

Leo Bausin

FOR HELSINKI SPIRIT IN ASIA



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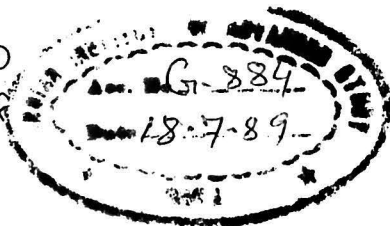
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INTRODUCTION

In August 1985, a jubilee meeting was held in Finland's capital. It was attended by the foreign ministers of those countries which, ten years earlier, in 1975, had participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Broad discussion of the questions raised at the anniversary meeting, and statements by its participants, as well as by government and public figures of other, non-European countries, have reaffirmed the fact that mankind is eager to continue the efforts to implement the principles and accords set forth in 1975.

Olof Palme, the late Prime Minister of Sweden, wrote in the *Dagens Nyheter* on August 20, 1985, that the realisation of the Helsinki agreements was a way not only to reducing tension in Europe, but also to consolidating international security.

The Australian Peace Committee emphasised in a statement that the Helsinki resolutions had paved the way for stepping up efforts towards détente and the expansion of international cooperation to other regions, including the Pacific basin.

The former Federal Chancellor of Australia, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, declared that the Helsinki Conference could become an example in solving urgent problems for other regions as well. The process of détente, he

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went on, should be universal and should include also the Middle East, Central America and Africa. To continue the process begun in Helsinki, he said, is an enormous and complex task, but it must not be abandoned. The Helsinki spirit carries hope, hope which should not be allowed to flicker out.

I. ASIAN PROBLEMS

Why is it that now, eleven years after the Helsinki Conference, the people in many countries are still calling for support of the Helsinki spirit, emphasising the need to further implement the programme of action adopted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to share the Helsinki experience with other continents?

The answer is simple. The Helsinki Conference in 1975 pin-pointed (and outlined solutions to) problems which are still facing not only Europe, but other continents as well.

What are these problems and how do they affect the interests of the Asian peoples?

The Helsinki Conference culminated in the signing of the Final Act by the leaders of 33 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada. For these countries the Final Act has become a platform of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral action for many years to come. It stressed that responsible representatives of the participating states were "motivated by the political will, in the interest of peoples, to improve and intensify their relations and to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and cooperation as well as to rapprochement among themselves and with the other states of the world."

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The heart of the Final Act is the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, their size, geographical location or level of economic development. These principles, dubbed by the world press a "Code of Peace and Security for Europe", govern international relations at the present stage. The countries of Asia are in no less need of such a code than are those of Europe. Therefore, many influential statesmen and public figures in Asia are calling for an extension of the "Helsinki spirit" to other continents.

Asia is, by no means, politically or economically homogeneous. Capitalist and socialist states, monarchies and republics, industrially advanced and developing countries that have just begun to restructure their lives on a modern pattern—all of them are objectively interested not only in peaceful coexistence, but also in mutual cooperation and assistance. Of course, an employee of the Japanese *Mitsubishi* corporation faces quite different problems than an Arab *bedouin*, but both of them, and millions of other Asians, share the common desire to live better tomorrow than yesterday and to do so in peace and tranquillity.

Asia plays an important role in the world today, and the voice of the Asian peoples is being heeded in the international arena. At the same time, the continent faces a host of acute economic, political and social problems. Some of them have been inherited from the colonial past, others are connected with the constant interference of imperialists in the affairs of independent states, and still others are the result of internal contradictions and difficulties. The immediate and distant future of billions of people depends on the solution of these problems. The "Code of Peace and Security for Europe" elaborated in Helsinki is aimed at

solving such basic problems, which also include those facing Asia.

What, according to the Helsinki Conference participants, are the principles that should guide nations and that could be useful in tackling Asian problems?

Take such a basic principle as the sovereign equality of states, which includes the right to legal equality, territorial integrity, freedom and political independence. The participant states in the Helsinki Conference have pledged to respect each other's right to choose freely and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems. This principle is essential to all states in Asia.

Another concept is territorial integrity. For several years now Washington and Islamabad have been persistently seeking to dismember India, openly discussing plans to carve out of India an independent state called "Khalistan". A ramified network of Sikh separatist centres have been functioning in the United States, Britain, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Sikh separatists receive broad support from Pakistani authorities, and camps for training subversive agents are operating in that country. Arms and money to be used for purposes of sabotage and murder pour in from Pakistan.

