power engineering and space research. Based on the Soviet-Indian agreement on scientific and technical cooperation concluded in 1972, Indian scientists with the help of Soviet scientists have conducted fruitful scientific research. Such studies have resulted, in particular, in the creation of MGD [magneto-hydrodynamic] generators of varying capacities. Beginning from the time when the first plant was created in 1977 with a capacity of 5,000 kW to the present time, several plants have already been created, including an experimental plant

with a capacity of 15,000 kW. The results of testing these plants laid the foundations for the development of nuclear power engineering in India. The beginning of such development was the construction of the republic's first industrial MGD electric-power station. By means of its own scientific-research achievements India has gained an honorable place among the pioneers of creating and mastering magneto-hydrodynamic equipment [9, 14 April 1984].

Of enormous importance for India is its cooperation with the USSR in the area of space research. The experience which it accumulated in this field, especially in the launch of the Indian satellites named Ariabata and Bhaskara in cooperation with Soviet scientists, allowed Indian scientists to carry out in 1980 the successful space launch of the Rohini satellite [10]. Exceptionally valuable data for the Indian economy were obtained as a result of the joint flight of the Indian cosmonaut, Rakish Sharma, with Soviet cosmonauts.

The data obtained during the satellite launches and the Indian cosmonaut's flight are now being used by India in the fields of geological, geophysical, and meteorological research. As the Indian press has noted more than once, such research plays a large role in creating up-to-date systems of satellite link-ups and communications, in forecasting the weather and the melting of glaciers, which under the conditions of the unstable atmospheric precipitations in India is of enormous importance for the national economy [9, 19 July 1984]. These examples clearly show not only the advantages of the socialist principles of cooperation with the developing countries, as compared to the capitalist principles, but also the advantages of the socialist system itself, which excludes inequitable, exploitative relations with the liberated states. By providing the developing countries with free access to the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology the USSR, which is in the vanguard of the field of basic and applied research, facilitates the emergence and accelerated development of their scientific and technical potentials. As a result, these principles, which have justified themselves in India, have become the foundation for the economic, scientific, and technical cooperation likewise between the USSR and other developing countries, to which Soviet scientists, engineers, and technicians have rendered and are rendering assistance. They differ radically from the Western principles, which have bound the developing countries in an inequitable position with regard to the scientific world. The example of the equitable, mutually advantageous, scientific, and technical cooperation between India and the USSR convinced many leaders of developing countries of the need to re-orient their own one-sided, foreign-economic ties with the Western powers to multi-lateral ones, including those aimed at cooperation with the socialist countries, as well as utilizing in their own foreign policies the principles of equitability, mutual advantage, and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of each other; the pioneer in applying such principles was and remains the USSR.

Now the scope of scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries is characterized by many treaties and agreements, signed by the State Committee for Science and Technology (GKNT) and by other organizations. Many leading sectorial ministries and departments of the USSR also have numerous agreements and treaties with the developing states regarding scientific and technical cooperation in many sectors of their national economies. More than 15 treaties and agreements concerning scientific and technical cooperation with the developing countries have been concluded during the

past 10 years by the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Thus, the foreign-trade organization Skoda eksport (Czechoslovakia) has taken part in developing and carrying out electric-power engineering complexes, based on the latest scientific and technical achievements in Brazil, Morocco, Turkey, and Abu Dhabi. The Polish foreign-trade organization Budimeks has taken on the job of constructing the newest engineering utility lines for an electric-power station and de-salinization plant in Libya.

Thus, for example, during the last 20 years of active cooperation between the USSR and approximately 26 developing countries in the field of education and creating a scientific and technical potential in them, 143 educational institutions were created, which have trained more than 37,000 engineers, technicians, scientific workers, and other specialists [2, No. 3, 1983; No. 10, 1984, p 19].

Let's take Algeria, for example. By the beginning of the 1980's this country with the assistance of the USSR had built and equipped the following four VUZ's: the Institute of Petroleum, Gas, and Chemistry in the city of Algiers, the Institute of Light Industry in Boumerdas, the Mining and Metallurgical Institute within the Annaba University, and the Water Resources and Land Reclamation Institute in Blida. These institutes are now graduating hundreds of highly skilled specialists [11, 23 February 1984].

Such multi-level training of scientific, engineering, and technical personnel has allowed Algeria to substantially expand its cooperation with the USSR in the field of scientific and design-research projects. Soviet scientists, engineers, and technicians are rendering assistance to Algeria in developing the latest methods of extract and refining petroleum and gas, in creating new, highly effective chemical materials with specifically assigned properties, in carrying out design-research projects, in mastering the up-to-date methods of hydro construction and irrigation of arid lands, in searching out underground water, in discovering with the aid of aerial photography [11, 11 April, 1984] the most productive lands suitable for pasturing or agriculture, in organizing experimental stations and scientific-research laboratories for conducting scientific investigations in various sectors of the Algerian economy.

Analogous projects, using aerial photography and topographic geodesy, as well as other methods are conducted by Soviet specialists in conjunction with national specialists in Libya, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Tunisia, Ethiopia, and many other developing countries. In Angola, for example, two stages of aerial-photographic and topographic-geodesic operations have already been completed, and work on the third stage has already been begun successfully [2, No. 10, 1984, p 20].

Scientific and technical cooperation on the part of the USSR and the other CEMA member-countries with the young, liberated states is proceeding under the conditions of deepening NTH [scientific and technical work], which cannot fail to exert an influence on the development of scientific and technical progress in the developing countries as well [21]. In striving to firm up their own positions within the system of MPT [international division of labor], these countries are interested in services in the sphere of science and technology from all countries--from the socialist as well as the capitalist states. Such

a striving by the young states is, however, being used by imperialism, and above all by American imperialism, to carry out its own neo-colonialist, expansionist policy on a global scale, to impose upon them the bourgeois way of life and activity, and to expand the sphere of capitalist exploitation. The transfer of scientific-research and experimental-design developments is being used by imperialism more and more frequently as a means of blackmail and pressure, particularly with regard to those developing countries whose policies do not suit the United States and its allies.

Moreover, the United States is striving to convince the young states that the West has, so to speak, an enormous superiority in NTR over the socialist countries, and for that reason, it says, these countries have no need to turn to other partners for scientific and technical aid. Furthermore, the imperialist powers are attempting to demonstrate that the socialist countries themselves are, supposedly, greatly dependent upon the West for NTR, that the chief successes of the socialist countries are, supposedly, the product of borrowing achievements of science and technology from the West [7].

The tragic events in the Indian city of Bhopal (located in the state of Madhya Pradesh), which claimed more than 2500 lives [6] as a result of an explosion and leakage of poisonous gas at a chemical plant belonging to the American monopoly Union Carbide Corporation, along with accidents at enterprises belonging to foreign companies in a number of other developing countries have clearly shown the exploitative essence of the activity of the imperialist monopolies, which are concerned merely for their own profits and which scorn safety techniques. The Indian government has banned further activity in that country of this American murderous octopus, and it has demanded that the guilty persons be punished as well as that full compensation be granted for the damage which they caused. Following the case involving Union Carbide, another American company--Westinghouse--suffered a fiasco. The Philippine National Atomic Energy Commission refused to grant this company official permission to operate a nuclear electric-power station which had been built in the province of Bataan. According to the estimates of the Philippine specialists, the electric-power station in Bataan presents a serious threat to the health of the personnel employed in it. Moreover, the technological violations which were permitted in its construction could lead to a leak of radioactive substances and to an infection of the regions where fish are caught. In Bataan and the neighboring provinces mass demonstrations were held by farmers and fishermen in opposition to the pollution of the environment and the predatory exploitation of the country's national resources by foreign monopolies.

The newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST has noted that from 1.5 to 2 million inhabitants of the developing countries become the victims of poisoning by the toxic substances which are utilized in the production of chemicals. Corporations, primarily American ones, sell their own goods to these countries, goods which have been banned for sale in the United States in connection with a threat to people's health. Thus, in 1982 the firm Merck and Company began to sell the preparation Osmozine. As a result of using it, 38 persons died [5]. These data very obviously refute the myth concerning the vaunted technology of the imperialist powers and their scientific and technical superiority over the socialist countries. The practice which has taken shape of the traditional and new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the

countries of the socialist community and the developing states convincingly debunks all possible bourgeois and reformist concepts about the supposedly objective incapacity of the socialist countries to render the necessary scientific and technical assistance to these states.

Beginning in the mid-1970's, there has been a noticeable expansion of the ties between the planning organs of the USSR and other CEMA member-countries and the developing states. Soviet specialists have rendered and are continuing to render a great deal of help in drawing up plans for the socio-economic development of more than 30 young states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Particularly active has been the development of cooperation with the developing countries which are socialistically oriented (Algeria, Angola, Afghanistan, Guinea, Mozambique, Nicaragua, the PDRY, Ethiopia, and others). Fifteen developing states have been rendered assistance in planning by the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other CEMA countries (as calculated in accordance with [22]).

In addition to assistance in working out national plans, Soviet specialists are rendering aid to the specialists of the developing countries in their efforts to master the methodology of socio-economic planning; they are carrying out joint scientific developments with regard to improving planning itself and the forecasting of socio-economic processes, as well as the organs engaged in studying these questions. At the end of the 1970's the first steps were taken in coordinating plans for developing individual sectors of the economies of young states. During the years 1979-1980 specialists from USSR Gosplan held consultations with the planning organs of a number of socialistically oriented developing countries for the purpose of taking into account their needs for importing necessary goods and their possibility for exporting goods to the USSR for the period extending to 1985 and 1990 [2, No. 12, 1983, p 14].

Cooperation between the CEMA member-countries and the developing countries in the field of planning activity has created new possibilities for expanding and effectively utilizing many already approved as well as new forms of foreign economic ties. In combination with further expansion of production in the CEMA member-countries of various types of items for export to the developing countries, new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation are gradually deepening the international division of labor which has taken place between both groups of states [23].

The expanding cooperation between the CEMA member-countries and the developing countries in the sphere of socio-economic planning allows not only directing the development of the economy, particularly the state sector, of the developing countries, into the planning channel, but also giving shape to the scope, structure, and rate of development of the foreign economic ties, as well as undertaking timely, necessary measures on both sides in the interests of further developing and strengthening mutually advantageous, foreign-economic ties.

It is not difficult to note that with the aid of planning the foreign economic ties both in the CEMA member-countries and in the developing countries long-term trends for developing these ties are taking shape, the inter-action between foreign-trade operations, economic and technical assistance, and the new, above-indicated forms of foreign-economic ties, and the necessary

conditions are being created for the further optimal forming and deepening of a stable and mutually advantageous division of labor between the socialist and the developing countries. All this corresponds to the long-term interests of strengthening peace and mutual cooperation between countries with differing socio-economic systems. This is yet another proof of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the other CEMA member-countries and their striving to live with all the world's countries in friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation.

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CSO: 1825/22

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

APN DAILY REVIEW CITES UN AS EFFECTIVE DEFENSE OF NATIONAL RIGHTS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in Russian 11 Nov 85 pp 1-3

[Review of journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, October 1985]

[Text] L. Teplinskiy writes in an article entitled "The 40th Anniversary of the UN and the Afro-Asian World" that for many developing countries, the United Nations has become an effective instrument for the defense of their national rights, an instrument that enables them to pool their efforts with those of other states in the struggle for attaining their foreign policy aims.

The deep and intensifying contradictions between developing countries and the leading imperialist powers, first of all the USA, have manifested themselves ever more vividly in the United Nations in recent years, the author writes. The largest and most influential developing countries resolutely countered the U.S. policy on all the key issues of the day and voted on the same side with the Americans only a few times. The United States takes its growing isolation in the UN very bad. It cannot ignore the decisions of the world community, which reflect world public opinion, easily and without any damage to its prestige.

Washington not infrequently puts open pressure on developing countries, employing methods of economic or military blackmail. For instance, these countries have been informed of the fact that work is now under way in the USA to draft a bill providing for automatic termination of U.S. aid to any country which would vote in the United Nations against the USA in more than 80 percent of the cases.

The author stresses that relations of the USSR and other socialist countries with the developing states in the UN are of an altogether different character. Coincidence and closeness of the stands of the socialist and developing countries on the crucial issues of the day underlie their common approach to the main objectives of the United Nation and help enhance the role of this organization as a tool for maintaining international peace and security.

In their article headlined "Pakistan: a Face-Lift," V. Nikolayev and D. Borisov say that under the pressure of the forces advocating democracy, Pakistan's military rulers engage in maneuvering and transferring some secondary powers to the civilians. However, behind the facade of an

"independent" civilian government are old political principles. The country is becoming increasingly involved in aggressive operations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. America is supplying Pakistan with fighter planes, missiles and large quantities of other combat technology. This worries Islamabad's neighbors, particularly India, with Pakistan toughening its policy with regard to Delhi.

This course does not meet the basic long-term interests of Pakistan, the authors continue. This is realized by most of the country's political leaders standing for the normalization of relations with Afghanistan and good-neighborliness with the Soviet Union and India. These demands are advanced by all political parties which are for restoring democracy and scrapping the pro-imperialist foreign policy damaging Pakistan's sovereignty and increasing its financial indebtedness to the West.

"The Developing Countries and the Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism" is the headline of an article by V. Shchetin, D. Sc. (Economics). He writes that the West increasingly exports to the Third World the deficit of its balance of payments and the associated fiscal and economic problems. According to a 1985 report by the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations, in 1983 88 developing countries received \$39 billion in private and government loans. At the same time, their debt-servicing payments reached \$44 billion. The question arises: who finances whom and who aids whom? The developing countries have paid out to the industrial capitalist nations more than they have received from them.

In the past 30 years, the external debt of the developing countries has grown by 100 times to a trillion dollars in 1985. The debt of the main group of developing countries exceeds the value of their yearly export of goods and services by 50 percent.

Resorting to pressure tactics, the imperialist countries, primarily the United States, insist on the emergent nations returning the debt, while not renouncing the privileges they have received in the Third World via the transnational corporations.

In the prevailing situation, the author concludes, the developing countries entertain big hopes for restructuring international economic relations to justice and democracy and for enhancing their economic security.

The journal also published the following articles: "Nigeria: A Difficult Road" by V. Novikov, "Vietnam: A Living History of the Nation" by M. Ilinskiy, and other materials.

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

CAPITALISM'S PRESSURE ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO REPAY DEBTS HIT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 2-5

[Article by V. Shchetinin, doctor of economic sciences: "The Developing Countries and the Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism"]

[Text] Sociopolitical and economic processes in the world in recent years have thoroughly vindicated the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress, including the characterization of the general crisis of capitalism in the present stage and factors promoting its intensification. On the threshold of the 27th Congress of Soviet communists, it can be said with total certainty that the events of the last 5 years, especially in Asian and African countries, are by no means characterized by their homogeneity. The status of these countries in the world economy and in international relations is changing and the ways and means of their economic and social development are evolving. Certain positive changes are noted in their positions on key current problems and on well-known political platforms proclaimed in the mid-70's and enunciated in the Declaration and Program of Actions to Establish a New International Economic Order and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States.

Some Western political scientists, ignoring the changes occurring in the world, advance the thesis that differences between developed capitalist and developing countries are more in the nature of "family" strife than basic contradictions.

Take "Rising Standards of International Trade and Investment," a magnum opus published in the USA in 1984. It was written by diplomats who were long-time students of international economic issues, representatives of the business community, and scientists from the United States and Western Europe. The authors' position is that imperialist and developing countries are divided not by differences in their basic interests but only by semantic differences in their political philosophy, by differences in emphasis in the preparation of compromise agreements.

The position of the developed capitalist countries, the authors claim, is based on such postulates as justice, effectiveness, equality, reciprocity, etc. (which in fact are merely a cover-up for the expansion of large-scale

foreign capital). The authors call "justice," "a special and differentiated regime," "total sovereignty over national resources," and "respect for the laws, administrative rules and practices of the host country" the key principles governing the positions of the developing countries. The former (the industrially developed capitalist countries) demand, in the authors' words, that the key, decisive element in their interrelations with young countries be investments because "only on their basis can the interests of both sides develop" while the developing countries demand that the activity of foreign enterprises correspond to the economic, political, social and other standards of the host countries. Such an interpretation of the contradictions between imperialist and developing countries rounds off the sharp corners in order to permit American authors to draw the following conclusion: "These points of view are not incompatible but only place different accents on various criteria."

This conclusion is not only an abstraction. "Mandate for Management-2," a report prepared by Heritage Foundation, a conservative American organization that is said to seriously influence the thinking and practical action of the incumbent administration, explains in detail what the U.S. government must do to secure the international interests of the U.S. monopolistic bourgeoisie in Asia and Africa in particular. By frightening the peoples of the developing countries with the "Soviet military threat," American foreign policy planners encourage these countries to increase their military spending, to relinquish all control over the activity of foreign capital in order to give foreign capital "equality" on a par with national business. The report offers a detailed description of specific measures to achieve these objectives. In the report there is not even the slightest hint of any fundamental differences with the developing countries.

Given such an approach, the very concept "general crisis of capitalism" clearly seems out of place. This compels us to turn to certain key principles of Marxist-Leninist theory.

As is known, the general crisis of capitalism encompasses spheres of economics and politics, ideology and culture, and the centers and periphery of the capitalist system. The crisis affects the very basis of this last exploiter system: capital as a system of production relations: primary production relations that are manifested in the production process as well as "secondary and tertiary relations that are derivative, carried-over, non-primary production relations"¹ in the international sphere.

This crisis is the very core of exploiter relations is the main thing in the different forms of manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism as formulated in CPSU documents, i. e., in the form of the defection of more and more countries from the colonial system, the increasing internal instability of the capitalist economy, the increasing inability of capitalism to utilize the productive forces fully, etc., and accordingly the unprecedented intensification of political reaction and the deep crisis of bourgeois politics and ideology.

The position of the developing countries in this context is special. First of all, they are a significant factor in the intensification of the general

crisis. The 5 years that have elapsed since the 26th CPSU Congress graphically confirm this point. We recall that the main driving forces aggravating the general crisis of capitalism are the following.

1. The growth of the irreconcilable contradiction between the rapid development of the productive forces, the modern scientific and technological revolution, and the framework imposed by the capitalist system. Its inability to make the productive forces accumulated by mankind fit within the established limits makes it inevitable that there will be revolutionary breaches in the system of capitalist social relations both within individual countries and in the international sphere. The developing countries, which are doomed by imperialist monopolies to "bring up the rear" of the scientific and technological revolution, are especially aware of the need for a breakthrough in order to overcome the adverse trends of the world capitalist market.

2. The modern world revolutionary process and its three basic flows: world socialism, especially the socialist community; the international working class, which heads the antimonomopolistic forces that are fighting for peace, democracy and socialism; the national liberation movement of peoples of former colonies and semicolonies but who are the peoples of liberated countries today. The society of private enterprise is powerless to regain the historical initiative and many developing countries are keenly aware of this fact.

Nevertheless, the developing countries are not simply a substantial factor in the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism but also its modernization and the modification of the forms of manifestation of this crisis because capitalist production relations indeed develop quite rapidly there because this growth is manifested in different ways in the "internal sphere" which is the subject of the general theory of political economy, and externally, in international economic relations. Unlike the historical past and the experience of the imperialist powers, the directions of these two evolutions do not coincide and are frequently in conflict with one another. This circumstance too is not without consequences for the imperialist system and for the general crisis of capitalism. It creates new forms in which the crisis is manifested.

The prediction that capital would try to adapt to the far-reaching changes taking place in the world and in the capitalist system itself dates back to the 24th CPSU Congress (1971) which discussed the attempt of the bourgeoisie to employ less obvious forms of exploitation and oppression and its willingness to grant partial reforms in order to keep the masses under its ideological and political control. The developing countries were on the receiving end of imperialism's tactic of adaptation.

The 25th CPSU Congress (1976), while emphasizing that "capitalism is a society without a future," at the same time noted that communists do not predict its "automatic collapse" and that "it still has considerable reserves." The developing countries are included among these reserves and this fact has been noted by Marxist-Leninist science.

Finally, the 26th CPSU Congress (1981) focused attention on the fundamentally important theoretical premise of the deep crisis of state-monopoly regulation. Here, too, the developing countries were one of the factors in the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism (as, for example, an element in the structural crisis). The present combination of inflation, chronic unemployment, cyclical and structural crises substantially reduces the ability of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and its state to maneuver. These manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism have been especially apparent in recent years and have also substantially affected the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Imperialist programs are now predominantly conservative. Behind these programs is the striving of the most reactionary segments of monopoly capital in the USA, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and elsewhere, for revenge in the internal class struggle and in international relations. These programs can be reduced to several points in which domestic policy and foreign policy are closely interconnected: in the internal sphere--a new round in the arms race, increased military preparations, the redistribution of the state budget in favor of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, a frontal attack on the economic attainments and vital rights of the working people, cutbacks in social spending; in the external sphere--attempts to attain decisive military superiority, the policy of waging economic warfare against socialist countries, a stiffer policy regarding the liberated countries, the attempt to overcome internal difficulties at the expense of competitors, and the intensification of the trade and economic war between imperialist countries.

In the process, the problems of the developing countries have been manifested in full measure. The attempt is made to "tie these countries to the capitalist system," stated M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary, CPSU Central Committee, in a speech in Dnepropetrovsk, "by all means--economic and military and through threats, intimidation, handouts and bribes." Under the pretext of solving economic problems, the attempt is made to actively involve them in the imperialist countries' arms race and military production, to make them direct co-participants in the war business; to undermine the unified anti-imperialist platform of the nonalignment movement by intensifying efforts against the socialist world and progressive regimes in the developing countries.

Nor has the above-mentioned thesis regarding the imperialist tactic of adaptation and reform lost its meaning. But in the present stage, it is practically manifested only in the most reactionary, rightwing variant. The thesis of capitalism's search for its reserves in the developing world also remains in force. However the price of using these reserves is rising substantially and what is more, imperialism is trying to force the developing countries themselves to pay this price.

The development of the general crisis of capitalism, especially the part that concerns the developing countries, cannot be likened to driving straight down a highway. The new conditions generate new forms of manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism, especially the part that is studied by the general theory of political economy, i. e., social and production relations in a given society. After all, not so long ago bourgeois political scientists

were hoping that capitalism would quickly and effectively envelop the mixed societies of the developing world. This was the illusion that was entertained, e. g., in J. Kennedy's "New Frontiers" strategy. If to this we add the idea of establishing broad international "brotherhood" among capitalists in various countries, this second political illusion excluded the possibility of juxtaposing national capitalist links against the international capitalist system.

Events have rejected such a conception. Capitalism today has become a direction in international imperialist activity that is supported by force and sometimes terror. In the words of A. Schlesinger Jr., the White House is wont to repeat the words of T. Paine: "It is in our power to create the world anew," bearing in mind the widespread international renaissance of private enterprise.

What does it mean to "create the world anew?" There is no longer any hope that private enterprise will grow spontaneously. The only need is for a type of private enterprise that would satisfy entirely specific imperialist standards. Here is an official declaration by a representative of the U.S. Department of State on the main goals of Washington's international activity: "to increase the role of private business" in order to "secure Western influence in strategically important regions," "to advance American ideas and to see to it that the important "Third World" countries develop within the framework of the Western economic system." Defenders of the interests of the American monopolies urge the universal mobilization of private business, calling it America's "greatest asset." Using the terminology of current U.S. military-diplomatic practice, they call it the "ultimate weapon" that the USA "can deploy throughout the entire world" as if they were talking about the next batch of American missiles. If this is not done, as the American press writes, the result will be "global socialism" or, in J. Kirkpatrick's evaluation, a "world regulatory order."

Thus as we see, spokesmen for the American monopolies do not defend private enterprise in general but only the part that can bear the stamp "Made In USA" (or another imperialist center). The essence of this trend cannot be altered by statements about the alleged "socialization" of capitalism on the basis of the urgent requirements of world development, all the more so because poverty has become the lot of the majority of the population of not only the economically most backward countries but also of countries that are average in their level of development by capitalist standards. Is this not an indication of the general crisis of capitalism as a sociopolitical system if its defenders can secure the objectives of capital only by employing the most reactionary forms of this type of production? It is appropriate to recall the words of V. I. Lenin that "there is capitalism and capitalism. There is Black Hundred-Octobrist capitalism and Narodnik ('realistic, democratic,' full of 'activity') capitalism."² In the process of pointing out these realities in of life in prerevolutionary Russia, V. I. Lenin contrasted two influential wings in the social life of the time. The "Black Hundreds" and the "Octobrists" were the extreme reaction that was based on armed detachments of declassed elements and that wished to drown in blood and stifle everything progressive and democratic. The "Narodnik" wing was of a liberal democratic persuasion and incorporated proponents of a socialist peasant, communal

utopia. At the dawn of the century, "Narodnik capitalism" was one of the directions of struggle of the working class for its rights ("...this just suited us and this just suited the proletariat"³, V. I. Lenin wrote. The uniqueness of the present stage is that imperialism is banking not so much on the second as the first type of capitalism.