Meanwhile, in the Middle East, the Tel Aviv authorities, flagrantly violating the rights of the region's states to territorial integrity, have annexed part of Syrian territory—the Golan Heights. Israel has also seized lands in the south of Lebanon. Work is under way there to divert the waters of the *Litani* river to Israel's territory, although water is badly needed by Lebanon for the irrigation of its own land. "It seems the day is not far off," wrote the Lebanese newspaper *al-Liwa*, "when Israel will begin to build its settlements in the region." While overtly violating the principle of

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territorial integrity, Israel is seeking to perpetuate the division of Lebanon by prodding the Israeli-financed puppet army of General Antoine Lahad, which is operating in the south of Lebanon, to indulge in armed provocations against the UN forces and the national-patriotic Lebanese formations. Tel Aviv also incites the Lebanese right-wing Christian forces to foil all attempts to resolve the internal political conflict through peaceful means.

Now let's take a look at yet another region of Asia—the Pacific, where an archipelago of small islands known as Micronesia is situated. Micronesia is administered by the United States under the UN Security Council's mandate. In an effort to strengthen its domination there, Washington has virtually divided the archipelago into four parts, forcing on two of them shackling commitments under which they are granted only "internal self-government" while the United States retains "all rights and responsibilities with regard to defence and security". This in fact enables Washington to maintain there powerful military bases and missile and nuclear weapons testing grounds.

These few examples of violation of the right to territorial integrity with regard to Asian peoples convincingly show how important it is that the countries of Asia undertake joint efforts in order to implement on their continent as well the underlying basic principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

Another principle of the Final Act is the non-use of force or threat of force. That is force should not be employed as a means of settling disputes, and no circumstances may justify resorting to the use or threat of force.

There is no need to elaborate on the importance of this principle as regards Asia. In recent years military hostilities between Iraq and Iran have been sharply

exacerbated. A million people killed and wounded from both sides and thousands of prisoners—such was the war toll by the spring of 1986. Material damage has climbed upto tens of billions of dollars.

Using threats of force as a means of bringing pressure to bear on Asian countries has become altogether commonplace. American fleets cruising in the Pacific and Indian oceans constitute a permanent threat to peace. Suffice it to recall the period of extreme aggravation in US-Iranian relations. In 1980 the number of US warships at the Iranian border in the Gulf reached 97. It was from these ships that the abortive attempt at a raid of American commandos on Teheran took place. On February 7, 1986, on the eve of the Presidential elections in the Philippines, a squadron of US warships headed towards the islands—to serve as a “weighty factor” of influence on that country’s internal affairs. As regards Israel, partial mobilisation, troupe formations in combat readiness deployed near the borders of Arab states, and bellicose statements by Israeli generals have become a constant instrument of political pressure on its neighbours.

In January 1986 Syria was again compelled to send to the UN Secretary General a message pointing to Israel’s threat to use military force against Lebanon and Syria. This was the eleventh time Israeli leaders had threatened to use force against Syria since January 1982.

The situation on the Thai-Kampuchean border has, of late, been used constantly by American imperialists to put pressure on the people of Kampuchea. The Reagan administration has openly declared that it will finance and supply units of the “non-Communist rebels” with arms. In actual fact, these “rebels” are none other than the followers of Pol Pot who mercilessly exterminated more than three million of their fellow-countrymen. By

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using the units of these cut-throats stationed in camps on Thai territory near the Kampuchean border, Washington intends to make Kampuchea agree to concessions infringing on its sovereign rights.

Hum Sen, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, noted that the main cause of tension on the Kampuchean-Thai frontier was the all-round support rendered by the forces of imperialism headed by the United States to Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionaries who had entrenched themselves in Thailand.

A direct threat to Asian states can be found in Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone's statement in which he expressed the desire to "take under Japanese control" international straits around Japan and create a one-thousand-mile "zone of defence" of its sea communications right up to the Island of Guam and the Formosa Strait. By mentally drawing a line around the Japan islands at a one-thousand mile radius, one can easily see that such strategic plans pose a threat to seven Asian countries.

The threat to use force sometimes assumes a sinister character in the Asian region. Pakistan continues to build up its nuclear preparations with Washington's help. It is common knowledge that the United States has decided not to apply to Pakistan the Symington-Glenn Amendment, which prohibits military supplies to states developing nuclear weapons. Pakistan is using this opportunity to obtain certain components necessary for producing warheads as well as missiles and their nuclear delivery vehicles.