The general crisis of capitalism is also intensifying in the sphere of "transferred" production relations, i. e., in the international sphere. Experience shows that even if some developing countries attain the socioeconomic level of the developed capitalist countries to a certain degree, this does not exclude a crisis state in the entire system of relations as a whole.

The entire experience of the last decades, especially the 80's, shows that any dominant trend in the world capitalist market is intended to give Western monopolies the opportunity to systematically exploit the peoples of the developing countries. Initially, the developing countries were told that cheap raw materials were all they needed to bring them prosperity. The result? Modern industry is concentrated in the hands of five developed capitalist countries and those who were promised prosperity are left in the position of the dependent raw-material periphery.

Then the "lower levels" of industrial production, for the most part, material- and energy-intensive production as well as ecologically harmful types of production, were transferred to certain developing countries. Once again, they were told that prosperity would not be long in coming to countries that had been so "favored." The result was the same as before.

Next came manufacturing enterprises with high requirements for cheap labor. Technologically sophisticated production emerged in these countries in addition to the traditional export branches. Again there is talk of a "new era" in relations between foreign monopolies and the developing world. Again there are promises of prosperity.

According to the Economic Report to the U.S. President, which was submitted to congress in February 1985, "the open, growing American market has provided a powerful impetus," in particular, "to debt-burdened developing countries." It goes on to say that the "higher demand for exports was the principal factor in the betterment of their economic position." And this is said of countries that are in straitened circumstances due to their external debts, that are suffering from numerous complex problems that were left by colonialism and made still worse by neocolonialism. This is all the more so because the West is increasingly exporting its deficit balance of payments and all the financial and economic difficulties associated therewith to the developing countries.

Here is a summary published by the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations in 1985. All private and state loans to 88 developing countries in the last year for which a total was drawn up (1983) amounted to \$39 billion. Interest payments on these loans totaled \$44 billion. The question arises: who is financing whom? Who is helping whom? They developing countries paid more to the industrially developed capitalist countries than they received from them.

A similar picture is presented by the comparison of direct foreign investments and profit-taking. Net investment in the same year was \$8.5 billion while net profit-taking totaled \$12 billion. Here, too, we see that the developing countries pay more than they receive. But the indicated direct losses of the developing countries do not include all the losses that these countries suffer as a result of their unequal position in the capitalist international division of labor. The latter is in excess of \$100 million a year. Capitalism is clearly unable to resolve the problems it creates.

One of these problems is the developing countries' foreign indebtedness. In the last 3 decades, it has grown roughly a hundredfold and in 1985 reached the trillion dollar mark. In less than the 10 last years, the indebtedness of the basic group of developing countries has doubled or trebled and now exceeds one-third of their gross internal product. It is now 1.5 times greater than the volume of their annual export of goods and services. These are average data. In some regions, the ratio is even worse. In order to pay off only its major debts, Africa (excluding the Republic of South Africa)--assuming it did not borrow a single dollar in new loans and did not spend a single cent on purchases abroad--would require a sum equal to the proceeds from 2 years of exports of national goods and services; the Near East--more than 1.5 years.

Some countries--even with the highly unlikely condition indicated above--could not pay off their debts even in 5-10 years or more precisely in the foreseeable future. After all, there is not a single country that can devote itself exclusively to paying off old bills. This would mean suicide as a result of the national economy being bled totally dry. If everything continues along the same lines, according to F. Castro indebtedness may reach \$3 trillion at the beginning of the next century. The idea proposed by Cuban leaders--writing off their foreign debt to the West--is winning more and more support among the developing countries.

Imperialist powers, the USA in particular, put pressure on the liberated countries to pay off their debts but do not want to relinquish a single one of the privileges they enjoy thanks to their transnational corporations.

Under the existing conditions, the developing countries place great hope in the restructuring of international economic relations on a just democratic basis and in the realization of their economic security. However, this approach displeases the West, especially the USA, because of the inclusion of a large number of new participants in the decision-making process.

"The principles of the Bretton Wood system were coordinated by a handful of leading countries," write S. Rubin and G. Hafbauer, veterans of American "economic diplomacy." "The subsequent Declaration of the OECD, the GATT Code regarding affiliates (monopolies.--V. Shch.), and OECD measures on state export credits were also coordinated by a small group of countries before they were disseminated to a larger audience." "Unlike this, UN negotiations on the behavior code of Transnational Corporations suffer from an unduly large number of active participants," they further state even though the problem is, of course, not the large number of active participants, but the obstructionist position of a number of imperialist countries, especially the USA, that do not wish to recognize any manner of constraints on their monopolies. "The UN is

more and more concerned with what is called the 'new world order'--a series of codes, resolutions and agreements on every aspect of political, economic and social life. Even though these documents do not have the force of law, they provide the proper basis for the progress of global socialism to the detriment of personal freedoms and private enterprise," writes the American magazine READERS DIGEST, frightening its readers. According to HARPER'S, another American magazine, the new international economic order has the aim of systematically and continuously redistributing wealth at the expense of the West. R. Wallerman, a former official with the State Department and Commerce Department, states that the essence of the new international economic order is that "the world's wealth is regarded as a pie that must be sliced up in a different way." The American weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT quotes an American diplomat at the UN as saying that the developing countries "not only claim a larger slice of this pie but also want to control the knife that does the cutting."

Such a statement is clearly intended to arouse in the average American a feeling of "new patriotism" in support of stern administrative measures aimed at undermining any international measures against the exploitative activity of American monopolies. It is not surprising that some Western experts call the essence of "North-South" talks the "political economy of immobility," which reflects the reluctance of the West to meet the demands of the developing countries. Such a line is sharply divergent from the from the clearly enunciated position of CEMA member nations that have recognized as "absolutely just the striving of Asian, African and Latin American countries to see to it that those guilty for the difficulties experienced by them considerably expand the transfer of resources in the capacity of compensation for the damage caused by colonial plundering and neocolonial exploitation, that they reduce the burden of indebtedness of the developing countries, and that they will make it easier for them to gain access to international sources of credits under favorable conditions."⁴

The general crisis of capitalism is worsening. Hopes that the forced development of capitalism and individual reforms in international relations with the developing countries will transform them into an active reserve of capitalism are naturally not coming true. Nor can they come true because they disagree with the principal directions of world social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya," Vol 12, p 735.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 48, pp 12-13.
3. Ibid., p 13.
4. "Ekonomicheskoye soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne. 12-14 iyunya 1984 g." [Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Member Nations. 12-14 June 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 38.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

U.S. USSR RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING STATES IN UN CONTRASTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 6-8

[Article by L. Teplinskiy, doctor of historical sciences: "The 40th Anniversary of the UN and the Afro-Asian World"]

[Text] The year 1945 is so far away from us now and so memorable to everyone. No sooner had the din of the greatest battles of World War II subsided than mankind, in addition to other pressing tasks, was confronted with a problem of enormous political importance--the establishment of an authoritative international representative organ. Fifty-one countries became the founders of United Nations Organization, the Charter of which took effect on 24 October 1945.

A characteristic feature of this historic event was that there were only four African and seven Asian countries among the UN's founders. However, even they at that time were essentially entirely politically and economically dependent on the Western powers. The "voting machine" installed by the West worked flawlessly for almost 15 years: practically all decisions benefiting the imperialist powers were mechanically adopted by the majority.

Change came in the late '50's and early '60's when the imperialist colonial system collapsed, when tens of former colonies acquired independence and became members of the UN. Joining the United Nations Organization was one of the first foreign political steps taken by practically all liberated countries and was always regarded as a final and decisive form of international recognition. Membership in the UN, in addition the new state flag and national anthem, became a kind of symbol of independence, sovereignty and national dignity. Entry into the UN, the task of which is to free mankind from the threat of war and to promote the resolution of international economic, social and other problems, opens up the possibility for the affirmation [of these countries] as full-fledged members of the international community and for their participation actively with other countries in the resolution of the urgent problems facing mankind.

To many developing countries, the UN has become an effective instrument for defending their national rights that make it possible for them to unify their efforts with other countries in the struggle to attain their foreign political objectives. Many developing countries, lacking a ramified diplomatic service,

have used the UN to maintain bilateral ties and to coordinate their activities with many countries including socialist countries.

In the postwar years, more than a hundred countries opted for independent development. Today they comprise more than two-thirds of the UN. They presently have the majority vote at sessions of the General Assembly and in other UN agencies. Developing countries occupy 7 out of 10 permanent seats on the Security Council.

Naturally the present-day developing countries that are UN member nations differ in their sociopolitical and economic structure--all the way from those announcing a policy of socialist construction to semifeudal monarchies. They are at different levels of development and each follows its own national and historical traditions.

At the same time, these countries try to present a united front in the UN and to coordinate their positions and actions as far as possible. The participation of the absolute majority of the developing countries in the nonalignment movement is a cementing and unifying factor. Although the decisions adopted by its forums are in nature of recommendations, they unquestionably have a substantial influence on the formulation of the policy of its participants. The Third Conference of Heads of State and Governments of Nonaligned Countries, which was held in Lusaka in 1970, indicated the need to establish "close and continuous cooperation on all matters deliberated by the UN" between nations participating in the movement and called upon all its representatives in the UN its specialized institutions "to coordinate their efforts and take the necessary steps to implement the resolutions, decisions and directives of conferences of nonaligned countries."

In our day, the UN is the arena of cooperation and confrontation of the major political forces in the world. In recent years, deep and growing contradictions between the developing countries and the leading imperialist powers, the USA in particular, have made themselves increasingly known in the UN. According to the United States Mission to the United Nations, during the 39th Session of the General Assembly, developing countries voted with the USA only 12.8 percent of the time and even this indicator was achieved by Washington as a result of United States support for a small number of countries with conservative regimes. The largest and most influential developing countries decisively opposed U.S. policy on all key problems of modern times and voted like the Americans only a few times (Algeria--4.3 percent; India--6.5 percent; and Mexico--9 percent of the total number of votes).

The United States has a very pained reaction to its growing isolation in the UN. It cannot lightly ignore the decisions of the international community, which reflect world public opinion, without damaging its prestige. J. Kirkpatrick, former permanent U. S. representative to the UN, stated that "what goes on in the UN affects the central issues in world politics and frequently vitally important U. S. national goals and interests."

Washington quite frequently uses economic or military blackmail to exert pressure on the developing countries. In the process of determining the

amount of "aid" to be granted to one or another country, the American congress invariably takes into account information on the degree "of support" by that country for Washington's positions in the UN. The developing countries have been informed that the United States is drafting a bill that will automatically terminate aid to any country that votes against the USA in the UN more than 80 percent of the time.

While the facts show that Washington's pressure occasionally influences the position of one or another developing country, the trend toward the growing isolation of the United States in the UN is obvious.

Relations of the USSR and other socialist countries with developing countries in the UN are of a fundamentally different nature. The coincidence and similarity of the positions of socialist and developing countries on the key problems of modern times are at the basis of the unity of their approach to the basic tasks of the UN and promote the role of this organization as an instrument of international peace and security.

Many years of UN activity show that an ever increasing of liberated countries are supporting Soviet peace initiatives. It is specifically this circumstance that has facilitated the UN's adoption of such important international documents as the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activity of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space (1967), the Convention Prohibiting the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Reserves of Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and Toxins and on Their Destruction (1971), the Convention Prohibiting Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Means for Influencing the Natural Environment (1977), and many others. In the relatively recent past, some developing countries believed that questions of war and peace, of curbing the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, were primarily the concern of socialist and capitalist countries. The developing countries today, however, realize that the threat of thermonuclear war is the principal danger for all mankind, including the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These countries are to an ever increasing degree linking the solution of their pressing economic problems to disarmament. At the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Governments of Nonaligned Countries, I. Gandhi emphasized: "If there is no peace, all our dreams for development will turn to dust."

The active participation of the developing countries in the discussion of measures to reduce international tensions, to prevent nuclear disaster, to curb the arms race, and to promote disarmament is instrumental in securing approval of major Soviet initiatives regarding these problems. At the 36th Session of the General Assembly in 1981, 63 developing countries voted in favor of the Soviet Union's proposed Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Disaster, declared that being the first to use nuclear weapons was the gravest against humanity. In 1983, the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, with the participation of the absolute majority of liberated countries, supported one more Soviet initiative--the Declaration Condemning Nuclear War, which decisively, unconditionally, and for all time condemned nuclear war as contradictory to the human conscience and human reason, as the most monstrous crime against peoples, as a violation of man's first right--the right to life. The Soviet Union took into account the position of the developing countries

when it submitted the draft of this declaration for the session's consideration.

The Soviet Union's solemn proclamation at the UN General Assembly's special session on disarmament in 1982 that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons won the general approval of the developing countries. Most of them regarded this Soviet action as a step of exceptional significance that realistically reduced the danger of nuclear war. This Soviet initiative was further developed at subsequent sessions of the 39th Session of the General Assembly. The 39th Session, for example, adopted by more than 100 votes a resolution that called upon other powers to follow the example of the USSR--to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and to formulate such a pledge in an international legal document.

The developing countries decisively rebuffed attempts by NATO countries to legalize through the UN the notion that it is permissible to use nuclear weapons. Representatives of India, Argentina, Mexico and other countries sharply criticized a draft resolution put forth by Western countries that was designed to foist on the UN NATO's idea of the admissibility of "limited" nuclear warfare. The nonaligned countries have directly accused NATO nations of sabotaging efforts to prevent nuclear war. As a result, the draft resolution was withdrawn by its sponsors.

The developing countries, in turn, submitted a number of useful proposals aimed at reducing the danger of nuclear war. The response was especially enthusiastic to an initiative by India and a number of nonaligned nations to conclude an international convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons. India also proposed a resolution that appealed to all nuclear countries to simultaneously and completely cease the production of fissionable materials for military use. The USSR, unlike the USA, supported this resolution.

At recent sessions of the UN General Assembly, socialist and developing countries urgently raised the question of the need to freeze nuclear weapons as an important measure leading to the curbing of the arms race, to the reduction and, ultimately, the total elimination of nuclear weapons. At the initiative of the Soviet Union, this question was placed on the agenda of the 38th Session of the General Assembly as a top priority item. Not a single developing country voted against the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union, which was adopted by 108 votes.

At the 39th Session in 1984, the developing countries energetically supported a Soviet draft resolution confirming the appeal to all countries in possession of nuclear weapons to freeze their nuclear armaments on a global scale on a certain date, assuming the existence of the appropriate controls. It is very important that the developing countries proceed from the premise that the USSR and USA possess the same nuclear military capability at the present time and that approximate parity exists between them in this area. The Western propagandistic myth that American is lagging behind the USSR in nuclear arms is thereby rejected. More than a hundred countries voted for the resolution while the USA and some of its allies voted against.

In the UN, the developing countries consistently speak out for the total prohibition of nuclear weapons testing, for the elimination of neutron weapons, for the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear countries, for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, for the prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons, etc. This position is entirely shared by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The developing countries are especially concerned about plans of the U.S. administration to spread the arms race to outer space. The 38th and 39th Sessions of the UN General Assembly confirmed the unity of the approach of socialist and nonaligned countries to this question. At both sessions, the Soviet Union brought forth major, timely initiatives aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space. The developing countries energetically supported Soviet proposals and urged the adoption of immediate measures to prevent the militarization of outer space and directly linked progress in the prevention of nuclear war with the resolution of this question.

At the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, India, Sri Lanka, Mali, Nigeria and a number of other developing countries criticized plans for creating space-based anti-missile systems even though the USA was not mentioned by name. Particular attention was focused on the fact that the arms race in outer space would swallow up vast resources and would create obstacles to international cooperation in the peaceful conquest of space.

The developing countries have repeatedly been the object of imperialist robbery and violence. Therefore the Soviet initiative regarding the UN Declaration of the Inadmissibility of Interference in the Internal Affairs of Nations and on Protecting Their Independence and Sovereignty (1965) held special significance for the protection of their interests.

The Soviet initiative on the inadmissibility of the policy of state terrorism and other actions aimed at undermining the sociopolitical system of sovereign countries corresponded entirely to the struggle for the respect of the right of peoples to independent, peaceful development. This initiative, which was set forth at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, was perceived by the developing countries as direct support of the struggle against the aggressive policy of the USA as well as Washington's partners: Israel and the Republic of South Africa. The initiative affected the vital interests of Asian, African and Latin American countries: the preservation of their sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, and the right to development without any kind of outside interference. Representatives of the developing countries directly pointed to the USA, Israel and the Republic of South Africa as countries pursuing a policy of state terrorism. The undeclared war against Afghanistan and Nicaragua, support for Pol Pot bands, threats against Cuba and Libya, Israeli aggression against Lebanon, criminal actions by racists in South Africa--all these facts have been severely condemned by many developing countries. It is not surprising that the resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of state terrorism was passed by an overwhelming majority of UN members--117 countries.

As is known, the great majority of conflict situations in today's world are ultimately the result of the reluctance of the imperialist powers to recognize the fact that the sphere of their direct influence, domination and dictatorship is growing smaller. The developing countries decisively condemn the position of Israel and its protectors on Near East problems. At the initiative of the developing countries the UN has repeatedly condemned American-Israeli "strategic cooperation" and has supported the idea of convening an international conference on the Near East in which the Palestine Liberation Organization would participate as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people, in addition to the countries directly involved in the conflict, as well as the USSR and USA.

During the UN's examination of the situation in South Africa, notwithstanding the massive pressure exerted by the USA, the developing countries are decisively exposing and condemning the racist policy of the regime of the Republic of South Africa and its aggressive actions against the countries at the "front," the colonial war South Africa is waging against the people of Namibia, the fact that the USA and other Western powers are aiding and abetting the Pretoria regime, and their maneuvers to resolve the Namibia problem on a neocolonial basis.

At the initiative of the Soviet Union, the UN Charter was amended to include the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. At the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1960, in the name of the Soviet government it was emphasized that "the time has come to pose the question of the complete and final abolition of all forms of colonial government in order to put an end to this disgrace, barbarism and savagery." The Soviet delegation proposed the adoption of a declaration proclaiming that all colonial countries, trust territories and other non-self-governing territories be given full independence and freedom to organize their own national states.

With the active support of the developing countries who were co-sponsors of the draft resolution, the historic Declaration Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was written in the spirit of the Soviet proposals, was adopted 25 years ago on 14 December 1960. All UN member nations, with the exception of the United States, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, the Republic of South Africa, Spain, and the Dominican Republic voted for the declaration.

The developing countries attach great importance to the restructuring of international economic relations on a just, democratic basis. In 1964, many of them joined "Group 77" in order to secure the collective defense of their economic interests within the framework of the UN. At the present time, the group includes practically all developing countries--over 120. The activity of Group 77 is of a markedly anti-imperialist nature. At the initiative of this group and with the constructive support of the USSR and other socialist countries, the UN approved the charter of the nations' rights and obligations as well as the action program to establish a new international economic order.

Within the framework of the UN and one of its most important specialized institutions--UNESCO, the developing countries are energetically defending the program they have proclaimed to combat imperialist expansion in the area of

mass information and to establish a new order in the area of international information.

The struggle for the observance and respect of human rights is an important direction in the activity of the developing countries in the UN. At the 39th Session of the General Assembly, the developing countries proposed resolutions condemning the flagrant violation of human rights in Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador.

It should be noted that for a number of reasons, primarily their continuing economic dependence on the West, the developing countries are not always able to act consistently. This applies, in particular, to the position that some of them occupy on the so-called "Afghan" and "Kampuchean" questions.

But on the whole, the developing countries are taking an active part in the struggle to introduce peaceful, democratic principles in international relations and UN activity. Their UN activity is anti-imperialist, anticolonial and anti-war.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the activity of the developing countries in the world arena. "We are deeply convinced," declared M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary, CPSU Central Committee, in May 1985, "that all countries can and must participate in the search for realistic solutions to urgent problems, in the relaxation of international tensions."¹

FOOTNOTE

1. PRAVDA, 20 May 1985.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS ON LIBERATED STATES ASSAILED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 9-11, 16

[Article by S. Bylinyak, doctor of economic sciences; and Ya. Melkumov:
"International Credit--The Tool of Imperialist Exploitation"]

[Text] As a result of the impact of capitalism's structural crisis on the liberated countries, their economic growth rates have dropped sharply in the '80's. "The economic development of the liberated countries is becoming substantially more complex and is frequently totally paralyzed under the influence of such factors as the deterioration of terms of exchange in world markets, particularly due to the significant drop in real prices on raw materials, enormous external indebtedness, stiffer credit terms, and cutbacks in funds allocated by the developed capitalist countries for the developing countries. The result is an increasing difference in the levels of their economic development compared with the developed capitalist countries and mounting poverty and hunger for hundreds of millions of people" states the Declaration of Member Nations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which was adopted at the June 1984 economic summit conference.

International capitalist credit is one of the external factors that greatly influences the economy of many liberated countries.¹ Changes in the system for exporting loan capital to the young nations also appreciably affect the forms and scale of their exploitation, the state of the capitalist world's currency and credit system, etc. Let us examine certain aspects of this question.

In the past decade, notwithstanding deep, protracted crisis in the world capitalist economy, the annual growth rate of the developing countries was in excess of five percent, roughly two times higher than that of the developed capitalist countries. However, in 1981 the gross national product of oil-importing countries increased by only 2.8 percent; in 1982--by 1.5 percent; and 1983--by 1.6 percent.² What was the reason for such a sharp decline?

Let us return to the events of the last decade. Structural and cyclical crises of the '70's caused a sharp imbalance in the currency receipts and payments of oil-importing countries, which was to a considerable degree due to the rise in prices on energy carriers. At the same time, there was a decline in the demand of capitalist centers for raw materials and a rise in

protectionism vis-a-vis manufactured goods. The enormous negative foreign trade balance that developed as a result showed that the young countries were making extensive use of international credit to import many goods and services (see table).

Balance of Current Operations of Oil-Importing Developing Countries (in billions of dollars)*

Item	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Trade balance	-3.8	-26.3	-49.8	-65.8	-41.1	-22.5	-16.7	-14.3
Balance of investment income (including interest payments on loans)	-3.7	-8.4	-26.8	-36.4	-38.4	-36.9	-40.4	-43.1
Balance of current operations	-9.0	-34.2	-66.9	-84.3	-62.9	-41.3	-36.9	-36.0
Capital influx	7.8	22.6	39.4	76.6	54.2	43.9	43.5	39.0

*Data for 1982-84 are preliminary; data for 1985 are projected.

From the table it also follows that while the deficit balance of payments for current operations of oil-importing developing countries in the last decade was primarily due to the foreign trade imbalance (as a result of which, they purchased large quantities of goods on credit), at the present time it is due to the ever increasing amount of interest they must pay to meet their financial obligations. What is more, in the 80's there has been a slowdown in the influx of new financial resources to the periphery, which has resulted in the reduction of imports, especially of manufactured goods, in many countries. It should be emphasized that the developing countries frequently cut back imports under the pressure of the International Monetary Fund, which forces its "stabilization" programs on debtor nations. The trade balances of some of them are becoming positive. This means that they are consuming less than they produce in value terms. It is this circumstance that makes the present situation radically different from the conditions of the '70's.

UNCTAD experts note that just as soon as the credit system ceased to properly stimulate the progress of the developing economy and to "protect" it against the negative impulses from capitalist centers, the young countries felt the full force of these blows first in 1981 and then in 1982. We add that the situation did not improve in subsequent years. In other words, many developing countries tried to heal the crisis-generated disease using remedies that were by no means harmless. It would appear that in the foreseeable future as well, the economic growth of many countries will to a considerable degree be influenced by new loans, by the terms under which loans are granted, by methods for regulating indebtedness and ultimately by the evolution of the external credit system.

As is known, in the very first postwar years, young countries embarking on the implementation of their socioeconomic development programs had an urgent need for financial resources. However, owing to their dire poverty, many of them were unable to attract private loan capital under commercial terms, to say

nothing of being able to pay the high interest rates. What is more, loan capital markets at that time were disorganized and in a state of decline. Under these conditions, the export of state capital became the dominant form of exports starting in the mid-50's. At the expense of certain material outlays, neocolonialism resorted to "official aid to development" as a means of keeping the periphery in the world capitalist economic system and of exerting economic and political pressure.³ However by the mid-70's, there was a trend toward the privatization of external financing: the share of state resources declined to one-third. This was the basis of change in a number of other areas of international economic relations. The privatization of the export of loan capital would seem to be a long-term trend notwithstanding a certain decline in private credit transactions.

What are the basic reasons for the expansion of private capital? Even though state loans are less costly than private loans, the size of state loans is limited, the procedure for obtaining them is long and complicated, and state loans are primarily rigidly connected to the delivery of specified goods and services. Accordingly, young countries find it difficult to overcome the disproportions that unexpectedly arise in their economy by relying solely on state loans. What is more, the internationalization of the banking business, including the banking business in the periphery, and the rapid rise of the role of the international loan capital market have been the cause of the unparalleled rapid growth of international private credit. The expansion of bank credit to developing countries has also been due to a considerable degree to the high profitability of these transactions and the higher solvency of a number of liberated countries as a result of the raw material boom in the early '70's. Following the 1974-75 crisis, the loan capital market, which was swollen as a result of the liquid assets from OPEC countries, suffered from the difficulty of investing this capital profitably in the West which was in the middle of economic recession. It is specifically for this reason that not only transnational banks (TNB's) but even small and medium-size banks were interested in making loans to the developing countries. Many of them began pushing their loans on them.

Loans to the developing countries in the '70's increased by approximately 20 percent a year on the average. The growth of loans by banking syndicates was especially rapid. In the second half of the '70's, more than half of all such loans were to the developing countries.

In 1982-85, however, TNB's restricted growth of their foreign assets, which had a particular impact on the oil-importing countries. The period of intensive bank credit to the periphery was evidently a thing of the past. Let us mention several examples. First, as already stated, the developing countries attracted a growing number of medium-size and small banks. However, following the deterioration of the debt crisis in the middle of 1982, most of them "got out of the market" because the periphery was now regarded as too high a credit risk. Large banks, however, being too deeply involved in credit operations, could not leave their debtors to the whim of fate because in so doing they would risk sharp upheavals in the international credit sphere and would find themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. Nonetheless, these banks also lowered the credit limit of some countries, especially larger borrowers that had previously been in the banks' good graces.

Second, oil-exporting developing countries began withdrawing funds and taking out bank loans on an increasing scale in connection with the deterioration of their economic position. The outflow of "petrodollars" also made conditions worse in the international loan capital market.

Thus banks were interested in making loans to the periphery on the one hand but began refraining from making such loans due to the risk. Hence the inconsistency in banks' actions and as a result the higher instability in international credit relations. In this connection, the first report of W. Brandt's commission noted that in the loan capital markets "there are highly volatile crises of mistrust for certain countries... As a result, it (the market --The author) makes the full swing from excessive financing to insufficient financing of certain countries." In the second report of the same commission, the authors speak of the "herd behavior" of banks.

In the postwar period, the periphery was outside the pale of international banking business for a long time. With the beginning of the last decade, the situation changed rapidly, naturally with varying degrees of intensity for individual countries and regions.

Involvement of the international loan capital market was instrumental in drawing these countries into the world capitalist economy which, however, also had negative consequences for imperialism--the increased instability of the world currency and credit sphere. While during the crisis of 1974-75, the flows of loan capital to the periphery played the role of a stabilizing factor for the world capitalist economy (by stimulating exports and to a certain degree alleviating the overaccumulation of capital), in the early '80's, as a result of the sharp decline in the effective demand of the developing world, it was difficult to find a way out of the crisis. Moreover, the debt crisis acquired a permanent character (naturally with its "peaks and valleys") and became part of the structural currency-financial crisis of capitalism. All this aggravates imperialist contradictions, especially between the USA and Western Europe. As is known, American banks pump enormous resources out of the economies of the young countries, thereby reducing their purchasing power in the foreign marketplace. This, in turn, hits the pocketbook of West European countries whose economies had gone through a worse recession than the USA.

The extreme instability of international credit relations and the shortage of private resources again caused the young countries to focus their attention on state loans. However there is little likelihood of increasing OPR ["official aid to development"] to even 0.7 percent of the gross national product of the donor countries, as specified in a number of international documents (including the strategy of development for the '80's). Most of the Western countries are conducting budget economy programs and will hardly be able to increase this type of spending. Nor does the growth of OPR correspond to the strategic line of neocolonialism, which is presently counting on the expansion of private capital. What is more, there is less availability of low-interest loans from OPEC countries due to the scarcity of hard currency. Accordingly, since the "demand" for low-interest financing is growing, OPR becomes a still

more powerful lever by which the donor exerts political pressure on the receiver.

The role of international financial institutions (MFI), especially the International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is also changing under the new conditions. Of late, they have accounted for more than one-tenth of all external credit to young countries. The duties of MFI also include the regulation of international credit relations. They play a decisive part in the reorganization of debt and in the coordination of credit for its refinancing. The so-called signal function of the IMF is well known: when the IMF grants a loan, it in so doing calls upon other creditors to finance one or another country. Increasingly common is the joint financing practice of MFI and TNB's, when banks receive both a technico-economic evaluation of the project and information on the creditworthiness of the borrowing nation. The repayment of the loan in this case is guaranteed by an international organization. Such an alliance presupposes that new countries are plugged into the loan capital markets.

The IMF is more involved than the IBRD in coordinating the reorganization of foreign debts of the developing countries. But the latter is beginning to play a larger role. The fact of the matter is that monetarist prescriptions of the IMF that give freedom to market forces have seriously compromised themselves and have been subjected to sharp criticism by the developing countries. The situation is somewhat different thus far with respect to the long-term programs of the IBRD which emphasize economic structural problems. When IMF and IBRD programs are analyzed from social and class positions, it is difficult to see fundamental differences between them.

The evolution of the postwar system of international credit extended to the developing countries can be divided into four periods. The first period is from the end of World War II to the mid-50's. At that time, the developing countries were poorly suited for international credit since, as already stated, private loan capital markets were declining while the state credit system had not yet formed.

In the second period--from the mid-50's to the early '70's, the leading role belonged to state credit. State credit dominated the financial flows, encompassed a large number of countries, cemented economic ties between the center and the periphery, and paved the way for private capital.

The third period covers the preceding decade characterized by the privatization of export of loan capital to the periphery. However only a limited group of countries⁴ were in the sphere of interest of private lenders and many of the developing countries went into the international loan capital market sporadically. Since some countries continued to rely chiefly on state credit while for others who were drawn into the international loan capital market state credit had little significance, the system acquired a dualistic, bifurcated nature. But this dualism is naturally not absolute, since there are also countries that are widely using both sources.

This privatized system operated without any serious hitches until the beginning of the present decade. However, the broad expansion of private loan

capital intensified the chaos that eventually erupted into the periphery's debt crisis. It is this time that probably marks the beginning of the fourth period. One of its distinguishing features is the lowering of the net rate of influx of loan capital into the developing countries. What is more, loan capital is now exported under conditions of the deeply more serious problem of the periphery's foreign debt. Decisive importance for credit relations has been acquired by the reorganization of debt, especially in the case of private lenders, which promotes the privatization of the financial system notwithstanding the deceleration of the rate of influx of new private loans. Since private lenders cannot entirely reorganize debts themselves, an increasing role is played by international organizations that are called in to act as intermediaries.

The very scale of the foreign debt of the developing countries staggers the imagination: in 1970 (not counting short-term indebtedness)--approximately \$70 billion; at the end of 1983, according to IBRD data--almost \$850 billion; at the present time, approximately \$1 trillion. Interest on foreign loans in 1970 totaled approximately \$3 billion; in 1980--over \$40 billion; and in 1984--more than \$70 billion. Beyond a doubt, a considerable part of the principal will not be paid by the developing countries. Using the floating interest mechanism, the West strives to extract the national income of the developing countries, especially the more economically developed among them, for its own use. This is particularly true of the Latin American countries.

The foreign debt crisis of the developing countries is also attested to by the fact that many of them are unable to meet their obligations and are forced to default on their payments. While there were only a few such cases a short 10 years ago, at the present time they have acquired massive proportions. In the last few years, tens of countries have failed to meet their obligations. The most characteristic feature of the developing countries' foreign debt crisis today that gives it a local character is not so much the unprecedented growth of loan payments as the fact that the majority of these countries are unable to adhere to the loan repayment schedule. Latin American countries have especially large debts that are in need of reorganization.

Thus the new mechanism for extending international credit to the developing countries, while opening the door to additional sources of resources for many of them, has at the same time increased their dependence on external factors. This dependence is expressed in particular in the fact that a "floating" interest rate is charged for the majority of private loans unlike state loans. These interest rates are influenced by numerous factors, including the enormous U.S. budget deficit. The need to finance this deficit results in high bank interest rates, which adds to the debt burden of the developing countries. Public unrest in major debtor nations on the day following the rise of bank interest rates in the USA has become routine.

Thus the debt burden of the young countries has grown heavier as a result of the privatization of the export of loan capital. The greatest difficulties are associated with the need to reorganize bank debts. As already noted, the banks themselves cannot resolve this problem. The debt crisis of 1982-83 was liquidated owing to measure taken by international financial organizations and central banks of the leading capitalist powers. As a result, commercial banks

escaped bankruptcy. Nonetheless the fundamental problems of the external indebtedness of the capitalist world's periphery have not been resolved. The debt situation of a number of developing countries worsened despite more vigorous growth in the world capitalist economy starting in 1984. To a certain degree the explanation for this is that the debt regulation mechanism does not prevent crisis but only calls attention to it. This mechanism is equally incapable of restraining excessive lending as well as the panic that accompanies the crisis. Therefore the threat of new debt-related upheavals is not eliminated even though the IMF is trying to keep its finger on the pulse of a sick economy in order to take the necessary measures in good time.

In the early '80's, the system of foreign credit to the developing countries, in which the activity of spontaneous elements was greatly intensified, entered a new stage in the deepest crisis of the postwar period. The crisis is having an appreciable influence not only on the periphery but also on the capitalist center and is threatening the normal functioning of the currency and finance system.

With the worsening of the hard currency situation, the developing countries have advanced financial demands to the forefront of the struggle for a new world economic order. They call particular attention to the debt problem since, as F. Castro has emphasized, "struggle under such slogans as the solution of the foreign debt problem and the establishment of just, economic relations between the developing and industrially developed countries are important for the very survival and future of the peoples of these countries." However, to date any more or less radical debt regulation plans encounter a sharply negative reaction in Western official circles. A representative international currency conference--the initiative for convening such a conference belongs to the nonalignment movement--could unquestionably help to bring order to international currency and credit relations. But the leading Western powers stubbornly block this idea and cling tenaciously to obsolete mechanisms and institutions.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the present article, we are not examining internal factors of development which are a separate problem.
2. "International Monetary Fund. Annual Report. 1984," p 10.
3. To this very day, "official aid to development" (OPR) performs important economic and political functions in the world capitalist economy. Thus at the beginning of the '80's, over 90 percent of the total influx of foreign financial resources of more than 40 countries was in the form of OPR.
4. According to data as of the end of 1982, 20 countries absorbed 90 percent of the bank loans. They were, first of all, the "new industrial nations," some of the most economically developed countries on the periphery (Turkey, the Philippines, Malaysia, etc.) and a few oil-exporting countries (OECD OBSERVER, January 1983, No 120, p 14).

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN BURKINA FASO DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 17-20

[Article by V. Yevgenyev: "In the Name of the Ideals of Unity, Nobleness and Honesty"]

[Text] On the morning of 4 August 1983, the Upper Volta town of Po woke up early as usual. Silence reigned in the barracks of the airborne brigade stationed there. The sergeants had already conducted calisthenics with the troops in the cold and the military band, which was popular with the local youth, had just begun rehearsing. There was no omen that this would be a special day in the life of the entire country.

By 12.00 hours the situation had changed dramatically. From Ouagadougou, the capital, came the report that rightwing officers, who had assumed de facto control over the government on 17 May, were planning an operation against the Po garrison (which remained a bastion of revolution-minded soldiers) on the night of 5 August, and that they planned to physically liquidate their leaders, in particular Capt. Thomas Sankara who up until 17 May had been the prime minister. The reactionaries had received assurance from abroad that they would be given emergency assistance if needed.

Under these conditions, the political leadership of the underground People's Salvation Movement (also called the "7 November Movement" to commemorate the 7 November 1982 military coup that was carried out with the active participation of progressive officers and soldiers) decided to take immediate action.

Three hours later, the troops had seized all radio transmitters in the town and were patrolling approaches to Po. Upon hearing the alarm signal, soldiers who were on leave returned to camp. Paratroopers in combat dress were issued weapons. After the events of 17 May, army headquarters had confiscated the brigade's vehicles and so it was necessary to requisition trucks belonging to a Canadian roadbuilding company working in the vicinity.

At 18.30 hours, the brigade, which virtually the entire town had turned out to greet, was moving toward the capital. The rebels were divided into five groups, each of which its its own specific mission: to occupy the presidential palace, to seize the radio station, the headquarters of the gendarmerie and the security forces, and the base of the armored regiment. In the outskirts of Ouagadougou, the soldiers were met by guides--pupils,

students and workers--sent by social organizations opposed to the regime. The government was caught by surprise. President Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo and his aides were arrested.

At 22.00 hours, Capt. Sankara announced over the radio that the revolution in Upper Volta had been triumphant and that the people would henceforth be the masters of their destiny.

During 23 years of independence, Voltans had grown weary of counting military coups, but this coup brought forth a great outpouring of genuine enthusiasm. The events in August were a logical continuation of the 7 November 1982 coup that led to the downfall of the neocolonialist regime of S. Zerbo. However, as we have already said, the progressive officers were soon thereafter removed from positions of authority. After that, there was a new threat hanging in the air--and it exploded. The main reason was easy to explain: deep mass dissatisfaction with mounting economic difficulties, with being managed by the former mother country--France and other Western powers, and with the lack of resolution of key social problems. People were suffering from hunger, disease, unemployment, illiteracy, and tribalism. The small country (area--275,000 square kilometers; population--approximately 7 million persons) was, according to the UN classification, one of the five poorest in the world with a per capita income of \$110, with the highest infant mortality--167 per 1000 births, and an average life expectancy of 32 years.

The People's Salvation Movement expressed the interests of broad social strata. It was based on youth, trade union and other organizations and fostered a political atmosphere favorable to its success. This is why the people responded eagerly to the appeal of Thomas Sankara and his comrades-in-arms to support them in order to dramatically alter the entire course of the nation's development. All parties and groups that had previously operated illegally were able to overcome their disagreements and to unite around the National Revolutionary Council (NRC) which immediately after coming to power not only declared its intention to bring about a decisive reorganization of state and social structures, but which also purged government institutions of reactionary elements and reorganized the army high command, the security service, the police, and the customs department.

The program "Basic Directions of the Activity of the National Revolutionary Council," which was made public on 2 October 1983, emphasized that "the people's democratic and anti-imperialist" revolution of 4 August, for all its uniqueness, is a component part of the world revolutionary process and has as its goal the eradication of the exploitation of man by man in Upper Volta. The document called for the continuation of the break with the old organs of power, for the development of health, education and culture, for raising the role of women in social life, etc.; in the foreign policy field--the establishment of relations with all countries on the basis of mutual respect; and solidarity with the national liberation movement. It emphasized that countries pursuing an anti-imperialist policy were objective allies of Upper Volta.

As the program shows, the NRC considers the army, the as yet small working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia to be its main

support. It also regards the petty bourgeoisie and, under certain conditions, the Lumpenproletariat, as "allies of the revolution." The bureaucratic, merchant, and middle entrepreneurial bourgeoisie (there is no upper bourgeoisie in the nation) are called the internal enemies of the revolution. The general plan poses the task of carrying out the agrarian reform and of restructuring the system of production and distribution.

The 2 years that have elapsed since then have shown that the actions of the country's new leaders match their words. Land and natural resources have been nationalized, capitation tax has been abolished, a development plan for 1984-85 has been adopted and is being implemented, a network of banking institutions has been established for the purpose of financing cooperatives and small agricultural enterprises in the provinces, and the effort to resolve the most complex social problems in the countryside has begun. While in the past, the republic obediently followed in the wake of the former mother country in the international arena, the country's course has now acquired a clearly pronounced anti-imperialist direction.

Practical measures to encourage the active participation of the lower strata of society in social reforms have been of the utmost importance to the fate of the progressive regime. To this end, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have been set up in every city block, in every military unit, and in the majority of villages. They presently number approximately 10,000. They have essentially become a national mass organization for implementing the leadership's general line at the local level. Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, which do not confine their activity to propaganda and agitation, but perform a number of functions of local authorities: combat speculation in foodstuffs, distribute food and other aid received from abroad and deal with certain other administrative and economic problems.

The first task the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution set themselves was to mobilize the residents of their block, town or village to perform some specific duty for everyone's benefit: repairing roads, cleaning up trash in the market place, building awnings for school lunchrooms, or building medical aid stations. The skeptics did not believe that Voltans, whose feeling for collective work had been blunted during the years of rule by corrupt regimes, would hear the appeals of the enthusiasts, to say nothing agreeing to work for nothing. But they were wrong. Blue-collar workers, peasants, office workers, and soldiers participated in voluntary, unpaid public work days organized by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

Pierre Quedraogo, general secretary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, once said: "Before 4 August, Upper Volta was a country in which the tools were rusty. Today, nowhere will you find a wheelbarrow that is not in use."

The initiative of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution opened the way for the working people themselves to gradually resolve large-scale problems confronting the nation as a whole. In record time, residents of all provinces voluntarily built "4 August towns"--complexes numbering a combined total of 500 small buildings that will house provincial organs of power. In the opinion of President T. Sankara, these towns are not simply part of the

infrastructure that is necessary for development but, above all, "are irrefutable proof that we can rely on ourselves. We wish that every province would have at least a school, a maternity home, a dispensary, a grain elevator, and, why not?--a movie theater and a dance area. We can build this only with the aid of the population, i. e., through voluntary labor."

Workers belonging to Voltelec, the state electric company, have also set an example for conscientious attitudes toward the country's needs. At the beginning of 1983, it sustained only losses as it had in the past. After 4 August, however, when the working people took its activity under their strict control, the company began to show a profit. Committees for the Defense of the Revolution at Voltelec and a number of regions in Ouagadougou conducted voluntary work days that made it possible to electrify several city blocks.

The country is conducting a relentless struggle against corruption and abuses of office. Many officials of former regimes have stood before the "revolutionary tribunals" and have been required to make a public report on reasons for failing to fulfill socioeconomic plans, on what they did with the funds that were made available to them, on delays in registering imported goods, with the result that they ended up costing more, on the misappropriation of property purchased for government institutions (radios, automobiles, utensils, etc.), on the failure to pay taxes, and on extortion. Trials involving major crimes and minor offenses have been broadcast over the radio. The aim has not only been to punish the guilty and to compensate the state for illegally appropriated sums, but also to change people's thinking, to encourage them to take proper care of social property, and to prevent the misappropriation of the state's meager resources.

Working people at enterprises, their trade union organizations and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are vested with the right to oversee the activity of the administration in order to prevent future corruption, the squandering of resources, and poor production management.

On 4 August 1984, the anniversary of the revolutionary coup, it was announced that Upper Volta had been renamed Burkina Faso. T. Sankara explained in an interview that "Burkina" means "honest, worthy" and that "Faso" means "organized society." Thus, Burkina Faso is a society of worthy people, a nation dedicated to the ideal of unity, nobleness and honesty.

Most Burkinans associate the revolution with the possibility of satisfying one's hunger, having access to clean water, having clothing and housing, educational opportunity, and medical care. What elementary human desires and how long they were an unfulfilled dream!

The country's economy is based on agriculture which employs most of the active population. While agriculture provides 95 percent of the exported products (in value terms), the implements and work methods used by the peasants are extremely archaic. More than 90 percent of the grain production depends on weather conditions. Considering the drought that descended on the Sahelian zone in recent years, one need not be a specialist to conclude what the consequences are for Burkina Faso. Only one-third of the republic's territory

is suitable for agriculture, only one-tenth of this area is exploited and an extremely small part of this area is irrigated.

While the country is in principle incapable of supplying all its own food needs, it will require large-scale reclamation work to do so. Capital investments by previous regimes in reclamation did not produce appreciable results except for increasing the size of the external debt. Burkinan economists believe that foreign contracting companies ignored the population's specific needs and local conditions and concerned themselves only with their financial interests. The emphasis now is on projects that are maximally responsive to the needs and potential of inhabitants of the given regions, on seeing to it that they are realistic and that they produce an early return.

Administrative decentralization, which began in September 1983, is associated with this concept of development: instead of 10 provinces there are now 25 provinces with a population ranging between 73,000 and 500,000 persons. Burkinan leaders believe that this scale makes it easier to plan and to carry out socioeconomic, cultural and educational work. In the recent past, relations of the central authorities were confined to the collection of taxes through tribal chiefs. Today, mini-governments consisting of representatives of all ministries are formed in every province. The ultimate plan is that the lower level Committees for the Defense of the Revolution will elect provincial revolutionary assemblies and the latter will elect the National Assembly. The purpose of establishing a minimal modern social infrastructure, which was virtually nonexistent in the internal regions in the past, is to help these regions to such a level of economic development that they themselves will be able to satisfy their population's needs for the most part.

The problem of problems is how to find resources for investment in the national economy. Up until now, almost all capital investment in the economy has been in the form of foreign financial aid. The fact of the matter is that 70 percent of all state revenues have been spent on salaries for white-collar workers (26,000 persons) and on the operation of the administrative apparatus. In addition to this, in 1984, 12.3 billion African francs¹ were allocated for servicing the foreign debt, which totaled 200 African francs, and for the repayment of loans.

Only as a result of strict economy measures (reduction of wages of white-collar workers, cutbacks in allocations for state institutions) was it possible to free 3 billion African francs for investment in the socioeconomic sphere. The 1984 budget of 57 billion African francs was in particular targeted for housing construction and for the development of a public transit system in two of the largest cities.

The construction of the first dam in the Suru Valley by a local construction company using state funds is a most important project. The dam was discussed as far back as 1966 but nothing came of it. The total development of the valley's land would make it possible to satisfy 15 percent of the country's grain requirement. But it is first necessary to erect an entire system of dams in order to irrigate 16,000 hectares and to make 13,000 hectares of bogara land suitable for use. Burkinan economists believe that outside capital will be needed.

Sizable capital investments will also be needed to build sidings to the principal ore fields, especially the manganese fields in Tambao. However the leadership does not intend to scatter its resources and to undertake projects as was the practice in the past, that are as yet beyond the reach of the young country.

The imbalance in the Burkinan economy will evidently make itself known for a long time to come. After all, income from the export of cotton, meat, leather, and hides compensate only 25 percent of the outlays on imports. Oil purchases alone (amounting to 16 billion African francs in 1983) swallow up approximately three-fourths of all export revenues. A deficit balance of payments is avoided due to the fact that Burkinans working in foreign countries send currency to their homeland, and also because of the systematic cutback in almost all items of import.

National industrial output, in which transport and especially energy costs (up to 40 percent) are very high, cannot compete with imports and needs to be protected by the state. Up until now, most enterprises--as a rule, mixed companies in which foreign capital participates--have operated at a loss. In the future, the government plans to open up predominantly small handicraft enterprises which will not require large expenditures and will utilize unskilled manpower from rural regions. The Bank for Regional Development was established for the purpose of promoting administrative decentralization and economic deconcentration. The bank's particular task is to establish at least one enterprise for the processing of locally produced agricultural raw materials in every province.

The five-year plan of national development, which is presently being formulated, calls for raising the volume of agrarian output by 40 percent by the year 1990, which should supply the food industry with raw material and make the republic a grain exporter. Internal sources are supposed to provide half of the financing of the implementation of the plan (in the past, up to 80 percent of the financing was provided by foreign loans).

The chief export crop continues to be cotton. In 1984, the nation had a record crop of 79,000 tons. It has been decided to make this the norm but not to the detriment of grains--millet, corn, sorghum, and rice, which are the mainstay of the Burkinan diet. The production of other crops for export--karite [?] nuts, sesame seeds and beans--must be maintained at the usual average level (the establishment of enterprises for their partial processing is planned).

Burkina Faso has mineral reserves--manganese (13 million tons), phosphates, gold, copper, bauxites, nickel, diamonds, and possibly, uranium. However these resources have been virtually unutilized with the exception of gold deposits in the Pura region, which are exploited by a mixed company in which the state owns 60 percent. It is planned to enlist the aid of the local population in working small deposits of various types of minerals.

From the very first days following the revolutionary coup of 4 August, the republic's young leaders have declared their solidarity "with all forces of progress for the sake of the triumph of peace and justice." Once virtually

unnoticed in the international arena, the country has become one of the most active members of the Organization of African Unity and the nonalignment movement.

The reforms launched by the new regime were greeted with satisfaction by socialist-oriented african countries with which Burkina Faso has established the warmest, friendliest relations. As a result of visits by President T. Sankara, cooperative agreements have been signed, including an economic agreement with Ethiopia, Mozambique, and the Congo. He also visited Algeria, Angola, Madagascar, and Sao Tome and Principe. Much has been done to improve relations with neighboring countries, including those that were initially alarmed by the events in Upper Volta, fearing the export of Voltan revolution. Burkina Faso receives various kinds of aid and support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and is linked to them by the bonds of sincere friendship.

Not only friends, but also enemies are intently watching the activity of the progressive Burkinan regime. Its enemies are very displeased. According to pronouncements by republic leaders, imperialist powers, especially the USA and France, have repeatedly tried to overthrow it.