They even do not deny in Islamabad that these weapons are planned to be used primarily against India. Hints of this kind are readily dropped by American diplomacy. Washington makes it clear to Indian representatives that the US administration might

possibly agree to checking Pakistan's nuclear programme, but only in exchange for political concessions, a bargain India is absolutely unwilling to accept. The USA wants Delhi to recognise the "legality" of the US Navy's presence in the Indian Ocean, agree to let Diego Garcia Island be turned into the Pentagon's stronghold, and to renounce the demand that Pakistan should not allow its territory to be used for foreign military bases. In short, using the Pakistani nuclear threat the United States would like to make of India, if not an obedient ally, then at least a passive onlooker while the former undermines Asian security.

Many Asian countries are for peaceful settlement of conflicts. The League of Arab States for instance, is now working for putting an end to the Iran-Iraq war and the establishment of normal relations between the two warring Moslem countries. The League's actions are actively supported by the governments of the Yemen Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. India, as chairman of the non-aligned movement, has been showing commendable initiatives aimed at ending the military conflict between Iran and Iraq.

With Syria's mediation, an agreement was signed in Damascus early this year between the main politico-military groups of Lebanon on normalising the situation there and restoring unity in the country. Despite numerous violations of the agreement, work towards a peaceful settlement of Lebanese disputes is continuing.

The Communiqué of the 12th Conference of Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam held in the Laotian capital, in February 1986 contained a programme for the peaceful political solution of the problems facing South-East Asia, including a settlement in Kampuchean-Thai relations.

The communiqué stressed that Kampuchea's

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domestic problems should be settled by the Kampuchean people themselves, without any outside interference. This echoes the guiding principles of the Helsinki Final Act, which prohibits all forms of interference—direct or indirect, individual or collective—in the internal affairs of states. “Accordingly” the Final Act says, “they will, *inter alia*, refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities, or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another participating state.” It seems that a document of this nature could be signed by the vast majority of Asian states, especially because interference in their internal affairs, and terrorist activities against their political leaders, governments and parties have become particularly widespread, of late.

Thus last year when the government of New Zealand (incidentally, a US ally in the ANZUS bloc) approved the bill prohibiting foreign atomic-powered warships or those with nuclear weapons on board from calling at the country's ports (one would agree that this measure is entirely within the competence of the government of any country), Washington served several “stern warnings” to the government in Wellington. The New Zealand public has justly regarded these warnings as flagrant interference in the country's domestic affairs. And if the United States can so overtly interfere even in the internal affairs of its allies, then its attitude towards non-aligned countries in Asia is simply outrageous. The roots of the plan to murder Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, can be traced—this has become quite obvious today—to terrorist camps and headquarters stationed in North America. The Sikh terrorists enjoy support there. In August 1985, the US administration told India that there were no “legal grounds” for closing

one such camp in the State of Alabama, where Sikh terrorists were being trained. Meanwhile, it was these terrorists who destroyed an Indian plane with 329 passengers on board over the Atlantic and killed several political leaders in India.

The United States and its partners have been stepping up their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and intensifying the training of terrorists in Pakistan to be sent into Afghan territory. One billion two hundred thousand dollars have already been spent on the arming, training and upkeep of numerous counter-revolutionary gangs perpetrating atrocities on Afghan land. They are killing innocent people and inflicting colossal damage on the country's economy. Support is also being rendered to the bloody Pol Pot bands operating on the Indochina Peninsula.

Acts of state terrorism are being committed by the United States against the Palestinians in Western Asia. In late 1985 American fighter planes intercepted an Egyptian Boeing-737 passenger liner in order to arrest persons active in the Palestinian movement who were not to Washington's liking. At present, American high-ranking officials are vociferously advocating the adoption of measures to combat "international terrorism". But such words can be assessed only as hypocrisy and cynicism in the light of the above-mentioned facts.

The White House has brought international terrorism to the level of government policy. Recently it initiated the creation of a special group within its apparatus designed to coordinate aid to bandit formations all over the world. The Reagan administration is thoughtlessly trampling upon the right of nations to free and independent development and is blatantly violating international law. It is not surprising that countries following in the wake of US policy act on its example.

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The Israelis seized the Libyan plane and committed numerous acts of violence on the Palestinian territories they have occupied. In Lebanon, using terrorists from among right-wing Christian groups, the Zionists have massacred Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, which caused a wave of indignation the world over. So the ban on all forms of interference in internal affairs and aid to terrorists activities proclaimed at Helsinki is even more important to Asia.

A look at other political principles approved at Helsinki—the inviolability of frontiers and the refraining from any violation of these frontiers; the territorial integrity of states; respect for the rights and freedoms of man; equality and the right of nations to be the masters of their destinies—will suffice to show the universally applicable character of the standards of behaviour among states worked out there. In this way, the success of the Helsinki Conference has not only advanced the European countries in the direction of strengthening their own security, but also provided a vivid example of building inter-state relations on the entire continent on the basis of peace and cooperation.