Nor are the imperialists loath to use their beloved "divide and conquer" tactic, to sow discord among the ranks of leftist forces in Burkina Faso, to promote strife between them, to divert their attention from the countries' urgent problems and from the real threats that are continuously presented by the local forces of reaction in alliance with imperialism. But the Burkinan people are on guard.

FOOTNOTE

1. Fifty African francs are the equivalent of one French franc.

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

CAPITALISM'S USE OF LABOR RESOURCES IN ASIAN DEVELOPING STATES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 20-25

[Article by Yu. Aleksandrov, doctor of economic sciences; and B. Slavnyy, candidate of economic sciences: "Capitalism and Labor Resources in Asian Countries"]

[Text] Within the framework of the general problem of the formation movement of present-day eastern nations, the attention of researchers is increasingly drawn to the particular features in the development of capitalism in their socioeconomic organism that are determined by the continuing growth of the number of traditional labor resources. Under these conditions, is capitalism in the age of the scientific and technological revolution capable of reforming the entire gamut of precapitalist structures in these countries; can it in general develop freely in these countries in accordance with its own fundamental laws? These questions today occupy a central place in the discussion of the trends and historic fate of capitalism in the developing countries. Therefore, at the same time that they publish the article by Yu. G. Aleksandrov and B. I. Slavnyy, the editors invite other scholars to speak out on this important problem.

Now that the effective employment of labor resources is justifiably considered to be one of the most urgent problems of the developing countries, it has become traditional to regard the influence of rapid population growth on their economic development as an entirely negative, worsening correlation of labor resources with land and capital resources, that has a negative impact on the productivity of social labor and on the volume of the consumption fund. All this in turn is viewed as a fundamental obstacle to the development of the capitalist mode of production in Eastern countries. "The present resource correlation," a recently published study of this study states, "given the absolute mobility of factors of production would simply preclude the possibility of the spontaneous development of modern forms of capitalist production."¹

But why would they be "precluded?" Special explanation is required here. The fact of the matter is that the conviction--possibly not even entirely conscious--has become deeply rooted in economic science that large-scale mechanized production, which economizes live labor, is the only truly progressive technology appropriate to the capitalist mode of production. If we proceed from this premise, obviously in the modern developing countries,

the market should reveal an abundance of (cheap) labor power and a relative scarcity of (costly) capital, i. e., the absence of the necessary incentives for economic industrialization. Hence the assumption that capitalist production can take root there only in an artificial environment in which it would exist without being connected to the general correlation of factors of production that have formed on the scale of the entire economy. However, in such a case, capitalism will be unable to provide employment for the bulk of the work force "not only in the immediate future, but in the historically foreseeable future as well." ²

Such views are generated primarily by the generalization of the history of evolution of the capitalist mode of production in the West. Behind these views are also attempts to conceptualize the contradictory experience of building large-scale industry in the developing countries using Western technology and the relatively unsuccessful efforts to resolve the employment problem on this basis. Many types of large-scale industrial production (for example, the power industry, petrochemistry, metallurgy) are characterized by technological determinism, i. e., the present lack of real alternatives to investment-intensive, labor-saving technology. The notion develops that modern technology is altogether indifferent to the specific correlations between the work force and other factors of production in the developing countries since it is supposed affirmed exclusively by patterns in the development of the productive forces and the evolution of capitalist production in centers of the world capitalist economy (MKKh) and therefore should be viewed as the only possibility.

If the situation on the periphery of the MKKh is really like this, the problem of capitalism's assimilation of the labor resources of Eastern countries is in principle unsolvable. And this in turn would mean that capitalism, as a social mode of production, has no hope whatsoever to take root in Eastern countries. The very nature of capitalist production, the decisive goal of which is the production of surplus value, would itself be an obstacle.

But surplus value is created not by machines but by the exploitation of workers. As K. Marx wrote "capital has one aspiration in life--to grow, to create surplus value, to absorb the greatest possible mass of surplus labor through its constant part, through the means of production. Capital is dead labor which, like a vampire, is restored to life only ingesting live labor; the more live labor it swallows up, the better it lives." ³ The reason capitalists use machines is not to eliminate live labor but to raise the surplus value norm, i. e., to realize one of the two factors responsible for the growth of its mass. The other factor involves increasing the number of simultaneously employed workers. Therefore the introduction of machines into the industry of capitalist countries expands the sphere of application of live labor. ⁴

Capitalism's assimilation of the entire economic space of the periphery of the MKKh with the aim of creating conditions appropriate to its nature is obviously the equivalent of its mobilization of the labor resources of the developing countries. Unless this problem is solved, the capitalist mode of production in the developing countries is doomed to vegetate and gradually die in the narrow boundaries of the artificially created industrial sector. What

is more, any attempt to develop capitalist production within the restricted limits of the modern sector, which is based on machine technology, must lead to a sharp deterioration of the already dramatic employment problem.

Mechanized production is basically concerned with saving live labor and requires a relatively small number of skilled workers whereas the Eastern countries mass of unskilled labor resources. The cost of creating every new job is high and it is impossible to economize capital resources merely by replacing them with live labor since capital resources are represented by equipment that is intended to solve the opposite problem--to economize live labor. And the skilled labor force that is required to operate this equipment is also the object of very large capital investments in its expanded reproduction, i. e., the shortage of skilled manpower is one form of capital scarcity.

Nor can the "intermediary" technology of mechanized production provide a basic solution to the problem. The most important consideration here is not even the fact that it still remains for the most part hypothetical and that very little can be said specifically about the sphere and economic feasibility of its use. More important is the fact that emphasis that must nevertheless be placed on using scarce capital resources rather than overly abundant labor resources. Therefore, the degree to which the work force is drawn into production will as in the past be determined by the magnitude of the mobilized capital resources and not vice versa. Attempts at replacing the means of mechanization through total development of simple cooperation are very unpromising. As shown by the experience of the "great leap" in the People's Republic of China, this can bring only limited economic and social results.

The obvious inability of large-scale industry to create the necessary number of new jobs suggests the need to combine industrialization with the development of labor-intensive forms of production--primarily in the interest of expanding employment, i. e., for sociopolitical reasons. But such production is usually considered to be relatively unprofitable, unable to compete, and therefore in need of total support by the state.⁵

This is why scientists often conclude that it is possible to modernize the entire production sphere under capitalism in the developing countries only in an artificially created environment: it is commonly believed that large-scale mechanized production can develop only outside the general correlation of factors of production on the scale of the entire economic system and that labor-intensive production can succeed only with special subsidies. Consequently, the vast labor resources of these countries are more a hindrance to their economic development than a real economic resource. And this in turn gives rise to the idea that the economies of the Eastern countries are inevitably divided into the modern sector, which uses most of the limited capital resources, and the traditional sector, which incorporates enormous masses of people who are useless to capitalist production both as producers and consumers of its product and who therefore eke out a miserable existence.⁶

But let us ask: must the capitalist modernization of the economy of the developing countries necessarily be equated (as is frequently done) with the expansion of a sector of large-scale mechanized production that uses labor-

saving technology? We believe that this is not the case and that there is a confusion of general patterns of development of the capitalist mode of production with more particular factors that determine the specifics of the given process in the developing countries.

In order to separate random from necessary processes, the content of which is the evolution of the social mode of production, Marxist philosophy employs the category "technological mode of mode of production" (TSP). With its aid, the coupling of man to the means of production is considered only at the technological level, irrespective of the social form of this relationship, i. e., of the social conditions of production.⁷ We believe that the concepts embraced by this category must also include methods for combining live labor with other factors of production under certain specific historical conditions. It seems to us that the various characteristics that determine the content of one or another TSP must include the following: whether it is "labor-expending" or "labor-saving."

Comparison of different TSP's according to this criterion depends on whether the given technology is oriented toward the active expenditure of live labor or, conversely, whether it is intend to economize live labor. This choice depends in turn on which economic resources are relatively abundant and which resources are scarce. In some instances (in modern Western industrial countries, for example), there is no relative scarcity of capital resources and their expenditure is subordinated to the task of saving live labor. This saving is achieved not only and not merely by raising the level of technical inputs per worker, but also through the expanded reproduction of a more and more productive and highly skilled work force, which also entails rising capital outlays. The result is the development of a "labor-economizing" type of worker who through his own labor saves the labor of others. Consequently, the productivity of social labor is ultimately raised not by machines but by people. A labor-expending technology, on the other hand, is based on such organization of the production process that makes it possible to expend scarce resources (land, capital) economically and at the same time to use the non-scarce skilled and the relatively abundant unskilled and semiskilled work force. This is the crux of the matter and not the replacement of machines by manual labor.

As a most vivid historical example of a labor-expending TSP, let us point to the agrarian economy of Eastern precapitalist societies in which the combination of live labor with other factors of production was distinguished by certain specific features. In a previously published article on the place of man in the Eastern system of productive forces in the precapitalist era⁸, we tried to show that man has always been the main productive force in the East in the full sense of the word. Nature did not by any means work in place of him: man himself stubbornly worked for his existence and his hands created all the truly fabulous riches of the East. Compared with other regions on earth, the human element in the productive forces of the East was considerably more highly developed in a quantitative sense. At the same time, an enormous mass of historically accumulated materialized labor was embodied in the ramified network of irrigation and reclamation facilities, in vast areas of land skillfully cultivated from century to century and in the diversity of

cultivated plants and the implements of labor that have been remarkably adapted to the local conditions.

Eastern man was a good, skillful, unpretentious worker with a highly developed sense of cooperation. If there was something specific in his position in the system of productive forces, in our opinion, it was specifically the nature of the combination with their other elements: an exceptionally important part was played by the inclusion of human labor in production on an undifferentiated basis, without regard to individual differences in the productive power of labor for the sake of making the land highly productive. It can be said that land and not live labor was in those times the object of cost accounting and economics. This means that live labor was actively expended for the sake of increasing the effectiveness of land use. Such a TSP corresponded to the conditions of Eastern countries in precolonial times and in the pre-imperialist stage of their colonial history when population growth on the whole was slow. However in the 20th century, population growth rates began rising steadily and ultimately stabilized at the high level of 2-3 percent a year (the "demographic explosion" situation). The acceleration of population growth initially increased the economic potential of Eastern countries and was the equivalent of the extensive growth of their productive forces. At the same time, territory was actively developed, new land was cultivated, a road and irrigation network was built, agriculture was diversified, and a larger part of the social product was directed into the accumulation fund. However, signs of overpopulation were soon seen in the major agricultural regions.

Agrarian overpopulation in the developing countries is a complex socioeconomic phenomenon: the correlation between the work force and the cultivated area deteriorates as a result of the increased density of the agricultural population. Labor resources were used in the agrarian economy as if in accordance with the principles of the traditional TSP described above, in which live labor is generously expended for the sake of raising the productivity of the land or, in other words, for the sake of saving the land. However with the continuously increasing density of the agricultural population, output per worker began to decline.

But this situation remained basically stable only until the '70's, when the "green revolution"--the technological restructuring of production based on the use of modern means of its intensification (high-yield seed stock, fertilizers, chemical plant protection agents, etc.)--occurred in the Eastern countries. An important feature of the new technology is that the use of all these capital factors for increasing the productivity of the land entails the higher labor-intensiveness of agriculture. There is new impetus for expending live labor for the sake of increasing the productivity of the land.

However the general view is that the technology of the "green revolution" is not destined to remain labor-expending in Eastern countries that are developing along capitalist lines. The logic of equating the development of the capitalist mode of production with the transition to the labor-saving technology of large-scale mechanized production suggests that as capital is accumulated in agriculture, machines must inevitably eliminate live labor and this will ultimately lead to the formation of a system of large capitalist

farms in agriculture.⁹ Thus, here too, it is predicted that the transition will be made to the labor-saving principle, notwithstanding the abundance of manpower in Eastern countries, at the expense of active expenditure of scarce capital.

We have attempted to show that such forecasts do not have satisfactory foundation in theory. Let us now see what the actual trends are in the development of the "green revolution" in the East.

The first thing one notices here is the different ways manpower is used on different farms. Small subsistence farms typically use only individual components of the complex of new capital factors to increase the productivity of the land. They are directed toward raising the level of production through the expenditure of abundant live labor irrespective of differences in its individual productivity. At the same time, the traditional communal practice of simple cooperative labor, which allows other members of the commune to participate in labor and, most important, in the distribution of the product, is preserved at least partially. Large and an increasing percentage of small agricultural commodity producers, on the other hand, hire manpower on the labor market and consider their outlays on live labor as part of the overall cost of commodity production. The result of this has been the tendency to remove from participation in production representatives of agricultural groups that have been connected with agriculture predominantly through traditional distribution and redistribution mechanisms and that consequently represent precapitalist overpopulation.

Nevertheless, as the modern practice of Eastern countries shows, the fact that some producers reject traditional communal practices does not in any way mean the transition from a labor-expending to a labor-saving TSP. The traditional sector continues to have an abundance of cheap labor power. Therefore, capitalist entrepreneurs and small commodity producers in agriculture, proceeding from the criterion of the market place, predominantly opt for live labor combined with capital factors for increasing the productivity of the land and not for the mechanization of labor unless special conditions arise. In some cases, such conditions are created by intervention in the market economy by the state which for various reasons may assign lower prices to farm machinery.

While the mechanization of agricultural work in Eastern countries is gradually expanding, on the whole it is not resulting in the overall elimination of live labor by machines. The primary concentration is on the use of tractors in plowing where machines compete primarily not with workers but with draught animals and the scale of elimination of live labor is relatively limited. The mechanization of other agricultural operations in Eastern countries usually follows in the wake of manpower shortages. In Asia, today, manpower shortages are seen most vividly in Japan and South Korea where an absolute reduction in the size of the agricultural population is observed.¹⁰ But in principle the same can also be said about the "green revolution" in other Asian countries since with the growing labor-intensiveness of agriculture, manpower shortages during peak periods of agricultural work are not so very uncommon even in densely populated regions.

Ultimately, priority is given not to the mechanization of labor but to the use of unskilled manpower in connection with capital factors for raising the productivity of the land. Consequently it can be said that the capitalist modernization of agriculture in the Eastern countries has been accompanied by features indicating the transition to a new technological mode of production. It differs from the traditional Eastern TSP in the respect that the commodity producers reject the precapitalist principle of common (although, of course, not equal) employment opportunity and the distribution of means of subsistence to all members of the commune. But another important feature--the labor-expending character--is retained. The use of capital resources is oriented toward the active use of live labor in the interest of increasing the productivity of the land.

Such a combination of factors of production is in basic agreement with the resource situation that has developed in the Eastern countries. The widespread use of price subsidies for capital resources embodied in means of intensification of production does not contradict the given principle because it in itself serves the goal of promoting labor-saving technology.

Still more important for the fate of the capitalist mode of production in the East is the question of whether it can develop there under natural conditions in industry. We understand these conditions in the given instance to mean the ability of capitalist production to develop on the basis of scarce rather than abundant economic resources.

Transnational corporations are presently in the vanguard in the search for the practical solution to this problem. With the increased integration of the world capitalist economy, the movement of capital from capitalist centers to the periphery is more and more often oriented toward the possibility of reducing production costs through the use of cheap local labor power.

Substantial organizational and technical restructuring of production, which is made possible by the scientific and technological revolution, will be required in order to draw the vast labor resources of Eastern countries into modern industrial production at a relatively low capital cost. In all stages of the technological process, there are operations that require simple labor and all production is reorganized and regrouped in such a way as to limit its content to such operations as far as possible.

Production ultimately becomes a complex hierarchy of cooperative links of the same chain that differ from one another not by virtue of the phase of the technological cycle but by the content and complexity of the labor operations they perform. Some enterprises, which specialize in works of a certain complexity and which hire manpower of the corresponding level, are like shops in a unified production complex. The geography of their location is determined exclusively by the availability of the required manpower resources and the level of wages. In such a complex structure of division of labor, intrafirm relations and flows connecting individual links in the system, transportation and especially management problems acquire great importance. The means for solving these problems are also provided by the revolution in science and technology.

As we see, a new technological mode of production is also developing in industry. In one very essential feature, it recapitulates the East's traditional TSP: labor power is expended more actively than capital; the use of cheap unskilled and semiskilled labor rather than raising technical inputs per worker and the skill level of the work force becomes the dominant motif in the selection of the type of technology. The transnational corporations would seem to be repeating in the broad expanses of the periphery of the MKKh earlier, historical stages in the development of capitalism but under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, in a much higher convolution of the "spiral" of development of the productive forces and the social mode of production.

They are first of all the essential features of its manufactory stage which is the primary basis of agrarian capitalism that bases its development on a combination of the organized unskilled work force with capital factors for increasing the productivity of the land. However, while the manufactory stage at the present time is unquestionably a sign of progress for capitalism in Eastern agriculture compared with what existed before the "green revolution," for industry it is a considerable step backward from the stage attained in the machine industry sector. But this was such a retreat that (1) as shown above, is based on the potential of the scientific and technological revolution; and (2) opens the door to capitalism for the assimilation of the region's labor resources, i. e., for the creation of adequate conditions for their vital activity on behalf of capitalism.

The new TSP, which was born in the sphere of production organized by transnational corporations, is already offering an alternative to investment-intensive production in many branches of industry. At the same time, this creates a demonstration effect for the enormous mass of small producers. A small production facility, by its very nature is oriented toward the use of cheap labor power that does not require special preliminary training and that is ready for virtually all kinds of working conditions. The role of the TSP in expanding employment of local labor resources in the developing countries is very great.

Small-scale production is capable of gain access to foreign markets successfully and of simultaneously satisfying many necessary needs of the poorest local strata with its products.

At the same time that we indicate the significance of the affirmation of the new TSP in the development of capitalism in the industry and agriculture of Eastern countries, we should at the same time vigorously emphasize the impossibility of demonstrating at the theoretical level (which is frequently attempted) of capitalism to assimilate the labor resources of the developing countries in the near historical future. After all, the development of capitalism in the Eastern countries is a question not only of basic potential but also of real time periods and social consequences.

First of all, the formation of the new technological mode of production is a process on the scale of the entire MKKh and for the periphery, the new TSP is presently directed from without, as a result of which factors of an external order dominate the internal factors. Therefore, accelerating economic

development under capitalism means that the developing countries become increasingly dependent on centers of the MKKh. This process also encounters such obstacles as powerful opposition to the migration of capital from centers of the MKKh and the influx of cheap goods from the developing countries on the part of various sociopolitical forces in the developed capitalist countries themselves; as the need of the developing countries to create a number of industrial branches for which there is no (at least at the present time) technological alternative to investment-intensive and labor-saving technology; as the frequent foisting of such technology on them from without even when there is no need for it.

New, acute social contradictions are at the same time added to the already highly conflict-laden situation in the developing countries because enterprises belonging to transnational corporations and small-scale production enterprises are practicing the intensive overexploitation of labor. In this sense, capitalism on the periphery of the MKKh is literally returning to its earlier stages. The unnormed work day and the absence of any manner of social guarantees and rights become the standard at these enterprises since cheap labor power is particularly important both to the transnational corporations and to small-scale production. While the strenuous working conditions and the insufficient compensation of the workers' efforts soon lead to the loss of the required capacity for work, this is no problem to the capitalist entrepreneurs: there is more than enough semiskilled and unskilled manpower available. It is specifically for this reason that the new TSP is to a considerable degree oriented toward the employment of migrants from the countryside who are willing to agree to any, even the most barbaric, working conditions. Such terms meet the profitability criteria of capitalist production and take into account the situation in the labor market in the developing countries.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasize the following. Unquestionably, the contradiction between capitalism, which is developing in breadth and depth, and the gradually narrowing sphere of precapitalist relations remains the central and, most important, driving contradiction for this specific social form of production which has developed to date in Eastern countries developing along capitalist lines. The fact that it is driving means that it is being partially resolved, partially recreated and that it is intensifying with every step of the development process.

It seems to us that the concept proposed by certain researchers, which depicts the mechanism underlying the formation of the capitalist mode of production in the present-day East in the form of the steady disintegration of the modern and traditional sectors of their economy--disintegration, as a result of which limited resources (land, capital, skilled manpower) are increasingly concentrated in the modern sector while the abundant resources of unskilled manpower, on the other hand, are concentrated in the traditional sector, is incapable of revealing the specific given dialectic. At least, the proponents of this concept who most consistently cite it in their works invariably conclude that the contradiction between capitalist and precapitalist structures in Eastern countries is fundamentally unsolvable, that it is leading society into an economic and social cul-de-sac.¹¹

In our opinion, the conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of real trends in the involvement of labor resources in Eastern countries in the sphere of capitalist exploitation is that the synthesis of the modern and the traditional, i. e., their inconsistent compromise combination, is the form of resolution of the contradiction between capitalist and precapitalist structures in the given instance.¹² The new technological mode of production, which is described in the article as a way of drawing into capitalist production the abundant traditional labor resources of the countries in the region based on the harmonious interaction of technological and cost factors under the specific conditions of the labor market, is an example of this synthesis. But at the same time that the new TSP addresses this problem in a certain way, it generates new social contradictions in the society of Eastern countries that are developing along capitalist lines. Therefore, whether the more intensive assimilation of labor resources will ultimately promote the affirmation of capitalism as the dominant, all-embracing social mode of production depends on numerous circumstances, including to a great degree the question of whether it will be possible to avert a sharp rise in antagonisms between the economic tasks of capitalist production and the social tasks of society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Traditsionnyye struktury i ekonomicheskiy rost v Indii" [Traditional Structures and Economic Growth in India], Moscow, 1984, p 244.
2. Ibid., p 249.
3. K. Marks and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 23, p 244.
4. Ibid., Vol 2, pp 369-70; Vol 23, p 418.
5. See, for example, "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: ekonomicheskiy rost i sotsialnyy progress" [The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress], Moscow, 1983, pp 594-95.
6. See: "The East in the Early '80's. The Liberated Countries in the Modern World," Moscow, 1983, Chapter II: "Traditsionnyye struktury...", pp 244-52.
7. "Marksistsko-leninskaya teoriya istoricheskogo protsessa" [Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Historical Process], Moscow, 1981, p 273.
8. Yu. Aleksandrov and B. Slavnyy, "Man in the System of Productive Forces in Precapitalist Eastern Societies," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1984, No 4.
9. V. G. Rastyannikov, Foreword to "Gosudarstvo i agrarnaya evolyutsiya v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Azii i Afriki" [The State and the Agrarian Evolution in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa], Moscow, 1980, p 9.
10. N. M. Bragina, "Sovremennaya yaponskaya derevnya (Sotsialno-ekonomicheskiy ocherk)" [The Japanese Countryside Today (Socioeconomic

Essay)], Moscow, 1975, pp 43-52, 72-77, 95; I. S. Kazakevich, "Agrarnyye otnosheniya v Yuzhnoy Koreye. 1945-1976" [Agrarian Relations in South Korea. 1945- 1976], Moscow, 1980, pp 116-126.

11. See A. P. Kolontayev, "Dinamika i struktura zanyatosti naseleniya Indii. Problemy kapitalisticheskoy transformatsii" [Dynamics and Structure of the Employed Population in India. Problems of the Capitalist Transformation], Moscow, 1983, pp 177-82; "Traditsionnyye struktury...", pp 247-51.
12. Concerning the role of synthesis in the process of the formation development of Eastern countries, see "Evolutsiya vostochnykh obshchestv: sintez traditsionnogo i sovremennogo" [Evolution of Eastern Societies: Synthesis of the Traditional and the Modern], Moscow, 1984, pp 5, 11, etc.

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOCIOECONOMIC PROGRESS, PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 34-37, 44

[Article by V. Novikov: "The Difficult Road"]

[Text] On 1 October 1985, Nigeria observes the 25th anniversary of its liberation from Britain's colonial yoke. In a quarter century, this country, which has the largest population in Africa (over 90 million persons), has done much to overcome its socioeconomic backwardness and to establish a material basis for its future progress. Nigeria occupies first place among independent nations on the continent in the volume of gross internal output, oil production, foreign trade, and investment in the national economy. It is for this reason that Nigeria is often called the "giant of Africa." However, the giant's successes could probably be still more appreciable and it could be still mightier if it were not racked by constant internal political crises.

Since the proclamation of independence, the nation has experienced several military coups that have replaced two civilian and five military governments. From October 1960 to January 1966 (the time of the "first revolution" as it is called in Nigeria), the government was headed by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Next came the series of military regimes of Aguiyi Ironsi (January-July 1966), Yakubu Gowon (July 1966-July 1975), and Murtalla Mohammed-Olusegun Obasanjo (July 1975-September 1979). On 1 October 1979, civilian government was restored with Alhaji Shehu Shagari at its head. But the "second revolution" proved to be of still shorter duration than the first. Following the 31 December 1983 coup, power was assumed by the military government of Maj. Gen. Muhammedu Buhari. No later than 27 August 1985, he was replaced by Ibrahim Babangida.

Political instability in itself is typical of many young African countries. Nonetheless the stormy events in Nigeria, which plays a very significant role on the continent, has attracted and continues to attract particular attention. Western observers discussing the reasons behind the events frequently name--as basic factors in addition to others--such factors as the Nigerian military's "traditional striving for power" (the stronger expression "thirst for power" is sometimes used) and the alleged inability of Nigerians to adopt and implement a "democratic form of government" in practice. It is not difficult

to guess the secret motives behind such demagogic statements. The author of these lines personally witnessed the joy with which the great majority of the nation's citizens welcomed the overthrow of Sh. Shagari's regime. Why should they weep over a "democracy" whose demise was publicly lamented by U.S. President Reagan and the leaders of a number of other imperialist powers?

The West was no less disappointed after the collapse of the "first revolution" whose political system had been developed by the former mother country along the lines of British parliamentarianism, without any regard for local specifics, but with the long-range aim of "divide and continue to rule." The 1959 elections held under the colonialists' control did not result in an absolute majority for any one of the Nigerian parties which essentially were ethnoregional groupings whose influence was exclusively confined to their own respective regions of the nation.¹ The government was formed from recently competing parties: the Northern People's Congress (Hausa) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (Ibo). Their leaders--A. T. Balewa and Nnamdi Azikiwe--became prime minister and president, respectively. The Action Group, the Yoruban party, headed by Obafemi Awolowo became the main opposition force.

Leaders of the "first revolution" placed personal ambition and the narrow interests of the affluent hierarchy of various ethnic groups above general national interests. Instead of resolving the very complex problems inherited from colonialism, they launched an internecine struggle for national dominance. At the same time, Western monopolies continued to hold sway in the Nigerian economy. Prices of consumer goods rose and naturally produced very widespread dissatisfaction. Nigeria was shaken by chronic crises that the government was not only unable to control but actually aided and abetted. In the course of the 1964 elections and especially in 1965, interparty conflicts developed into open clashes that took hundreds of human lives. The western part of the country became the arena of an actual bloody war; the east refused to recognize the results of the elections.

Under these circumstances, the army--the representatives of its middle and lower ranks--intervened. Many federal and regional political bigwigs were shot. Even though most of the armed forces remained loyal to the government and the soldiers that rebelled returned to their barracks, the cabinet could no longer control the situation in the nation and in one of its sessions decided to transfer authority to the army.

This was a timely step. Separatist- and chauvinist-minded leaders of the eastern region proclaimed the "independent Republic of Biafra" which led to civil war in July 1967. The majority of Western powers took an ambiguous stand at that time. Some of them directly encouraged the rebels who tried to separate the most petroliferous regions from the nation. The Soviet Union declared its solidarity with the central government and rendered it material support, which Nigeria has gratefully acknowledged since then. The dramatic confrontation, which lasted 30 months, ended in the defeat of the dissidents. The army proved to be the only force capable of defending the nation's territorial integrity.

Why did the two first military governments fall? Ironsi was overthrown (and killed) by the same armed forces after he had abolished the federal government

of polyethnic Nigeria and transformed it into a unitarian state. Gowon rejected the program proclaimed by him for transferring power to civilians and was replaced by a military group headed by M. Muhammed almost immediately after the public announcement of the plan for the gradual transition to civilian government. The 13 February 1970 attempt at a military coup, the organizers of which did not wish to permit the nation's evolution along such lines, received no support whatsoever and was put down in a few hours. M. Muhammed died but his successor O. Obasanjo voluntarily relinquished the reins of government on 1 October 1979 to the civilian administration that had been elected during his tenure.

Thus, the theses of the supposed "pathological love of power" of the Nigerian military and the "unacceptability" of democracy to Nigeria's average citizens appear contrived to say the very least. From the very beginning, the army did not seize power but accepted it from the hands of the government of the "first revolution." The coups of 1966 and 1975 were carried out by members of the military against their own colleagues and in our opinion objectively reflected the struggle of the lower social strata for a less authoritarian regime. However the new "democracy" under a civilian government proved to be a repetition of the old which was not even so very well forgotten.

Five officially registered parties, which participated in general elections in July-August 1979, like their predecessors during the time of the "first revolution" were formed according to the ethnoregional principle. The only thing different about them was their names. The largest nationalities--Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo--were represented by the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Nigerian Unity Party (NUP), and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), respectively. For the most part, the party leaders remained the same. O. Awolowo, called "papa" by his fellow tribesmen, headed the NUP; N. Azikiwe--the NPP. The interests of the traditional aristocracy and the trade-industrial bourgeoisie of the Muslim North were expressed by NPN leader Sh. Shagari, the political heir of the highly placed persons who were shot in January 1966. Probably the only difference between the two republics was that government was now modeled after the American rather than the English system.

Sh. Shagari was victorious in the most important--presidential--elections by a small majority of the votes (this is understandable because the Hausa northerners are numerically predominant in the nation). But his party received less than half of the parliamentary mandates and joined a coalition of the Ibo party--the NPP--as it had done 20 years ago. It seemed that both of them should be satisfied: the NPN guaranteed itself a quiet life in the National Assembly; the NPP was assured a number of ministerial and other key posts. However, the former, in its attempt to rule exclusively, did not reckon with its younger partner, which in turn took every opportunity to snatch more government support. The respective leaders more and more frequently concerned themselves with what was better for their alliance and totally forgot that it was primarily intended to promote the cause of Nigerian unity. As was to be expected, this purely mercenary approach soon caused the coalition to disintegrate. The NPP became one of the most active opponents of the government on a par with the NUP, the Yoruban party.

On the eve of the regularly scheduled 1983 elections, opposition leaders attempted to establish the "alliance of progressive parties" (progressive in name only as many Nigerians well understood) for the purpose of defeating Sh. Shagari. This plan did not come to fruition as a result of age-old disagreements and mistrust between O. Awolowo and N. Azikiwe, both of whom wanted to be president. Thus the opposition remained fragmented.

Nevertheless, the ruling NPN continued to have real support in only 7-8 of the 19 states in the federation, there was no hope whatsoever of winning an absolute victory, and its leaders counted on juggling the voting results, on blackmail and on buying off their political opponents. The outcome of the fake elections of 1983, which most Nigerian newspapers and magazines called a "national disgrace," depended not on the will of the voters but on the "means of influence" at the disposal of the parties. In this respect, not one of them could vie with the NPN which according to official data (probably no one knows the real figure) spent over a billion dollars on its campaign--twice as much as all other parties combined) to control the federal election commission, the supreme court and the security service. The results of the election were also falsified in such a way that even if the opposition had been united, it would have yielded to Sharagi's party in the representative organs.

Government propaganda proclaimed the triumph of the regime, "national support" for its activity, the spread of the NPN's influence to the majority of the states, and repeated the slogan "one nation--one party." In reality, however, at the same time that Sharagi's government represented itself as the champion of national unity and equality of all ethnic groups, it primarily expressed the interests of the exploiter hierarchy of the North. While remaining in the shadows, the NPN set various nationalities against one another and stirred up religious animosity. Collisions of this type were virtually continuous. The NPN "supported" ethnic minorities in the West and East in order to create problems for its principal political opponents--the Yoruban and Ibo parties. In the North, which it considered home territory, it tried to suppress all opposition, using any means. For example, when the NPN was unable to win over A. M. Rimi, the governor of Kano, one of the largest northern states, it stirred up a mob of religious fanatics against him in the summer of 1981. The governor's palace and a number of administrative buildings were destroyed, several persons were killed, and Rimi himself only by a miracle escaped the fate that was planned for him.

All this called forth the rebuff that intensified particularly between July and September 1983. Oppositionists openly repudiated the results of the farce that was called an election. The situation in some regions of the West, East, and Northeast resembled the situation in 1965-66 in many respects.

Through its action, the ruling party aggravated the crisis. In the erroneous belief that the NPN had guaranteed itself at least 4 years in office, everyone who had paid for its so costly victory hastened to collect compensation for their efforts. The new administration's primary consideration in filling positions was the contribution made by a certain person to the party coffers rather than personal abilities and qualities. The local press flatly stated that Sharagi's second government was the most incompetent in government

affairs in the history of the nation. Cabinet members were primarily concerned with stuffing their pockets in the shortest possible time.

Such "management" was ruinous to the Nigerian economy which had already experienced a protracted crisis as a result of the decline in the demand and world prices for oil (oil exports accounted for 95 percent of the state's hard currency and over 80 percent of all state revenues). The collapse of Shagari's government was approaching.

At a time when literally all political parties of the "second republic" had demonstrated their inability to lead the country out of its dilemma, the army high command, according to the latest official information, forestalling action by junior officers, took power into its own hands through a practically bloodless coup. Of course, M. Buhari's government, which was established by the upper echelon of the armed forces, for the most part reflected the interests of the affluent strata of society, especially the trade and industrial bourgeoisie--but that part of the bourgeoisie that was nationalistic-minded, that was opposed to the dominant influence of the neocomprodores, that was sired by the "second republic, and that favored economic growth. It was for this very reason that the majority of Nigerians received the "return" of the military with satisfaction in the expectation of significant changes for the better.

However, even with the formation of the Supreme Military Council, within the council there were disagreements regarding ways of surmounting difficulties confronting the nation. Some council members, including I. Babangida, army chief of staff, and Sanni Abach, commander of the Second Mechanized Division, proposed launching a broad, long-term socioeconomic program. But head of state M. Buhari and his supporters were more inclined to populist "cosmetic" measures.

At the same time, certain unambiguous actions were objectively necessary in the face of the economic crisis. This was the mission imposed on the new leaders by the declarations they made immediately after the coup regarding their intention to "save Nigeria." The restoration of the health of the economy became the main concern of the government which had identified a number of problems that had to be resolved first albeit to the detriment of other, no less important tasks.

The fact of the matter was that Nigeria continued to experience a shortage of financial resources and the International Monetary Fund, in response to its request for a large loan, advanced shackling demands: the devaluation of the national monetary unit--the naira (1 naira is equal to approximately US\$1.30), the abolition of state subsidies for social needs, a wage freeze, and "liberalization" of foreign trade. As noted by participants in a seminar conducted in this connection at the Nigerian Ahmed Bello University, the first demand would increase the cost of the imports that are very essential to the nation's economy; the second would result in a further decline in the working people's standard of living; and the third would mean the influx of Western goods with which local goods would be unable to compete.

M. Buhari's government rejected these clearly unacceptable conditions and undertook the mobilization of internal resources: introduced a strict economy program, cut administrative spending in real terms by roughly one-third, and sharply curbed imports. Its first concern was to pay off the state debt, which at the time of Shagari's overthrow totaled 30 billion nairas, of which 8.5 billion were owed to foreign creditors. During the military's tenure in power, payments on foreign loans (including interest) exceeded 3 billion nairas. Payments on long- and medium-term loans were made regularly and all imports were paid for immediately. This made it possible for M. Buhari to declare on the occasion of the first anniversary of the coup: "Nigeria is paying off its debts and will not ask for any more handouts." The current year's budget allocated approximately 4 billion nairas for this purpose.

In 1984, Nigerian imports in value terms declined from 9.7 to 8.6 while exports rose from 7.1 to 8.9 billion nairas and the deficit balance of payments declined to 126 million nairas compared with 3.4 billion in 1983.

Considering the strained nature of its finances, the government resolved to take out foreign loans in 1984-85 to finance new projects in the economy. Financing was continued only on top-priority projects. Among them--the metallurgical plant that is being built in Ajaokut, the largest in Tropical Africa, with the assistance of the USSR. In October 1984, a "150" rolling mill for the production of wire was put into operation. Irrespective of the change of governments in Nigeria, much emphasis has been placed on the development of the metallurgical industry as a key branch without which economic development is impossible. After construction is completed, the plant will produce five million tons of steel a year, will provide employment for more than 5000 Nigerians and will enable the country to economize considerable amounts of foreign currency by no longer importing rolled products and metal components.

Agriculture also had to be restored for the sake of strengthening and diversifying the national economy. In 1984, it was possible to increase the volume of agricultural output by two percent (in 1983, it declined by eight whole percent). Plans have been developed for the establishment of large agrocomplexes, for returning Nigerians from overcrowded cities to rural regions, for attracting skilled manpower and capital to the agrarian sector. This year, more than a billion nairas--18 percent of total budget expenditures were allocated for agricultural needs.

Nevertheless, Nigeria's principal wealth continues to be oil. In 1984, oil accounted for 7.9 of the 11.3 billion nairas of state revenue. The military succeeded in halting contraband exports of liquid fuel which brought various kinds of "dealers" up to a million dollars a day.

In order to reduce the outflow of foreign currency, special decrees were adopted against transnational corporations that manipulate balance reports in such a way as to reduce taxable profits and transfer profits as well as payments for the use of patents, licenses and trade marks overseas. These possibilities were restricted and in addition checks of waybills and goods were organized before shipment to Nigeria from overseas.

While all these efforts produced certain results, in the preceding years, the economy had suffered such a loss that it was extremely difficult to correct matters in a short period of time, all the more so with the reluctance of M. Buhari and those around him to take decisive, systematic action. The recession that began in 1981 still continued and productivity remained low. There was a shortage of the primary necessities. Inflation was rising. More than 7 percent of the able-bodied population in cities and 2.4 percent of the able-bodied population in rural areas were unemployed. Particularly hard hit were blue- and white-collar workers in construction, industry and trade--branches that are most dependent on foreign capital, on imports of Western raw materials and equipment. The situation was complicated by increasing contradictions in the Supreme Military Council.

It was under these conditions that the August coup, which encountered no actual resistance whatsoever, took place. I. Babangida, the leader of the coup, became president of the nation, commander-in-chief, and chairman of the Ruling Council of the Armed Forces which included 28 representatives of the army and police.

Ibrahim Babangida was born in August 1941 in the city of Minna (presently the capital of the state of Niger). He was born to a Muslim family that belonged to the small Gviri minority. His biography is typical of many Nigerian career military men: he graduated from military college in Kaduna in his homeland, completed military academy in India, received his probationary training in Great Britain; while participating in the war against the "Biafran" separatists, he gave a good account of himself as a brave, decisive officer. He acquired authority in the army, especially among the rank and file and junior command personnel. I. Babangida's popularity rose sharply after the events of 13 February 1976. Serving as a tank brigade commander at the time, he played an important part in putting down an insurrection intended to overthrow M. Muhammed's government and demonstrated personal bravery in the process.

I. Babangida was critical of the transfer of power to civilian hands in 1979. It was not by chance that Sh. Shagari removed him from the command of the most combat ready, efficient tank brigade in Nigeria and appointed him to a purely nominal albeit prestigious staff position. After the fall of Shagari's regime, I. Babangida, who had been one of the organizers of the 31 December 1983 coup, became army chief of staff, a position he held until 27 August 1985.

In his first address to the people, the new head of state declared that Nigeria would continue to pursue an independent foreign policy based on the principles of the Organization of African Unity, the nonalignment movement, and the Economic Community of West African States and would develop mutually advantageous cooperation with all nations irrespective of their social system. He called the main reason for the overthrow of M. Buhari's government to be his "inability to make good on his commitment to save Nigeria," mismanagement of the economy, and corruption.

Today's leaders consider the development of a long-range program for the solution of socioeconomic problems to be the most urgent internal task. In

the words of I. Babangida, the military totally appreciate the total complexity of the situation and are fully resolved to justify the people's confidence.

FOOTNOTE

1. Before Nigerian independence, the nation was divided into the Northern, Western and Eastern regions where the majority of the population was made up of the largest nationalities (in the indicated order)--Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo.

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CSO: 1807/119

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

MILITARY RULERS IN PAKISTAN CONTRADICT POLITICAL LEADERS' VIEWS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 38-41

[Article by V. Nikolayev and D. Borisov: "The Face-Lift"]

Text] In February-March 1985, elections were held to the Pakistani National Assembly--the lower chamber of parliament--and to the provincial legislative assemblies. Next, deputies of provincial assemblies the upper chamber--the senate. A "civilian" cabinet of ministers was formed with M. Kh. Junejo, an obscure political figure, at its head. Gen. M. Zia-ul-Haq, who had carried out a coup 8 years ago and was the chief martial law administrator, i. e., the leader of the military regime, remained the head of state: the president.

General elections and the formation of the parliament create the impression that Pakistan is once more at the beginning of a now typical cycle of development, specifically, the periodic alternation of military dictatorship and civilian government.

The tenure of M. Zia-ul-Haq's administration has been the longest in Pakistan's history. It enjoys the support of the upper and middle bourgeoisie and of landowners, whose influence on government decision making increased significantly after 1977. The refusal of the authorities to implement agrarian reform and to nationalize private enterprises in the future, partial denationalization and a number of other concessions to big capital correspond to the interests of these strata to a considerable degree. The regime has received large financial, economic and political assistance from imperialist powers headed by the USA and from Near East countries rich in "petrodollars." In order to strengthen its positions, the regime uses the artificially inflamed, so-called "Afghan problem," creating an atmosphere of chauvinism in the nation, and depicts all opposition as antipatriotic.

From the moment they took power, the Pakistani military have pursued a policy of sociopolitical maneuvering. They are quite successful at exploiting contradictions within the opposition. Unlike earlier times when the army was at the helm, political parties were not immediately outlawed but were banned only in the fall of 1979. The Constitution of 1973 was repealed even though

it had been "temporarily suspended" by an edict of the martial law administration. Twice--in 1979 and 1983--nonpartisan elections to local organs of power were held. Military leaders have continuously promised to hold general elections and to begin the process of "democratization."

A large-scale propaganda campaign was launched in connection with the establishment of the Federal Advisory Council (FAC) or "Majlis-i-shura" (dissolved before the 1985 elections) which included presidentially appointed representatives of the business community, the landed aristocracy, the Muslim clergy, and politicians. The establishment of the FAC was intended to create the appearance of a civilian advisory body that is supposedly free to express its will and that is supposedly consulted by the military authorities on important decisions. The FAC was also supposed to reflect the army's general striving to the nation's democratic institutions.

The regime's maneuvering was accompanied by the broad suppression of dissent throughout the nation. Violation of martial law in Pakistan today is punishable by death, imprisonment or flogging. Not only political leaders but also rank and file members of parties, students' and women's organizations have been the subject of severe repression. Tens of thousands of people have been subjected to the regime's torture chambers at various times. Such prominent political figures as Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Z. A. Bhutto, the prime minister who was executed and who was the leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP); M. Asgar Khan--founder of the Tekhrik-i-Istiklyal Party; and G. B. Bizenjo--leader of the Pakistan National Party, and others, have been periodically arrested.

Expressing the interests of big capital, the regime's repression is focused on the leftist trade union movement. The police have repeatedly used weapons against striking workers. Repression even befell the military, among whom opposition is growing. This is attested to by repeated purges in the army, by arrests and harsh sentences, as was the case last summer with respect to the family of patriotic-minded officers.

All actions of Zia-ul-Haq's cabinet are accompanied by a broad propaganda campaign intended to make the average Pakistani believe that the government is engaged in a historic mission of creating "a truly Islamic society" of prosperity and equality. The component elements of the Islamization policy were the introduction of Muslim taxes for charitable use ("zakyat" and "ushr"), the abolition of interest in banking transactions, the introduction of medieval punishments for various crimes, etc. However it quite soon became apparent to everyone that such "reforms" do not alter the repressive nature of the political system, do not reduce the disproportions in the distribution of national income in Pakistan, do not lead to the elimination of inequality, poverty and corruption.

The result was the growing dissatisfaction of various strata of the population. Their rejection of the socioeconomic and political policies of the government was clearly seen in the course of the powerful antigovernment campaign of 1983 which was organized by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which united the basic political opposition parties. Their

slogan was the immediate repeal of martial law, the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1973, and general elections under the constitution.

The 1983 movement reinforced the opinion of the dominant groups that the further existence of martial law in open form contained the threat of a new, still more serious crisis. Therefore, starting in late 1983, the military authorities began implementing a unique strategy of preventing an adverse turn of events. They proclaimed a program of transition to "democratic government" within the framework of the so-called "Islamic state system." A new stage in the regime's evolution began. It was characterized by the transition from direct to indirect government by the military and the creation of a system of power that ensured effective control over the civilian government.

The "referendum" of 19 December 1984 and the "general elections" of February-March 1985 were the most significant stages in this direction.

In the "referendum," voters were to indicate whether they approved Islamization policy that had been instituted by the authorities for several years. Zia-ul-Haq repeatedly stated that he would regard a positive response by the majority as a mandate to continue as president for another 5 years. Earlier, he had previously repeatedly proclaimed that the president, according to the constitution of 1973, would be elected by the parliament.

According to the official data, 62 percent of the 35 million registered voters took part in the voting on 19 December 1984 and the great majority of them indicated their approval. These data evoked the sharp criticism of the opposition which declared that there had been deliberate falsifications and violations of the elementary norms of voting. It is also extremely important to note that less than 75 percent of the inhabitants eligible to vote were registered. In other words, the authorities were supported by less than half of those who should have had their say. Nevertheless, a legal basis was found for filling the office of the presidency with the chief martial law administrator, which was a kind of guarantee that the army would continue to participate in the nation's government after the elections.

The holding of general elections on a nonpartisan basis, as, "more in keeping with Islam," was the second step on the road to reforming the open military dictatorship. This was the only way of preventing the victory of the still popular Pakistan People's Party, founded by Z. A. Bhutto. However, the ban did not essentially affect the country's two most reactionary parties--Jamaat-i-islami" and the Pakistan Muslim League--which supported Zia-ul-Haq.

In the effort to gain recognition of the legality of the proposed system of elections, Zia-ul-Haq undertook a number of new maneuvers aimed at forcing the MRD to take part in the voting. Thus, initially, persons known for their ties with political parties, persons forbidden to engage in political activity for 7 or 12 years, and persons who occupied official positions when Z. A. Bhutto was in office, were forbidden to take part in the elections. However, Zia-ul-Haq announced the removal of all restrictions on the nomination of candidates for office. At the same time, the authorities gave the leaders of the MRD permission to hold meetings behind closed doors.

The assumption was that the different political parties belonging to the MRD would be unable to arrive at a unified position and that some of them, availing themselves of the president's authorization, would agree to participate in the elections and register their candidates as "independents."

Some circles in the USA exerted considerable pressure on MRD leaders to participate in the elections in order to give the voting the appearance of "democracy." It should be noted in this regard that in the opinion of a number of observers, the United States encouraged the military to formally democratize political life in order to facilitate the passage of congressional military and economic aid programs for Pakistan.

However the MRD refused to collaborate with a regime it regarded as illegal. A joint declaration of the parties stated that they could participate in the elections only on the basis of the restoration of the Constitution of 1973, the release of all political prisoners, the abolition of restrictions on the press and prohibitions on party activity.

Under these conditions, the regime once more resorted to the "knout." On the eve of the elections, all prominent opposition leaders were arrested and closer surveillance was established to see to it that political campaigning rules instituted by the military were being observed.

The ban on the participation of political parties in the election campaign and the boycott of the elections by the great majority of members of the opposition decisively influenced the character of the political struggle and the results of the voting.

Thus, in the town of Multan (Punjab), the struggle was between Jilyani and Kureshi "biadari" (family clans) and the "front" formed by Fakhr Imam, a local leader; in the town of Sakhival, the Rani clan competed with the Maneki clan. In Sind, thousands of members of the Khur religious sect seized the polls and prevented their opponents from voting. In Baluchistan, the struggle was almost exclusively between tribal leaders--sardari or members of their families. The fact that a candidate belonged to one or another tribal group was also extremely important in the North-West Province.

Under such conditions, a large part was played by the candidate's nationality. In Sind Province, for example, a heated struggle developed between "old" Sind's (i. e., between those who lived in the province before the formation of Pakistan and their descendants) and the "newcomers"--those who settled in the area during the partition of British India in 1947. All candidates from other provinces of Pakistan, especially the Punjabi's, suffered defeat.

Naturally, in such a "political" struggle, the candidates spared no expense. The majority of them substantially exceeded the campaign spending limit (50,000 rupees), a fact that was admitted by official persons. The HERALD magazine estimated that average spending exceeded the given figure several-fold but "there is also information about much higher figures." At the same time, in the opinion of observers, direct spending (vehicle rental, hiring workers to put up election posters, to distribute literature, etc.) comprised no more than 20 percent of the total sum. The rest of the money was used to

buy off people controlling the situation in one or another region (heads of "biadari's," elders in rural districts, leaders of small tribes).

The nature of the election campaign also influenced the slogans announced by the candidates. As Pakistan reporters noted, from this standpoint the 1985 elections represented a step backward compared with 1970 when the political parties, striving to gain the support of the masses, raised questions of national significance for discussion. In 1985, the discussion primarily concerned problems relating to the urban economy, irrigation, municipal services, etc. At the same time, in Sind, where the position of the PPP was strongest and the opposition movement was powerful, general questions pertaining to the nation's development were debated more actively. Among them: growing unemployment among youth, including youth with higher education, and the removal of tenants they occupied. Typically, all candidates in this province, including political opponents of the PPP, tried to use Z. A. Bhutto's achievements in economic development and proclaimed their dedication to the slogans advanced by the prime minister who was executed.

According to the official reports, approximately 53 percent of the limited number of voters took part in the elections to the lower house of parliament. Government propaganda lost no time declaring this a major success of the regime. However, representatives of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy believe that the actual figures were not higher than 20-25 percent; that the lowest degree of activity was seen among urban voters.

The results of the voting cannot in any way be regarded as support for the regime. First of all, a considerable percentage of the politically unsophisticated citizens under the conditions of the controlled propaganda campaign took these "elections" for the elections that long been awaited, the elections for which the nation had struggled. In this sense, participation in the voting could more likely be regarded as an act against the military regime.

In connection with the refusal of the opposition to participate in the elections, special significance was also acquired by so-called "negative votes," as votes against government candidates in favor of other candidates that were associated to a lesser degree with the military dictatorship. In rural areas, local feudal landowners pressured tenant farmers to show up at the polls and to vote for the 'right people'. This is the explanation for the considerable percentage of those participating in the elections. Finally, the boycott organized by the opposition was not sufficiently effective as a result of repressive measures by the authorities against functionaries of parties united under the MRD. The prohibition on antigovernment agitation also had its impact.

All this had a most direct impact on the makeup of the deputies of the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies. The same HERALD described the Pakistani parliament as "an exclusive club for the country's landowners." And indeed, Pakistani researchers estimated that approximately 75 percent of the 847 deputies to the National Assembly and the provincial assemblies are large landowners. The other 25 percent are retired military, big businessmen,

as well as traditional religious leaders using their personal popularity among the backward strata to satisfy their political ambitions. Many representatives of the landed aristocracy, who had been defeated in the 1970 elections, as a result of which the PPP came to power under populist slogans, this time ended up in parliament as a result of the nonpartisan system of voting. Some feudal families are represented in legislative bodies by several members at the same time: the Sumro clan has five representatives. Pir Pagaro, a religious and political figure and head of the Khur sect, was elected to the senate and two of his sons were elected to the lower chamber of parliament and to the provincial assembly. What is more, many influential persons who lost in the elections have tried to have their wives or female relatives elected to offices reserved for women.

The influence of feudal lords has been particularly strong in Baluchistan: 27 of the 40 members of the provincial assembly are tribal leaders and sardari; the other 13 are mine owners, major contractors, and tribal elders.

Nonetheless, notwithstanding all these circumstances and the fact that the elections were held under the control and direct pressure of the military authorities, the results of the elections were in large measure disappointing to the leaders of the regime. Many of its prominent supporters were defeated, including the majority of the ministers and almost half of the members of the FAC who announced their candidacy. The provincial assemblies did not elect two of Zia-ul-Haq's ministers to the senate. The results of the voting were also very uncomfortable to Jamaat-i-Islami (which was close to the government), the members of whose leadership lost to little-known political figures.

On the whole, the election campaign reflected the dissatisfaction of the majority of the population with the existing regime and with cosmetic measures that had been taken to give it a more or less respectable appearance. This dissatisfaction became still greater when it became known that even after the elections, martial law would remain in effect for an indefinite period and that the so-called constitutional amendments announced by Zia-ul-Haq in March 1985 would considerably expand the president's powers. In particular, he won the right to dissolve parliament at his discretion, to hold referendums on any issue, to appoint the prime minister and governor of provinces, and to appoint top military leaders. The president is also the head of the powerful National Security Council that has been incorporated in the state structure of Pakistan for the first time. This council also includes: the prime minister, the chairman of the senate, the four main provincial ministers, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, and the chiefs of staff of the three armed forces. Thus, a real counterweight to the civilian representatives of the organs of power has been created in the form of the National Security Council in which powerful positions belong to top-ranking military officers.

The actions of the military regime generated a new wave of indignation among the Pakistani population. There were mass antigovernment demonstrations throughout the nation. Demonstrations and meetings in Karachi, Lahore, Multan, and other cities demanded the restoration of true democracy and the repeal of martial law. The police who were called in made extensive use of firearms, clubs and tear gas against the demonstrators. Many members of the MRD were arrested.

Dissatisfaction with the existing situation is even manifested within the walls of legislative bodies. The National Assembly, for example, rejected the candidate for speaker proposed by Zia-ul-Haq and elected to that post F. Fakhr Imam, who views the continuation of martial law as a violation of the parliament's sovereignty. Even presidentially appointed Prime Minister Junejo declared the "restoration of democracy in the nation" as one of the tasks of the government's activity. Many members of the National Assembly demand the immediate transfer of power to civilian bodies. The Legislative Assembly of the North-West Frontier Province has demanded an end to the 8-year rule of the military.

Thus, under the pressure of the forces favoring democratization, the military are forced to maneuver and to transfer some secondary powers to civilians. This is especially clearly seen in the example of Pakistani foreign policy, in which there have been no substantive changes. Moreover, the nation is stepping up its participation in aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. American fighter planes, rockets, and other combat materiel are pouring into Pakistan. Islamabad is also reaching out for nuclear weapons. This cannot fail to evoke justifiable concern on the part of neighboring states, especially India, toward which Pakistan has clearly stiffened its position. In May 1985, India was even forced to close its border with Pakistan.

Obviously, such a course does not answer the basic, long-term interests of the state. This is clearly recognized by the great majority of politicians in the nation who favor the normalization of relations with the DRA, the cessation of interference in its internal affairs, and the establishment of normal, good-neighbor relations with the USSR and India. These demands are advanced by practically all political parties that are fighting for the restoration of democracy, for abandonment of the openly pro-imperialist course in the world arena, which is injurious to Pakistan's national sovereignty and which is drawing the nation into bondage by virtue of its indebtedness to the West.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON PROBLEMS OF ARAB OIL-PRODUCING STATES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 85 p 62

[Review by M. Volkov, doctor of economic sciences, of book "Arabskiye strany: neft i differentsiatsiya" [The Arab Countries: Oil and Differentiation]. Responsible editors: R. N. Andreasyan and G. K. Shirokov. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka," Moscow, 1984, 264 pages]

[Text] Twenty-five specialists representing scientific institutions in the USSR and German Democratic Republic thoroughly studied the struggle of Arab oil-exporting countries to establish national sovereignty over their natural wealth and principal economic assets.

After OPEC member nations abolished the system of unequal concessions, nationalized the property of foreign raw material monopolies, and mastered the pricing mechanism of the world oil market, raising oil prices 19 times between 1970 and 1982, they found themselves in an exceptional position. "From countries that were one poor, they raised their per capita gross internal product to a level that surpasses that of many developed capitalist countries" (p 22).

What use have the Arab countries made of their success? Have they attained substantial results in their development? Have they made significant social progress? In the opinion of the book's authors, there is no single answer to this question. There has been increasing differentiation among Arab countries. A threat has arisen to the unity of OPEC--a decisive factor that ensures the effectiveness of its activity. The fact that some Arab countries are investing their "petrodollars" in Western countries, as the authors note, "makes economic sanctions against imperialism unprofitable from their point of view" (p 18). In progressive Arab countries, "the oil factor is used predominantly for national goals...in other countries, it is used to strengthen the economic and political position of the ruling forces" (p 53). Thus, the book poses anew the question of the correlation of economic growth and social progress in Arab countries--a question that has general significance for all developing countries.

The book investigates problems associated with the transformation of Arab oil-exporting countries into major importers of goods from Western countries and

the problem of determining their absorptive capacity to realize financial resources for the goals of economic development.

The book's forecasts of the development of oil production in the Arab countries are of great practical value. According to the forecasts, it may reach 1.4-1.5 billion tons a year.

The reader is presented with a multifaceted picture of the active involvement of previously isolated Arab society in the internationalization of economic activity. On the one hand, Arab capital amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars are invested in the USA and other Western countries while the economy of Arab countries hires workers and specialists from many, including remote, regions of the world; they number six million persons (p 91). Economic cooperation between Arab states and the socialist community is also expanding.

Analysis of general problems and contradictions associated with changes in the scale and conditions under which Arab oil reaches the world market is supplemented in the book by a study of the influence of the oil factor on the development of individual Arab countries. For example, it states that the last decade in Iran has been filled with the stormiest events in its political and economic life. Economic laws in that country conflict with the teachings of the Koran, in accordance with which Iranian rulers try to manage the economy.

In Libya, the policy of the revolutionary government is directed toward the intensive utilization of oil revenues primarily in the interest of internal economic and social development and the diversification of the product mix.

The oil factor in Algeria forms the material basis of movement along socialist lines. As the book shows, it is precisely in this way that Algeria plans to achieve economic independence (see p 249). However, here, too there are certain contradictions and negative consequences resulting from a certain measure of adaptation of the country's industrial potential to the capitalist economic system.

The book demonstrates the fruitfulness of scientific cooperation between Soviet and GDR scientists, the effectiveness of [their] collective efforts in large-scale, integrated research on complex processes associated with the rapid incorporation of the developing countries in the system of world capitalist production and exchange.

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CSO: 1807/119

WESTERN EUROPE

IMPORTANCE OF MITTERAND-GORBACHEV MEETING EXPLAINED

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 21, Nov 85 pp 44-47

[Article by V. Gusenkov and V. Zagladin under the "For Discussion: International Life" rubric: "A Momentous Event of International Life"]

[Text] During the last few months, comrade M. S. Gorbachev's recently conducted visit to France has become a momentous event in international life. As the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has noted, the Soviet-French summit meeting was of great importance for strengthening European security, for expanding overall European cooperation, and for improving the international setting.

The Soviet people fully understand why the leadership of our party and state is now giving so much significant attention to the problems of international politics.

There are two aspects here. The first: the plans for domestic development, plans for perfecting developed socialism, and advances towards communism--constructive plans--being projected by our party and by our people. We want to secure the achievement of a new, high quality condition of society. And all our intentions are subordinate to a single goal: to see to it that the life of Soviet people becomes materially and spiritually richer, full-blooded and interesting. Therefore it is not difficult to understand that the Soviet Union first of all needs a stable and durable peace for all this. In the first place, our preoccupation with foreign affairs--with the securing of the necessary peaceful conditions for the development of our society--is dictated by this.

The second aspect of the answer to the problem about why foreign affairs occupy such a large place in the work of the CPSU leadership is the state at which international relations have arrived in our times. The state of affairs is such that as a result of the unchecked arms race being carried

out by imperialism, mankind has been brought to a limit beyond which an unforeseen and uncontrolled development can begin, and to put it bluntly, a slide into a nuclear catastrophe. The attempts being undertaken by the United States to bring the arms race into outer space are drawing the world nearer to this dangerous limit.

Under similar conditions, the famous phrase of Hamlet "to be or not to be" already concerns not a single individual, but the entire human family and is growing into a global problem--to survive or not to survive.

The Soviet leadership is fully aware of the seriousness of the situation which has been created, and of the need for decisive and bold new actions in order to break the logic of confrontation. What is needed is a new view towards things and a new approach to the numerous problems, first of all to those upon which depends the security of Europe and of the world.

It is exactly this consideration which has aroused in our times, and especially after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the increased and growing activeness of the international policy of our party. The visit of M. S. Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has become a component of this activeness.

The question arises: why exactly was France chosen as the first capitalist country to which our leader was sent? The point is hardly about a random selection. Even V. I. Lenin said that any rapprochement with France is extremely desirable for us. During the years of the war, our countries fought side by side against a common enemy--fascism. In the 1960's and 1970's, the Soviet Union and France were sources of detente and did much for the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between the East and West. Along with the good traditions there exists the objective interest of the two countries in strengthening security and stability in Europe and all over the world. All these factors have made a Soviet-French dialogue on the highest level necessary, especially in the present complex and dangerous international setting.

At the center of the negotiations--and they were interesting and constructive and took place in the spirit of mutual respect and goodwill--stood key problems of the international situation and problems which are troubling mankind.

Moscow and Paris assess the reasons for the present tension differently, and do not always similarly approach the solution of one or another problems. This is natural if one takes into account that the USSR and France belong to different socio-political systems, adhere to conflicting ideologies, and are in different military and political alliances. The leaders of the USSR and of France, remaining on the basis of realities, have been able to lift differences of opinion higher and to come out in favor of restraining the arms race and for converting relations between the East and West from a state of dangerous hostility to a course of detente. Both countries, as many times in the past, provided an example of a responsible and suspended approach to the fates of the world and of international security in the present time of change.

Great attention was given during the Soviet-French talks to the problems of European security. The USSR and France--as the largest European powers--are interested in strengthening stability on the continent, in the inviolability of the present borders, and in implementing all the conditions of the Helsinki Accord. This also concerns the Stockholm Conference where reassuring signs of progress were shown. Moscow and Paris, as it was noted in the talks, could stir up efforts for the attainment of arrangements which meet the interests of all the participants of the conference. In this connection, the word "detente" has clearly been heard in the French capital. Of course, in the present conditions it is necessary to fill it with new substance. Moscow and Paris, who were sources of detente in the 1960's and 1970's, could promote this.

The situation in the Near East, in Central America, and in South Africa was discussed in the talks. The USSR and France have much in common in their evaluation of some regional problems, but in others there is a divergence. The main thing is that the USSR and France, as permanent members of the UN Security Council, have shown a readiness to eliminate local conflicts which are poisoning the general international setting. And Moscow and Paris are convinced that at the base of the settlement of these conflicts should lie not a division of the world into "spheres of interest" and of "vital interests," but respect of the sovereignty, integrity and independence of states.

Naturally, Soviet-French relations were thoroughly discussed in Paris. It was noted that the dialogue between Moscow and Paris on various levels is being livened up markedly. The president of France was invited to visit the USSR in 1986. This invitation was accepted. It is possible to speak satisfactorily

about the resumption of the practice which has justified itself in the past of conducting regular meetings at the highest level. It is dictated by the international setting and by the requirements of bilateral relations.

During the talks an impulse was given to the development of Soviet-French trade and economic ties. The agreement on economic cooperation for 1986-1990 which was signed is evidence of this. Enormous contracts for the delivery of machines and equipment to the USSR have recently been concluded. An agreement with the "Renault" firm for the delivery of equipment for the Moscow Automobile Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol has been signed. Negotiations are being conducted for the delivery of equipment for the control automation of a section of the Moscow-Leningrad railroad. In the presence of goodwill on the part of both countries and of an effort to take into account the interests of each other, economic ties can produce an even larger scope, and help France to rise to the most advanced limits in the USSR'S trade with the West.

Hopeful prospects also in the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation and of cultural and other exchanges are being opened up. An exchange of opinions regarding the carrying out of a new joint Soviet-French spaceflight in the near future took place in Paris. Such a flight would fully answer the wish of both countries to work in the name of the peaceful assimilation of outer space. Finally, the Soviet Union, France and other countries could work jointly on the design of a reactor for thermonuclear synthesis. The realization of this highest humane idea presented by M. S. Gorbachev would meet the interests of all mankind.

It is necessary to speak separately about the atmosphere in which M. S. Gorbachev's visit took place. The interest in him was unprecedented. When the official motorcade was driving along the streets, tens of thousands of inhabitants of Paris, whom it is difficult to excite with the visits of leaders of foreign governments, met him. Entire type pages of newspapers and television and radio broadcasts were dedicated to the USSR and to Soviet-French relations, and enormous attention was also given to the visit of the Soviet leader.

During those days a large number of letters and telegrams from French organizations and citizens were sent to the USSR Embassy in Paris. They welcomed the important guest and wished him success in the struggle for peace and for the strengthening of Soviet-French cooperation. France has displayed feelings of hospitality, sympathy and respect towards the USSR and the Soviet people.

Of course, it is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that there are forces in France which are hostilely disposed towards the Soviet Union. Any step forward in the development and strengthening of Soviet-French cooperation arouses a bad mood among them. The pro-American circles and press organs which say yes to Washington's foreign policy are the most zealous of all. However, the general sentiments in the country are for the development and strengthening of friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, and between the peoples of the two countries.

On the whole, there are grounds to speak about impressive results of the Paris meeting. As the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has noted, M. S. Gorbachev's conversations with French President F. Mitterand and with other political and public figures of this country, and the understandings reached in the course of the talks, have laid a good basis for the further development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and France.

The visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has, if it is possible to so express it, not only a Soviet-French aspect. It was a broad and large-scale measure, in the course of which the Soviet leadership has presented broad initiatives and proposals addressed to all of Europe and to the entire world. And most of all, it concerned cardinal questions of modern international life--first of all a halt of the arms race and a transition to disarmament.

While in Paris, the Soviet leader has voiced a set of new ideas based on a sober analysis of the modern world setting. And this analysis states: to seek a strengthening of the security of peoples through the means of the building up of the arms race, i.e. through military weapons, is senseless in our nuclear missile and space age. The more weapons that are accumulated in the world, the more transparent becomes the membrane separating mankind from a fatal catastrophe. And in that case, according to the deep belief of the Soviet Union, the only exit consists in accomplishing a decisive turn from confrontation and the arms race to peaceful coexistence and disarmament. Security in Europe, like international security as a whole, can only be achieved through peaceful coexistence, a lessening of tension, disarmament, and a strengthening of trust and of the progress of international cooperation.

Such a turn in world affairs is not a simple matter. It requires a high sense of responsibility from each government and from each state. It requires bold and initiative decisions and well-grounded and unequivocal proposals. And our country has made such proposals.

our country has made such proposals.

Appearing in the French Parliament, M. S. Gorbachev has laid out three new Soviet initiatives.

The first of them proposes that the USSR and United States fully abandon the building of strike space armaments and quite radically--by 50 percent--reduce their nuclear arms which can reach each other's territories.

It should be noted that the French president, treating this proposal with understanding, has stated the value of its constructive nature. F. Mitterand has emphasized Paris' interest in the success of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. As a result of the talks in France, a closeness of positions on the question of banning the militarization of space was confirmed. Appearing at the joint press conference, F. Mitterand has confirmed that France will in no way take part in the building of space weapons, and that it will not be a participant of the Strategic Defense Initiative program.

The second major proposal of the Soviet Union has been calculated for the easing of the arrangement on the quickest mutual reduction of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe. The Soviet Union has announced the possibility of reaching a separate agreement on this question, not linking it directly with the problem of space and strategic armaments.

It is known that the question about the nuclear potential of France and England is one of the obstacles on the way to solving the problem of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe. We simply cannot not take this potential into account.

Taking the situation into consideration, the USSR has proposed to France (and also the England) to begin an exchange of opinions on medium range weapons in Europe. The USSR is prepared to consider France's security interests. It will not raise the question about reducing the French nuclear potential. France is already stationing impressive nuclear weapons (it is the third nuclear power in the world). This potential is quickly being built up and improved. In such conditions, the most reasonable path is to begin a frank discussion of these problems on a bilateral basis, and to engage in a joint search for a way out of the impasse. In France voices are being heard which reject the very idea of an exchange of opinions on the above-mentioned problems. However, in official political circles and among the broad public an understanding is slowly growing that it will be difficult to simply brush aside the Soviet proposals which are permeated with good intentions. President F. Mitterand, as the press

wrote, does not exclude the possibility of an exchange of opinions on this question.

Finally, the third and exceptionally important step, which was announced in Paris, concerns new unilateral measures undertaken by the Soviet Union. Our leadership has announced that the present number of SS-20 missiles in the European zone is 243, i.e., it has been returned exactly to the level of June of 1984, when the actions of the United States prompted us to resort to reciprocal measures. The SS-20 missiles deployed since that time have already been removed from military duty, and the stationary installations for their deployment will be dismantled in the next two months.

We will remember that even before this the Soviet Union has halted the implementation of its reciprocal measures in a unilateral manner since 7 April 1985, and since 6 August it has stopped the carrying out of any nuclear explosions. In other words, our country has unilaterally taken serious steps in order to relieve the situation and to improve the climate for adopting important political decisions in the area of disarmament.

On the whole all this constitutes a genuine program for a fundamental normalization of the situation which has as its most immediate goal a decrease of the terrible danger hanging over the peoples. The realization of this program would not infringe upon anyone's security. On the contrary, the security of all countries would be strengthened significantly, and the prospects of the future would become more clear and hopeful.

As noted in the decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee: "The major proposals presented by the Soviet Union which are directed towards preventing the militarization of space, checking the arms race of nuclear and other weapons, and developing fruitful international cooperation in Europe and in the world as a whole, have convincingly demonstrated the peace-loving foreign policy course of our government."

It is possible to note satisfactorily that the Soviet Union's new initiatives have met with the approval of the broad public, political circles and the leadership of many countries, and are being regarded as an action which reveals the possibility of a turn towards a radical normalization of international relations and towards a strengthening of the security of all countries and peoples.

Now many people both in our country and abroad are asking themselves this question: are the hopes of the peoples justified? Will the hoped-for turn in peaceful progress occur?

The immediate future will provide an answer to these questions. In any case, it is clear that the Soviet Union and its allies have done and are doing everything in order for such a turn to take place. It is now a decision for the West. Its goodwill is being subjected to a serious test.

It must be said that in the West, and primarily in the United States, serious discussions are now going on. The realistically thinking wing of ruling circles and public opinion on the whole are coming out in favor of Washington and other capitals of Atlantic Alliance countries to positively answer the Soviet proposals in order for a serious and constructive dialogue to begin. On the contrary, the so-called hawks as usual are standing their ground and demanding the continuation at any price of aggressive preparations, including space ones. They seek in our proposals some kind of dirty tricks and some kind of ambiguities. But there are no such ambiguities and dirty tricks there. As the Soviet leader noted at the press conference in Paris: "We do not want to overplay the United States of America, and we do not advise them to do this."

So, the West has the deciding word. But there is no doubt that the further activity of the USSR and of its allies, and of all peace-loving forces, will play an enormous role in the final determination of the course of events. The work of realistically thinking politicians of the West and their activity in the business of consolidating peace will also have great significance.

And, of course, the success of the constructive labor of the Soviet people will play an enormous role both now and in the forthcoming period. The perfecting of developed socialism and progress forward along this path--that is the most reliable basis of durable peace, and the decisive factor of success in the business of the mitigation of international tension and of a turn towards detente. The following is clear from here: each Soviet person, in fulfilling his duty at his place of labor, is also participating in the struggle for a turning-point in world affairs. And everyone should recognize that this is his responsibility--the responsibility for the fate of the country and for the business of universal peace.

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CSO: 1807/149

WESTERN EUROPE

FRENCH STUDENTS' MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT SOVIET LIFE CRITICIZED

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Nov 85 p 3

[Unsigned Article under the "The Press Reports" rubric:
"Incredible 'Discoveries'"]

The Paris monthly MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE has published the correspondence of a certain Madame (Joelle Fontaine) about how well-informed French schoolboys are about life in the Soviet Union. It will be interesting for the readers to become acquainted with the contents of this correspondence.

This year Madame (Joelle Fontaine) has checked the written works of students of the senior classes of lycees who passed examinations in history and geography in order to receive the degree of a bacclaireate of sciences. The theme of the examination works was "The Population of the Soviet Union." "What I read in the majority of them," she writes, "makes me think about the question of whether it is worth it to provide information about the Soviet Union to schoolboys in the senior classes, since in the end they reveal an inability to give any kind of information about this country and quite intentionally substitute it for an enumeration of the worst cliches picked up from the gutter press."

The thoughts of our correspondent, notes the magazine, rest upon the following exact quotations from the examination works.

"The population of the Soviet Union does not represent a single whole like, for example, the Japanese people. It is a broken-up conglomerate, in which reign contradictions which lead more and more to conflicts," write the French schoolboys in speaking about the Soviet people. Of whom does the Soviet people consist? Of Russians who are a "colonizer-people," or still yet the "ruling class in the USSR." All or almost all the future male scholars know this. As for the other "Slavonic races," they know even less about them. Some schoolboys have written that besides the Russians there

are also Ukrainians who "are revolutionaries, fought on Hitler's side and are needed by the Russians because they possess the country's only granary." The Belorussians are very rarely mentioned. Then follow peoples with unknown names, but who are grouped in the majority of the works under the concept "Moslems." They are represented as "poor," "refusing to work in the cities" and "living in communes [obshchina]." An obvious sympathy for them is traced. "The mongoloid races share a meager prosperity among themselves." "In 15 years they will be more numerous than the Russians!" And an alarm is sounded here. The Russians, it is maintained in many works, "count only on military power and politics in order to control other ethnic groups." If this were not so, think the authors of the works, then "each minority would declare its independence."

In a number of the examination works, "reports" on the Soviet population are even more inadequate. Some schoolboys are satisfied with the fact that they establish the presence of a "Slavonic race" and of "others" in the USSR. These latter, as one student wrote, "are disappearing and their number has a tendency towards a decrease." They also impute to the Russians that they are anti-Semites. The evidence: the "hunger pogroms" and that "Jews are forcibly sent out of the USSR."

When the talk turns to the resettlement of the population in the territory of the USSR, the schoolboys' knowledge is basically limited by a simple division: the West--the East. The East, of course, is very cold, and "transportation is used there only during a thaw." On the other hand, "the West is a heavenly place in comparison with the East." Although everyone lives very densely in the West, nevertheless there, at least, there is not the coldness, exclaims the author of one work. Because of this "absolute" coldness, Siberia (this name is given to everything that is not the West)--and this does not surprise the pupils--attracts few people. But fortunately, they write, in order to assimilate this region there are 8 million prisoners who live in "gulags" (camps) and "represent a cheap work force that demands little and is very dynamic."

The maps of the Soviet Union that were presented by the pupils, which was also required in the examination, were nine-tenths shaded and attached, as a rule, to the West, and had the names of 3-4 cities with fantastic orthography. Of course, all the Soviet cities have a pitiful appearance. "Soviet cities do not meet the criteria of aesthetic architecture," some schoolboys have written. "Buildings in the Soviet Union are gray, and they are built out of identical concrete blocks!" others have related. It seems that the cities of the USSR

look like large industrial conglomerations, enormous streets and huge buildings predominate in them, and they destroy the harmony of the landscape. Moscow is presented as an example. At the same time, "new cities and individual dwellings do not exist" in the USSR. "New buildings are built as temporary ones and of poor quality." And there is more. In Soviet cities, "the entire family, from grandfathers and grandmothers to grandchildren, live in a one-room apartment." "There is only one kitchen and one toilet in the entire building, which entails degradation in respect to hygienics and poverty." At the same time, "several family couples sleep in one room."

What do Soviet people do? None of the schoolboys wrote anything about this. Nevertheless, all of them are "worried" by the "mass alcoholism" in the USSR which is the result of a long development and the reason for the enormous mortality that is never reported about in the USSR. For a small number of those who were examined, the absence of unemployment in the Soviet Union is explained by the authoritarianism and inefficiency of the social system. "There is no unemployment in the USSR not because a large number of work places exists, but because unemployment is forbidden," they write. "Therefore the enterprises utilize the work force even when there is no need for it, which leads to production which exceeds established goals. All this bespeaks Soviet difficulties." "Everything for the state and nothing for the worker," conclude the authors of the works.

In a number of the works, the USSR is ascribed to the category under-developed countries; that is, it is claimed that "it has still not passed through an industrial revolution," "even if its urban population has reached the level of the rural population." At the same time, other criteria for an evaluation are advanced. For example: "Few people work in the service sphere which, as a rule, is developed only after an industrial revolution...."

All these quotations have been taken from the written works of not a few lazy-bone pupils, and they reflect the state of the spirit which permeates the majority of educational tasks, and many of my colleagues state this, Madame (Joelle Fontaine) notes in conclusion.

Our Commentary [in boldface]: It is incredible, but a fact, the reader certainly will exclaim, having read this report of the magazine MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE. In a country with which the Soviet Union is connected by longstanding cultural, political and economic bonds, the student youth know practically nothing about the life of the Soviet people. And this is at the end of the 20th century when the mass information media

has produced such a stormy development. But this "paradox" has an explanation of its own. Having concentrated the basic information media in its hands, bourgeois propaganda is doing everything possible in order to keep the population of Western countries in total ignorance regarding events occurring in socialist countries, or to interpret them in a distorted form. Fighting in words for a "free flow of information" and a "free exchange of ideas," bourgeois politicians and ideologists in fact are transforming it into a "free" flow of lies, especially when it concerns the Soviet Union and the life of the Soviet people. If even French schoolboys know nothing about the USSR, one can then only imagine what American schoolboys know about it, on the heads of which reactionary propaganda daily, hourly and every minute brings down tons of anti-Soviet and anti-communist lies. Thus they wish to create in Western youth an appearance of the Soviet state, Soviet people and socialism as a social order that is unacceptable to it. History has borne witness many times to how short-sighted such a policy is and how dangerous it is for the business of peace. Durable peace between the peoples cannot be built without trust towards each other, and trust grows out of mutual contacts, familiarization with the life of each other, and objective and truthful information about everything that occurs in the countries of the East and of the West. Peace will not be built on hatred and hostility, the welfare of their people will not be secured, and their problems will not be solved. The best proof of this is examples from the not-so-long ago past. This is true all the more so in our troubled nuclear age. (APN).

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CSO: 1807/148

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

REPORTER VISITS CHINA, RELATES IMPRESSIONS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 47, 20 Nov 85 p 14

[Article by Sergey Merinov: "China Today - A Time of Changes"]

[Excerpts] The backbone of our group of activists of the SSOD [Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries] and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society consisted of veterans of battles to free China from the Japanese invaders and of specialists who had helped the young People's Republic of China raise its economy and stand strongly on its own feet. In the group, there were also sinological scholars, representatives of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa, and of the USSR Union of Journalists. We went to China to participate in arrangements devoted to the 40th anniversary of the defeat of militarist Japan and the end of the Second World War in the Far East. We laid wreaths at the monuments to Soviet battles in Shinyang, Changchun, Harbin and Wuhan. We are grateful to the Chinese side for granting us the possibility to pay homage to the memory of heroes who died for the honor and victory of their native land and for the liberation of China.

We also visited the Museum of the Chinese Revolution in the main square of the country, the immense Tiananmen. In the middle of the square rises the newest structure: "The Memorial House of Mao Tse-tung". Nearby, faced in white stone, is the obelisk to the Fallen Heroes of the Revolution, which became famous in modern Chinese history with the "events of 5 April" 1976, when massive demonstrations took place near it against the dominance of those who, only half a year later, were called "the gang of four". 1976 was the last year in the "decade of disasters", as the "cultural revolution" is now called. In various cities, I met people who had fallen under the steamroller of this organized bacchanalia: former "kapputisti" (who followed the capitalist path), "Soviet spies", and those who "stood aside" (this was also punishable). With such labels, they languished for years in prisons, in granaries and pigsties, in "schools" and "re-education" camps.

Only a brief time has passed since the "decade of disasters" and it has not become, nor will it soon become, history for the Chinese. Of course, in recent years, political and economic conditions have changed radically and the huge ideographs of the former slogans on the walls have been rubbed

over. None the less, the consequences of that "decade" still continue to have a serious effect in politics, ideology and the spiritual life of society.

During the years of the "cultural revolution", work to eliminate illiteracy was practically neglected: by its end, only one percent of the total national economic expenditures was allotted to education. Now, according to the data of Chinese specialists, 90 percent of children enter primary school, but only 60 percent complete five grades, while only half of these obtain satisfactory marks. There are acute insufficiencies of financial means, school buildings and qualified teaching personnel. But there is also a growing understanding of the fact that it is imperative to correct the situation. On 10 September, for the first time, Teacher's Day was celebrated throughout the country. The ten million Chinese teachers are now spoken of with respect, as the "builders of modernization". On that day in Peking, Wan Li, deputy premier, said that in order to resolve the problems that exist among teachers, concrete measures are needed, rather than empty conversations.

China is now launching significant efforts to inculcate in its citizens a respect for knowledge and the intelligentsia, and to raise the educational level of the nation. Television is very active in this regard, with daily educational programs. The schools of higher education are making up for the neglect in that ill-fated "decade" and, for that reason, it is very difficult for present Chinese students, who are studying with great strenuousness. One student told me that he had moved to the hostel, since it took almost an hour for him to reach the institute from home: "Two hours a day, twelve hours a week, is too great a loss of time; I cannot afford it." When the conversation turned to contemporary literature - both Chinese and translated, the students often said, with sincere regret, that they cannot read as much as they would like, again because of lack of time. Still because of the "decade", many have inadequate knowledge of both the rich Chinese classics and the leading writers of the 20th century.

Standard of Living

In order to become well acquainted with Chinese cities, one needs time and a bicycle. We had almost no time and there were Toyota cars and buses. There is no rapid transport as yet in China and the Toyotas travel at probably a quarter of their potential speed. Going faster interferes with the bicyclists and the public still has only a very approximate idea of traffic rules.

The ground floors of houses - and many buildings have only one storey - often consist of solid rows of stores and shops, workshops and snack bars. There are articles for sale in the stores and shops. There are also customers, but it cannot be said that trade was very brisk. People's incomes are very modest, while prices, in comparison with incomes, are quite high. The Chinese customer is very prudent, he looks only for necessary items of the best possible quality. Extravagance is displayed when payment is made not from one's own, but from the state's pocket. Thus, while we were in China,

the newspapers wrote about excessive purchases of imported cars. For example, the party and administrative institutions of Jiangxi province bought, "in violation of the law and without any necessity," 1,500 expensive imported cars, while the province of Liaoning bought 730. These results are the costs of decentralization and inadequate local financial discipline.

Although in recent years, a continually greater variety of clothing has been seen, the masses of the people still dress very simply - partly because of tradition and partly due to their circumstances. There is a predominance of grey and blue trousers and jackets made of cotton fabric and cloth slippers with plastic, felt or rubber soles.

The material needs of the population are gradually increasing. Just a few years ago, the sign of prosperity was considered "the three that turn and the one that sounds", i.e. a bicycle, a sewing machine, a wrist watch and a radio. Now, the criteria are developing into a color television, a tape recorder and a moped. Housing remains a great problem. According to the calculations of Chinese demographers, the amount of housing area per capita of the population steadily decreased from the mid-1950's to the end of the 1970's: little housing was built, while the population, on the contrary, increased heavily. More attention has been devoted to this problem recently. The managers of industrial enterprises which we visited said that housing construction is an important element in plans for social development. In the meantime, however, people live in very crowded conditions, often without any of the conveniences usual in our cities. In the capital, as well as in other cities, there are many thousands of chimneys: the houses are heated with coal and food is prepared over coal. In the evening, when people return from work and dinner time arrives, smoke hangs over the urban residential areas.

A Billion

One of the strongest impressions of China is the awareness of the vastness of its population. Almost all the billion Chinese are concentrated on less than one half of the territory of the country. There are provinces with a population density of 300, 400, 500 and even 600 people per square kilometer - and this is not urban, multi-storeyed vertical density, but rural density, with fields that are more like vegetable gardens, vegetable gardens that are more like flower-beds and roads that are more like tracks.

The pressure of the great demographic problem leaves its imprint on the whole life of the country. Chinese specialists have calculated that even simple mechanization of agriculture will disengage 300 million peasants. Such a "disengagement" would become a national catastrophe now. On the other hand, the reserves of the growth of agricultural production, resulting from the introduction of family contract (the grain harvest increased from 305 million tons in 1978 to 407 million tons in 1984), will soon be exhausted. The state will have to search for economically effective and socially acceptable ways of further development.

The overpopulation, or rather the oversaturation, of the cities with people is constantly perceptible. On the streets, it may seem as though no one is hurrying anywhere; in front of the houses, small children play, dressed in practical shorts with wide cuts between the legs; someone sleeps, lying on a bench or directly on the sidewalk or sitting, having made room for himself against a wall; nearby, several people have surrounded the Chinese chess players; a girl carefully leads across the street an elderly woman whose steps are tiny, due to her bound feet. In the stores, in the hotels, in the private workshops, in the restaurants, in the barbershops - there is a large number of personnel everywhere, although this does not always yield a high quality of service.

Many people are employed in construction. We saw how they dig a ditch: three people fill a wicker basket, then two pull it with ropes and empty it - in all, fifty people were engaged in this work. On large projects, naturally, there is appropriate technology, but many are still built in the old way. The inadequate safety of the work draws attention to itself: the construction workers clamber along scaffolding made of poles bound together up to a great height and without any sort of insurance. Or else they walk along narrow ledges under fifth floor windows. Or... In any case, the signs hanging here and there for the security of production - "Come to work calmly and leave calmly" - are understandable.

In the shops of the industrial enterprises we visited, the over-redundancy of working hands was evident even to a non-specialist. On the other hand, there is an acute shortage of qualified workers and well trained engineers. The fact that in China now, three people work instead of one, is not only an indicator of the level of production development and the level of management. It also demonstrates that the state is obliged to yield to demographic pressure, even to the detriment of efficiency of production.

In recent years, as a result of development of the cooperative and individual sectors of the economy in cities and rural areas, more than 100 million people have found themselves "in business" - without significant capital investment on the part of the state. But there are also very many people now in cities who are "awaiting work". I do not know if anywhere else but in China there is a system of "early retirement", in which a person is obliged to leave work to make a place for his grown son or grandson, who does not have the possibility to find work. In China, such a system exists. The chief engineer of the Changchun first automobile plant, Han Yu-lin, told me that 400 workers a year are recruited in this way, and in recent years alone, 8000 people were taken on "as replacements".

The great competition to enter Chinese higher education institutions is connected not only with a craving for knowledge: to a well known extent, it also involves the fact that graduates of higher education institutions are guaranteed job placement. The competition manifests itself already in primary school, is intensified in secondary school and reaches its peak in the second stage of secondary school.

Foreigners

In the last century, the imperialist powers burst into China, although no one asked them to come. Now, with another turn of history, China itself has proclaimed an "open door" policy.

The "penetration of the corrupting bourgeois ideology and style" is now already developing into a great problem. Speaking recently at a plenum of the Central Commission of the Chinese CP on control of discipline, Chen Yun, its first secretary, indicated that the "bourgeois ideology of 'everything for the sake of money' is operating on the style of our party and on social morals in the most serious corrupting manner." Under these conditions, he noted, "The scornful relation to the building of spiritual culture and to political and ideological work in the spirit of communist ideas" may lead to the fact that "all our affairs will deviate from the path of Marxism and socialism." Many of China's Western partners would pay dearly for this to occur...

The Japanese presence in China is now the most noticeable one. There are many Japanese cars and buses and an abundance of Japanese advertisements. The eastern wing of the "Peking" hotel overlooks the famous ancient street called Wanfujing - Princely Well. Now, this street, which is two steps from Tiananmen, opens with a huge billboard advertising the "Sony" company. In my hotel room, there is a "Hitach-Fujian" television, assembled from imported parts in the Hitachi factory in the Chinese province of Fujian. In the room next door are the permanent representatives of some Japanese firm. There is a Japanese restaurant on the second floor.

In Chanchun, attention is attracted by the distinctive architecture of construction from the period of Japan's marionette empire of Manchukuo: massive, multi-storeyed stone buildings crowned with wings with upturned edges or with a turret in the Japanese style. Sometimes, this is attractive, but often absurd. This "Japanese modern" bore the political motto, "Asia over Europe". Chanchun - the city of "Long Spring" was renamed Xinjing, New Capital, by the Japanese - was the first of the capitals of the "sphere of universal prosperity of great East Asia", which they established by fire and the sword.

We visited the former palace of the last emperor of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty, Puyi. The palace - also "Asia over Europe" - was built for him by the Japanese as the emperor of Manchukuo. Now, there is an extensive exhibit devoted to the crimes of the Japanese in Manchuria displayed in it. After restoration, as we were told, there will be a "Puyi Palace" museum here.

In Chanchun as well, we watched a televised broadcast from Peking of a conference devoted to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Japan. Peng Zhen, a representative of the PK VSNP [Standing Committee of the National People's Congress] spoke. With regard to the current situation, he noted that now "in Japan, there is a small number of people who dream of a rebirth of militarism" and that this "does not respond to the interests of Sino-Japanese friendship and peace throughout the world."

Two weeks after Peng Zhen's speech, the news agencies carried the report that in Peking, two demonstrations had occurred - one in Tiananmen and the other at Peking University - under slogans of protest against the rebirth of Japanese militarism. In the opinion of the Japanese press, these were sanctioned actions and it regarded them as a manifestation of dissatisfaction with the intensification of militarist tendencies in the policies of Tokyo and as a sign of certain complications in Sino-Japanese relations.

We were the first Soviet people to visit the small museum located in the former headquarters building of "Detachment 731" or the "Ishii Detachment". The activities of this detachment are now well known throughout the world, but in the 1930's and 1940's, it was highly secret and was repeatedly restationed until it settled here, in the Harbin region of Pingfan.

Ishii prepared bacteriological warfare. From 1939 to 1945, more than 3,000 people died horrible deaths in concentration camp laboratories. After the entry of the USSR into the war in the Far East, the Japanese command quickly blew up all the "projects" on the territory of the detachment: the prison, crematoria, barracks and "laboratories", in which inhuman experiments were conducted on people through the application of pathogenic bacteria. We saw the surviving stone walls of the "refrigerator": on the parade-ground in front of it, prisoners were tied to posts and doused with water, in order to test how long the organism could endure. Also preserved are concrete cells, about one meter deep, in which were kept mice, rats, gophers and other animals: these were contaminated with infectious bacteria, in order to release them afterward on enemy territory.

The museum was established in 1978 and only 700-800 people a year visit it. It was only this summer that there was a notable increase - 11,000 people, among whom there were very many Japanese tourists. The museum's exhibit stops in 1945, when "Detachment 731" ceased its existence. As yet, nothing is said about the post-war fate of General Ishii and the other fanatics, and about the fact that they were treated tenderly by the Americans and turned up in the USA, where they did their part in the bacteriological warfare research of the Pentagon.

We do not know whether there will ever be a memorial established in Pingfan to the tortured Chinese, Koreans, Russians and Mongols. For this, financial means are necessary and, even more importantly, an awareness of the necessity of such memorials for the education of the young generation, which did not see that terrible war.

Harbin

If you want to hear good Russian in China, go to Harbin. The study of our language has strong traditions here and is established very firmly. For the first time in many years, a language bearer, as linguists call such a person, one of the key figures in the educational process, came from the Soviet Union to Heilungjian University. The bearer was Nadezhda Sergeyevna Gladysheva, from the Moscow Energy Institute, an experienced Russian language teacher. When we met, she had just unpacked her suitcases, but had

already made plans: to ease the students' access to the Soviet press (including LITERATURNAYA GAZETA), received by the university library, and to utilize more actively "Orbit", which is watched regularly by the faculty: "What a shame that we do not know the program at least a few days in advance." The teachers and students (who, incidentally, are obliged to take Russian names, such as Zina, Alla, Alyosha, etc., during the study period) are inclined to make the maximum use of Nadezhda Sergeyevna's presence and, at the same time, they hope that although she is the first, she will not be the last Soviet teacher in their university.

Harbin came into existence and began to develop rapidly at the beginning of the century as a station on the KVZhD - the Chinese and Eastern Railroad - built by the Russians. "Here... on 16 May 1898, a barracks foundation was laid by the engineer Shidlovskiy. This date must also be taken as the date of the founding of the city of Harbin," it says in a book published by the KVZhD. In Harbin there is an Orthodox church and a large store called "Culin" - named for the well known Russian industrialist, Churin; many of the houses and streets are reminiscent of our Siberian cities. At one of the Harbin factories, the director, Comrade Wang, said that their best product - attractive woollen blankets (we saw them and they really are good) - were formerly called "Russian", since most of them were exported to the Soviet Union. Now, the "Russian blankets" go to Pakistan, the countries of the Persian Gulf and other lands far from us.

The past was often recalled, but only as the past. Present Soviet-Chinese relations must be built by taking into account, first and foremost, present political realities and eroding artificial layers which have accumulated over many years. The beginning, as is well known, has already been established. Trade is growing and agreements have been concluded on the building and reconstruction of a number of Chinese enterprises; scientific and technical, cultural and sports exchanges are developing. Parliamentary contacts have been renewed. Political consultations are taking place, by turns, in Moscow and Peking. Recently, in New York, an important meeting occurred between foreign ministers E.A. Shevardnadze and Wu Suijian. Both sides exchanged information on the course of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and China and expressed themselves in favor of progressive expansion of bilateral connections and contacts in various directions, including a continuation of political dialogue.

In the course of numerous meetings in China, our interlocutors often spoke of their desire to develop relations with the USSR. For our part, we told our Chinese comrades about the policy of the CPSU and quoted the words of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, which express the certainty that, in the final analysis, the negative area in Soviet-Chinese relations will be completely surmounted. The possibilities for this, in the presence of good will and purposeful efforts, exist.

One well known foreign specialist in Chinese affairs has said: "The one thing that is constant in 20th century China is change." How much change will still occur in this huge country until the end of the century? One may wish that all remaining changes should bring only peace and prosperity to the Chinese people and to all neighboring peoples who relate to it with sympathy and respect.

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

SOVIET AID TO LPDR DETAILED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 49, Dec 85 p 20

[Article by Yu. Mikheyev: "LPDR: Ten Years of Intensive Labor"]

[Text] The Laotian people are celebrating a national holiday--the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic. Ten years ago, on 2 December 1975, under the leadership of its militant avant garde--the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos--the Laotian people concluded their national-democratic revolution and embarked on the path of laying the ground-work for socialist society.

The building of a new life in Laos took place and is still taking place under complex domestic and foreign conditions. The people's authorities inherited an economy which was at an extremely low level of development. In agriculture, where prior to the revolution around 85 percent of the gainfully employed population was engaged, the feudal and pre-feudal forms of land use were retained in a number of places. Sixty percent of the population was illiterate.

The forces of counterrevolution supported by imperialism and international reaction also create additional difficulties in the path of building the foundations of socialism.

However, the people's order created in Laos is growing ever stronger, demonstrating its viability and power.

From the very first days of its activity, the people's order set about making radical socio-economic transformations. State and state-private sectors were created in the republic. All the banks and major enterprises were nationalized. The state took control of finances, transport, communications, and the system of education and information. Cooperatives and state farms were created in the agricultural sector.

The most important event in the life of the LPDR was the 3rd LPRP Congress (April 1982), which defined the directions of its further development. Having analyzed the work of the party, the Congress outlined a program for developing a material-technical base for socialism and defined the tasks for developing the socio-political institutions of the republic for the period of transition to socialism. As indicated in the Political Report to the Congress, this period was to last for a number of five-year plans.

The document entitled "Basic Directions, Tasks and Goals of the First State Five-Year Plan for the Country's Economic and Social Development for the Years 1981-1985" and ratified by the Congress defined the primary task as "the development of an independent and socialist economy with well-developed agriculture, forestry and industry for the purpose of satisfying the ever-growing material and spiritual demands of all the peoples and creating a firm basis for defending our homeland and the new order."

In implementing the decisions of the 3rd LPRP Congress, the party and the LPDR government are giving priority attention to the development of agriculture. In 1985, an historic record-breaking rice crop was obtained. According to preliminary data, over 1.4 million tons of rice were harvested, which is 2 times more than in 1976.

Animal raising is also developing successfully. In 10 years, the herd size of water buffalo has increased from 641,000 to 937,000 head. The herd size of cattle has increased from 326,000 to 544,000 head, and the herd size of pigs, goats, sheep and poultry has also increased.

Cooperatives are playing an ever greater role in the development of agriculture. Around 3,200 cooperatives have already been created in the country. They unite 51.6 percent of all peasant families and process over 50 percent of all agricultural crops.

Industry is also developing dynamically. Many old enterprises have been restored and expanded. The primary resources in industry are concentrated on the development of small and medium-size enterprises and handicraft shops oriented toward the application of local raw materials. At the same time, a number of large enterprises are being built in the republic. Recently, several bridges on important road communications have been placed into operation, as well as a cement complex and a zinc iron plant. The national road No 9, which gives access to the sea coast of the SRV, is being reconstructed at an accelerated pace. The capacity of the Namngym GES [hydroelectrical station], the largest in the country, has increased to 150,000 kilowatts. GES have been restored on the Dong and Salabam Rivers, and a number of small GES have been built. The extraction of tin concentrate has increased. Wood processing enterprises are being developed and outfitted with modern equipment. New lumber mills are being built. A plywood factory has been modernized, and an installation for grinding clinker has been built. The output of brick, roofing iron, laundry detergent, non-alcoholic beverages, textiles and other commodities has increased.

In Laos, where there are no railroads great importance is given to the restoration of old and the construction of new roads with hard surfacing. In the past 10 years, around 3,000 kilometers of such roads have been built or repaired, and 500 bridges. The volume of cargo transport has quadrupled in 1985 as compared with 1976, and the volume of passenger transport has increased by 4.5 times. Domestic commodity turnover has increased by 4.5 times.

Illiteracy has been practically eliminated. The task of organizing general primary education in the country has been established.

Free medical services have been introduced. Such dangerous diseases as smallpox, cholera, trachoma, and leprosy have been eliminated.

In implementing the plans for the country's socio-economic development, the Laotian communists are utilizing primarily their own resources. At the same time, cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries also has great significance. The Soviet Union is giving multifaceted aid in building the new life in Laos. With the help of the Soviet Union, bridges have been built in the LPDR over the rivers Nen, Ngum and Kading, as well as a hospital, an oil base, an auto repair and agricultural shop, space communications stations in the "Intersputnik" system, a meteorological station, and a medium-range radio station. The extraction of tin concentrate has been restored, the first phase of the Latsen state farm has gone into operation, and a series of geological survey operations have been performed. At the present time, work is being performed with the cooperation of the USSR on the reconstruction and building of a polytechnical vocational school, a hospital with 150 beds, and a bridge on road No 9. Construction and transport organizations are being created, local resources are being developed, and equipment and materials are being delivered for three vocational-technical schools, a veterinary and meteorological service, an agricultural school, agrochemical laboratories, and other facilities. Thousands of Laotian citizens are studying in VUZes, vocational-technical schools and tekhnikums in the Soviet Union.

An important landmark in the development of Soviet-Laotian relations, which are built on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, is the friendly working visit to the Soviet Union by LPRP Central Committee Secretary General and Chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers Kaysone Phomvihane in August of 1985 and his meeting with CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev.

Specifically, the joint Soviet-Laotian announcement notes that in discussing questions of Soviet-Laotian economic and scientific-technical cooperation, the parties ascertained with satisfaction its dynamic development and spoke out in favor of increasing the effectiveness of bilateral economic ties on a long-term and mutually beneficial basis.

In the next five-year plan, the Soviet Union will expand its economic and technical aid to Laos. This aid is directed primarily toward the development of such key sectors as agriculture and forestry, the assimilation of natural resources, transport and communications, and the training of national cadres. The deliveries of commodities important and necessary to the Laotian national economy will be increased. For its part, Laos will make efforts for purposes of fulfilling the responsibilities which it has accepted in accordance with the concluded bilateral agreements. It will increase the production and deliveries of export goods to the Soviet Union. This will facilitate the achievement of mutual benefit and greater balance in Soviet-Laotian trade-economic ties.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and other fraternal socialist countries are also rendering great aid to Laos in building the foundations of socialism.

The greeting by the Soviet leaders directed to the leaders of the LPDR on the occasion of the republic's anniversary expresses its assurance that the Laotian people will achieve new success in socialist construction and will make their contribution to the cause of strengthening socialist cooperation and peace.

12322

CSO: 1825/30

CHINA/ FAR EAST/PACIFIC

CAMBODIAN EDUCATION WORKERS VISIT TURKMEN SSR

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian of 30 January 1986 carries on page 3 a 400-word Turkmeninform article entitled "Educational Workers from Cambodia in Turkmenistan". The delegation of educational workers, headed by the deputy director of the Cambodian Ministry of Education's publishing house, Dom Sanet, was in Turkmenistan from 10 to 30 January. During that time they visited various educational institutions and establishments and were received by Turkmen Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education O. Meredov. They also met with the rector of Turkmen State University G. Myalikgulyyev and rector of the State Pedagogical Institute M. Meredov. The delegation visited several kolkhozes and toured Ashkhabad, Chardzhou and Tashauz. The Cambodians left Ashkhabad on 31 January.

CSO: 1807/177-P

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SIKH SEPARATISM ASSAILED, NORMALIZATION IN PUNJAB PRAISED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 52, Dec 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Sergey Vitalyevich Karmalito (born 1953), journalist specializing in international affairs, TASS correspondent in New Delhi: "Punjab in the Family of a Single India"]

[Excerpts] The Indian government is undertaking constructive efforts to reinforce the country's national unity. As Prime Minister R. Gandhi stated recently, "the guaranteeing and preservation of the unity of 750 million Indians is one of the most important tasks confronting those who would see our country self-assured and authoritative on the international arena." The government's efforts are yielding positive results. An example of this is the normalization of the situation in the state of Punjab, which, over a prolonged period of time, has been the arena of tempestuous, sometimes bloody conflicts based on differences among communities and religions. Provoked by Sikh extremists, they have been actively heated up by the imperialist powers, primarily the ruling circles of the United States and England, who do not like the independent foreign-policy course being taken by this great Asian power. However, by the efforts of the central government, which have received broad support by the people of India, the plot against that country's unity has been thwarted.

Recalling the "Blue Star"

Early in June 1984, shots rang out and grenades exploded for several days on the territory of the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Detachments of the Indian Army and the security forces were carrying out an operation to clear the temple of terrorists who were staging a sit-in there,

and who, for almost three years, had been sowing death and destruction in the state of Punjab, which borders on Pakistan, and outside its confines. Two weeks after those events, I happened to arrive in Amritsar for the first time as a member of a group of journalists from the socialist countries.

We walked out of the main gate of the Golden Temple complex and involuntarily froze in our tracks, astonished by what we had seen. The temple complex was more like a fortress that had undergone a heavy siege...

"The task was very complicated," we were told by Major General K. S. Brar, a not too tall, strongly built, energetic person who commanded the operation to clear the temple of terrorists, which had been given the code name Blue Star. "First of all, our soldiers had to overcome a psychological barrier. None of them had even thought that they would have to point their weapons at their fellow countrymen. The soldiers had to become completely aware that the Sikh terrorists who had dug in at the temple complex were sly enemies who were encroaching not only upon the life of completely innocent people, but also upon the unity and integrity of our country. I am proud of the fact that, despite the large losses, the soldiers completely executed the order."

The events linked with the liquidation of the Sikh terrorists' lair in the Golden Temple complex demonstrated the true scope of the subversive activity in the state of Punjab and the plot against the unity and integrity of India, the threads of which plot stretched far beyond its borders. It is not accidental that practically all the opposition parties supported the government's decision to resort to the army's assistance in order to carry out Operation Blue Star and to put an end to the reign of terror in Punjab. Of course, when making that decision, the government of Indira Gandhi was completely aware of the fact that the entry of troops into the Golden Temple complex and into other Sikh temples in Punjab, and the sacrifices and destruction that were connected with the operation, would gravely offend the religious feelings of the Sikhs. But did it have any other way out? That question can be answered with the words of Major General K. S. Brar.

"I myself am a Sikh," he said at a meeting with us. "And, believe me, it was not easy for me to execute the assigned task. But the activity of the extremists in Punjab was like a cancerous growth that had to be removed in order to save the entire organism."

It would be naive to assume that the extremist movement in Punjab arose in and of itself and had no historical background. Its birth was promoted by the morbid socioeconomic processes in the life of that state. The outward manifestation of those deeply underlying processes is frequently deceiving. Over the period of the last decade and a half, there developed in the consciousness of the Indians a completely definite, stereotypical idea concerning Punjab. The image that became the symbol of the state, its "calling card," was the image of a smiling Sikh peasant with a heavy sheaf of wheat.

Actually, the first thing that strikes you when you travel across Punjab is the vast, carefully cultivated fields. On those fields you see not the water buffalo hitched up to a simple plow, which is the usual sight in other parts

of the country, but, rather, modern farm equipment -- tractors, drills, combines. In the second half of the 1960's a "green revolution" was actively extended in Punjab: plantings of high harvest-yield varieties of wheat and rice quickly became widespread on the irrigated land, and vegetable husbandry was changed over to a modern, intensive agrotechnical basis. As a result, the harvests of wheat during the past two decades increased by a factor of almost 5, and in 1984-1985 reached a record-breaking level -- 10 million tons. Punjab was converted into India's principal granary. During that period there was also a sharp increase in that state in the rice harvests -- from 300,000 to 5 million tons. Other branches of agriculture were developing successfully, primarily cotton-growing. And that is why, in India, the name of the state of Punjab had become a synonym for the word "prosperity."

Deeply Underlying Processes and Those That Lie on the Surface

However, the "green revolution" also had another side. It was accompanied by the sharp intensification of the class stratification in rural Punjab. Simultaneously with the enrichment of the small-sized upper stratum of the local rich peasants, there was an increase in the problem whereby the bulk of the peasantry had little or no land. Also, in Punjab, where large-scale industry is poorly developed and the enterprises that are, for the most part, widely extended are the small-scale and medium-sized industrial enterprises that are linked with agriculture, it was increasingly more difficult for the ruined peasants to find work and to provide for their own existence. Something else that because one of the consequences of the agrarian orientation in the economy of the state was the increase in unemployment among the educated youth.

In the opinion of the Indian sociologist Pramod Kumar, the class conflict that arose in Punjab took on special acuity as a consequence of the sharply expressed polarization of the population in the state on the basis of social and religious-community factors. Of the 17 million persons living in Punjab, 52 percent are Sikhs, and most of them are peasants. The representatives of the urban trading and industrial segments basically belong to the Hindu community. "For many years the strategy of the political parties operating in Punjab has been built upon the mobilizing of adherents on the basis of caste and religious community," P. Kumar feels. "That is leading to the aggravation of the social and political situation in the state."

As a regional party relying upon the Sikh population of Punjab, Akali Dal from the very beginning chose as one of the most important weapons of its political activity the propagandizing of religious nationalism. That made it possible for it to reinforce its positions in the state and to expand its influence among the 18 million members of the Sikh community in India, who were spread throughout the country. In 1977 that party succeeded in winning a major victory in the election to the legislative assembly of Punjab and to form the government of the state.

After suffering a defeat in subsequent elections and losing authority in Punjab, the Akali Dal launched a broad campaign under the slogans of having

the central government satisfy a number of political, economic, and religious demands. At such time, under the pressure of the extremist part of the leadership, which was attempting to increase its political capital, it constantly sabotaged the recommendations advanced by the government.

Reactionary Forces Put Their Stake on "Independent Khalistan"

Simultaneously a broad anti-Indian campaign was launched abroad. In 1980 Indian renegade J. S. Chauhan announced in London the formation of the "national council of Khalistan" and proclaimed himself as its president. Three months later the creation of "Khalistan" was proclaimed there also, but it existed only in the imagination of Chauhan and his stooges. In Punjab itself, that mission was carried out the general secretary of the "national council of Khalistan," Balbir Singh Sandhu, who arranged a headquarters for himself adjacent to Bhindranwale in the Golden Temple complex.

The issuance of "Khalistani" passports, postal stamps, and currency was begun abroad. Chauhan, who made trips across the United States, Canada, and the Western European countries, set up, with the complete tolerance of the local authorities, anti-Indian demonstrations and crude provocations, including the burning of the state flag of India, and made inflammatory speeches. He stated that "the soldiers of Khalistan" would soon begin fighting against the Indian Army, and that Pakistani military personnel disguised as Sikhs were located in the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar under the control of Bhindranwale.

However, despite the active support from abroad of the separatist movement that had been under way in Punjab, that movement was doomed. From the very beginning the idea of "Khalistan" that had been born in the West was unacceptable by and alien to the Punjabis.

I was convinced of that many times as I met with Sikhs, both in Punjab and in other parts of India. I remember well the words that were spoken by the prominent Indian political figure Buta Singh: "Currently there is a lot of talk about the movement to create 'Khalistan.' I can assure you that that movement does not enjoy any substantial support among the population of Punjab," he said in one of our discussions. "In India it is represented by only a tiny handful of renegades who, by their crimes, are discrediting the Sikhs. The Punjabis want to live in peace in their own state, which is inseparable from all of India. But 'Khalistan' is needed only by those who would want to see our country weak and fractionated."

Those were the words of a person who has a thorough knowledge of Punjab's problem.

Schismatics and Their Protectors

This manifested itself extremely graphically in late June 1983, when, during the period of the latest intensification of the provocations by the

"Khalistani" groupings in the West and the terroristic sorties in Punjab, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shulz made a visit to New Delhi. Almost a week before the arrival of the head of the American foreign-policy department, the U.S. embassy in the Indian capital proved to be, practically speaking, in a state of siege: every day columns of demonstrators arrived at its gates, replacing one another. They represented various political parties and trade-union, youth, and other social organizations. They demanded the putting to an end of the pandering on the part of the Washington administration to the self-styled "president of Khalistan," J. S. Chauhan and to his accomplices, and the cessation of U.S. interference in India's internal affairs.

On one of those days the telephone rang in the TASS office. Answering it, I heard a young voice say, "We are holding a demonstration today in front of the American embassy. It will be not a completely ordinary one. Make sure you bring your camera."

Intrigued by that invitation, I set off at the appointed time for Shanti Pathk Avenue in New Delhi, where the foreign diplomatic missions are concentrated. On the green lawn not far from the U.S. embassy, a colorful column consisting of more than a hundred persons had already lined up. It actually did look unusual: all the participants in the demonstration were wearing the traditional clothing of Sikh warriors -- long shirts made of coarse fabric and short trousers. Hanging from cloth that was wrapped around them were sabres in velvet-covered sheaths, and short swords -- "kirpans." On the high orange and blue turbans, many of them had flat, shining rings of "chakra." Each of them was holding a side-arm: a spear, a hatchet on a long staff, a heavy steel mace. Standing at the head of the demonstrators was a tall, strong, old man. Jauntily twisting his moustache, he eagerly posed for the photographers.

I was approached by a young Sikh who was dressed in a completely modern style. "I represent this demonstration's organizing committee," he said. "Don't think that we have organized some kind of masquerade. All these people have specially come here from Punjab. They are completely devout Sikhs and they live in villages. This is the first time that most of them have traveled this far. We have come here in order to state that true Sikhs are against 'Khalistan.' They will not allow Punjab to be transformed into a puppet state..."

The reliance placed by the extremists and separatists on terror has enabled them to heat up the atmosphere in Punjab, preparing the conditions for the carrying out of their plans.

After the events in Amritsar, many members of the terrorist groupings were able to hide and to cross the border into Pakistan, and they undertook the preparation of a new flare-up of violence in Punjab. The foreign leaders of the movement and their protectors put special emphasis on the psychological processing of the population of Punjab, and suggesting separatist ideas to them. Offending the religious and nationalistic feelings of the Sikhs, they began to incite them against the government. As though on command, the Western propaganda machine launched a planned anti-Indian campaign. Various publications printed frankly inflammatory articles containing direct attacks upon the Indian leadership. The tone, as always, was set by the American

mass information media. But the British BBC offered its mouthpiece to Chauhan, who stated that the Sikhs would get revenge for Operation Blue Star, and would get even with Indira Gandhi and the members of her family. Is it really so difficult to give an answer to the question of who was standing behind the assassins of I. Gandhi and who pushed the Sikh fanatics into the commission of that terrible crime, or according to whose scenario bloody religious conflicts were provoked immediately after the assassination in New Delhi and other Indian cities, if one recalls that shortly before that the U.S. State Department had prepared a document in which there was an analysis of the possible alternatives for events to develop in India in the event of the physical elimination of the head of the Indian government?

Important Steps in Normalization

After becoming the head of the Indian government, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi set, in his own words, as his most urgent task the settlement of the Punjab problem. Extremists and separatists responded to this by a new escalation of subversive activity. Armed gangs that were trained by instructors in the Pakistani special services began to be sent broadly into Punjab. Gunshots and explosions began to be heard again in Punjab cities and villages and other parts of the country. The blood of completely innocent people was shed. Simultaneously the extremists who had become firmly entrenched in the United States developed a plot with the purpose of assassinating Prime Minister R. Gandhi and organizing large-scale diversionary actions at industrial, energy, and other strategically important objectives in India. The carrying out of that plot was made the responsibility of cutthroats who had undergone instruction at a diversionary center in the state of Alabama, under the direction of former Green Beret and CIA agent F. Kemper. Two of those cutthroats planted a bomb on board the Boeing-747 Air India passenger aircraft the explosion of which led to the death of 329 persons.

But the hopes of the extremist and separatist riffraff that by these methods they could succeed in hindering the process of settlement in Punjab were not realized. Their crimes were a kind of self-revelation. They revealed the true face of the terrorists who had become puppets in the hands of external forces that were hostile to India. They promoted the consolidation of the realistically-minded part of the Akali Dal party, the greater part of the Sikh community that understood the need to put an end to the bloodshed and hatred between the Sikhs and the Hindus, and the restoration of peace and calm in Punjab. The chairman of Akali Dal, H. S. Longowal and his closest associates succeeded in consolidating the party ranks and setting themselves off from the extremists and supporters of "Khalistan." As a result, the prerequisites were created for conducting constructive negotiations with the Indian government on questions under dispute.

Incidentally, the negotiations between the central government and the Akali Dal party had an extremely long history. They began in October 1981. Indira Gandhi repeatedly emphasized the importance of settling the existing problems. She personally in 1981 and 1982 met with representatives of the

akali Dal party. However, the most conservative forces in that party broke off the negotiations every time.

In the agreement that was signed on 24 July 1985 by Prime Minister R. Gandhi and H. S. Longowal, it is emphasized that the settlement that has been achieved "has put an end to the period of confrontation and has opened up an era of agreement and good will."

Meeting halfway the political, economic, and religious demands of the bulk of the Sikh community, they thus deprived the separatists of the opportunity to speculate with assertions that the central government was infringing upon the interests of the Punjabis. The political essence of the document that became the result of the reciprocal concessions was the idea of the consolidation of the territorial integrity and national unity of India.

Extremists among the Sikhs assessed the document as "treason." They undertook new provocations in order to torpedo the agreement and to disrupt the election in the state of Punjab that was planned by the government. Not even a month had passed after the signing of the agreement when H. S. Longowal was villainously assassinated by terrorists who admitted that they had been specially sent into Punjab for that purpose from Pakistan. But despite the plans of the opponents of settlement, the election in Punjab took place.

As a result of the election, which was held on 25 September, the Akali Dal party won 73 places in the legislative assembly of Punjab, securing itself the right to form a government. Seven deputies currently represent that part in the People's (lower) House of the Indian parliament. In a conversation with journalists after the summing up of the results of the voting, Prime Minister R. Gandhi stated that although the INK-I party had suffered a defeat at the election, it had been victorious in the struggle for the country's unity and integrity. "The peaceful conducting of the election dealt a crushing blow to the forces of separatism, extremism, and terrorism," the head of the Indian government emphasized. "The people of Punjab demonstrated their decisiveness to strengthen the unity and territorial integrity of the country."

Surjit Singh Barnala, who became the chief minister of the Punjab government, gave assurances that the Akali Dal party would conduct a policy of constructive cooperation with the central government and would attach primary importance to the implementation of the agreement concerning the normalization of the situation in that state. The new government, in his words, was firmly resolved, once and for all, to put an end to terrorism in the state, and to apply the maximum efforts to guarantee the peace, calm, and socioeconomic progress of Punjab. "The implementation of the agreement to settle the situation in the state, which was concluded between the central government and the Akali Dal party," Barnala emphasized while speaking in Amritsar, "is our primary task. We must return the deceived Sikhs to normal

life and must put an end to the situation that contributed to the growth of terrorism."

On 31 October, the first anniversary of the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the country marked National Unity Day. Tens of thousands of people walked along the streets of New Delhi and other cities in columns of demonstrators, and took part in mass meetings that were dedicated to the great daughter of India. By their mass participation in that demonstration, which was of great political importance, Indians of various religious beliefs and political convictions gave a worthy reply to those who still have not rejected their criminal intentions of rekindling the bloody internecine conflicts, or heating up the domestic-policy situation, and thus undermining the authority of the country on the international arena.

Meanwhile, the extremists have not calmed down. At a discussion with journalists in mid-December, Surjit Singh Barnala cited new data that attests to the fact that bandits who have been instructed and equipped abroad are continuing to be sent into Punjab for sabotage purposes, chiefly via the state of Rajasthan. Representatives of the police in Amritsar displayed, during a press conference that was published in West Germany and certain other Western countries, subversive anti-Indian literature that called for the proclamation of "independent Khalistan." In the United States, England, and Canada, camps for training Sikh separatists continue to operate. Ought one, in this regard, to be surprised that practically not a single day passes without any criminal sorties by the extremists in Punjab? Nevertheless, common sense is gradually coming into its own...

Amritsar-New Delhi, by teletype.

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CSO: 1807/137

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SOVIET ENGINEERING AID TO ETHIOPIA

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by A. Serbin, PRAVDA correspondent: "A Time for Creation: Concerning International Aid to the People of Ethiopia"]

[Text] In Bale Province, located in the central part of Ethiopia, construction of the Melka-Vakane Hydroelectric Power Station is being carried out. It is being built in accordance with a Soviet plan. This is one of the largest construction projects in Ethiopia. Working on it is an international group--Ethiopian workers and engineers, Soviet hydroelectric-power engineers, and specialists from Czechoslovakia.

...The wind stirred the grass on the wide, slanting slopes. A waterfall grumbled noisily as it plunged down through a rocky declivity. The noonday sun lit up the area down below, where the silvery snake of a river wound through the bottom of a deep gorge. It was spacious, without people, and wild. That was how these places looked to me about four years ago, places where construction work is now in progress.

Now, having arrived here again, I recognized them yet did not recognize them. The lines of the distant horizons remained familiar, as well as the curved outlines of the mountains. There was the same feeling of spaciousness, but it itself was different: it had been inscribed by the deeds of human hands. Before me lay roads along which motor vehicles were moving, seen in the distance were the azure weavings of cranes, and rows of brand-new cottages stretched out in a string. And the land, which then seemed congealed in a sunny drowsiness, was now something else--woken up, disturbed by the plowing actions of excavators, and there were many people on this land.

Everyone who has undertaken to estimate the hydro resources of Ethiopia has come to one and the same conclusion: they are enormous. Its rivers could provide the country with tens of billions of kilowatt-hours of electric power. But up to now they have been scarcely utilized. The Constituent Congress of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia approved a 10-year plan for socio-economic development, based on a policy of socialist orientation for the country. It accords a considerable amount of attention to expanding the energy base. The adoption of this plan marked a new stage in those transformations which were begun by the Popular Revolution of 1974. The second post-revolutionary decade in Ethiopia has been designated as a time for creation.

The extremely severe drought which fell upon the Ethiopian land last year compelled them to make adjustments in the 10-year plan, to re-arrange the points of emphasis within it, taking into account the new situation. But the overall goals of the plan, providing for the development of production in order to improve the people's life, have remained unchanged. The misfortunes brought about by the elements of nature merely demonstrate more vividly the need to build a firm economic foundation in order to uplift the national economy.

The Melka-Vakane Hydro Complex on the Vebi-Shebelle River is the first major construction of this kind in Revolutionary Ethiopia. It is being created with the cooperation and with the aid of our country. The equipment for this electric-power station, in particular, the four turbines with a capacity of 39,000 kW each, is being supplied by Czechoslovakia. Of course, the Melka-Vakane GES [hydroelectric-power station] is not large in comparison with the giants of hydro construction. But consider the following figure: when this station is put into operation, its capacity will amount to more than 150,000 kW, and the production of hydroelectric power in Ethiopia will increase by a factor of almost 1.5.

The construction deadlines are tight ones, and time is hurrying on those persons who are working here. The first Soviet surveyors, who encountered the still untouched stillness of these places, arrived here at the beginning of 1982. And at the end of 1983 the builders had already begun working on the main structures.

"They include the reservoir, the canal, the tunnel, and the powerhouse," I was told by Engineer Yu. Lvov. "On the whole, we have to carry out earth-moving operations amounting to a volume of 10 million cubic meters and place 180,000 cubic meters of concrete."

Because of the geological conditions here, the Melka-Vakane Hydro Complex will not be quite the ordinary type. The Vebi-Shebelle River will be blocked off by a dam one and a half kilometers long and 40 meters high. But the powerhouse will be built separate from the dam. From the reservoir formed by the dam water will rush through a seven-kilometer-long canal to a vertical tunnel constructed within the body of the mountain. Part of the river-bed will be dried up, the grumbling waterfall will become silent, and the water, falling down into the tunnel from a height of 300 meters will make the turbines operate in the station, which is located below, at the foot of the mountain. Having provided its energy, it will return to the river-bed and will flow further along its usual route. A high-voltage electric-power transmission line will run from Melka-Vakane to a sub-station in the village of Kaliti. From here the power will flow into the industrial centers--Nazret and Addis Ababa.

Already more than 2,800 persons are working on the construction; among them, in addition to Soviet specialists, is also the first group of specialists from Czechoslovakia. Its leader, Engineer Jan Kligl, told me the following:

"Up to now there are still only a few of us, but soon the group will comprise about 100 persons. They will all come here from the ChKD-Blansko Combine. And it is from there, right near Brno, that the turbines and other equipment for Melka-Vakane will arrive; its manufacture was begun as far back as 1982.

The GES here will be furnished with automatic equipment and remote control. The ChKD-Blansko is sending its products to Ethiopia for the first time, but people are already familiar with it in India, Sri Lanka, Iraq, and other countries. On this construction project we are collaborating with our Soviet friends within the cooperative framework of the CEMA member-countries."

Oldzich Valegrah, chief installation engineer, continued the story of his countryman.

"Our task here," he said, "is not only to install the equipment and put it into operation, but also to teach our Ethiopian friends how to operate it. We suppose that approximately 300 persons will pass through this school of joint work."

The transfer of skills, instruction in occupations and their fine points comprise a component part of the work of specialists from the socialist states. During the time when this hydro complex is being built about 100 Ethiopians have already mastered the occupations of electric welder, bulldozer operator, excavator, concrete placer, and others. Essentially what is being created here is a new construction organization for the country, a group of skilled workers.

During meetings with our Ethiopian friends I heard quite a few good things said about our people, about their devotion to the task, and about the importance of their work. The first secretary of the provincial committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia in Bale, Gezahen Worku, put it this way:

"Soviet people are putting their strengths and their souls into this construction project. Their attitude toward carrying out their international duty has evoked a great deal of respect here. Ethiopia needs this GES very badly. It is to play a large role in our country's development."

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