II. THE COURSE OF DÉTENTE

By analysing the Declaration of Principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, principles on whose basis inter-state relations in Europe are to develop, one will find that they are virtually the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and are aimed at peace, détente and disarmament in Europe for the sake of the security of all peoples of the continent. The Conference emphasised the fact that European security, like international security, cannot be ensured through military means. A durable peace can be established on the continent only via détente, disarmament, confidence-building measures and the development of international cooperation.

The Final Act consists of three main sections, sometimes referred to as "baskets". It is not an accident that the first "basket" deals with the security of European countries and the joint efforts aimed at preserving peace and reducing military tension. This problem has become more urgent now that mankind's history has entered into its most dangerous period. The unbridled arms race unleashed, in the first half of the 1980s, by the imperialists, primarily by the US, is leading humanity to the brink of self-destruction. The prospect of the United States' deployment of first-strike weapons in outer space multiplies immeasurably the war

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danger, including the expansion of regional conflicts which are capable of undermining the present relative stability on a global scale. All this has direct bearing on the Asian continent.

In 1983 the Pentagon set up a Central Command CENTCOM as a connecting link in the chain of US military strongholds stretching from South-West Asia to the Far East. The CENTCOM zone of action includes Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as the Red Sea and the Gulf basin. In short, this zone stretches from the Indian Ocean into the depths of the Asian continent, right up to the USSR's frontiers. Washington has given CENTCOM a Rapid Deployment Force specially trained for operations in Asia. Its strength has already reached nearly 300,000 men. Pakistan is being turned into a springboard for these forces of aggression.

The Asian continent occupies an important place in American military schemes. Washington has proclaimed the entire Pacific basin a zone of its "vital interests", which places Asia under a mortal danger should US global programmes be realized.

That the Pentagon is striving to turn Asia into a huge testing ground for its planned military actions is evidenced by the network of military bases and installations deployed at present on the territory of Asian countries. Whereas at the time of the Second World War 71 US military bases in the Philippines occupied an area of 60,000 hectares, now US bases and other military facilities in that country, the number of which has since been reduced to 14, cover the area of 82,000 hectares. The Subic Bay and Clark Field bases are the Pentagon's largest outside the United States. No one in the Philippines doubts that nuclear weapons are deployed there. In December 1985, the United States Congress approved the allocation of another 104

million dollars for further enlarging military bases in the Philippines.

By 1985 the number of US troops in the Western Pacific had reached 130,000 men and officers (25 per cent of all US forces stationed abroad), including 15,000 in the Philippines, more than 9,000 in Guam, and 18,000 as part of the US Seventh Fleet. This is the second most powerful (after the West European) strike group of the US armed forces. Almost half the Pentagon's principal naval bases outside the United States and dozens of ground forces and air-force bases are stationed there.

All in all, up to half a million American military personnel, more than 1,200 aircraft, including B-52 strategic bombers, and over 160 warships, among them 40 nuclear submarines, are concentrated in the Pacific basin and near the southern shores of Asia. The first squadron in the US Navy, consisting of ten nuclear-powered submarines of the "Ohio" type with *Trident* missiles on board, is being formed for operations in the Pacific theatre. Each of these submarines is equal in its strike force to ten nuclear submarines of the preceding generation armed with *Polaris* missiles.

Warships of the US Seventh Fleet continue to be rearmed with *Tomahawk* cruise missiles. More and more American first-strike weapons are being concentrated on the territories of US allies in the Far East, in direct proximity to the frontiers of socialist countries.

To date, about two-thirds of the military personnel and hardware of the US Pacific military grouping have been deployed in Far Eastern regions. About 60,000 US men and officers and 200 military and auxiliary aircraft are stationed in Japan alone. The multipurpose aircraft carrier group headed by the "Midway" aircraft

carrier is based in Japan. Japanese ports are regularly visited by American warships armed with nuclear weapons, including *Tomahawk* cruise missiles with nuclear warheads. The US armed forces have over 120 military bases and other installations in Japan, the maintenance of which costs the Japanese exchequer more than one billion dollars annually.

And now the US military has turned South Korea into an important springboard for its activities. After the Reagan administration came to power, the plan to withdraw American forces from the Korean Peninsula put forward by Jimmy Carter in his time was completely annulled. At present an American occupation corps is stationed there, whose strength exceeds 42,000. About 1,000 units of nuclear warheads are stockpiled there. *Tomahawk* cruise missiles have begun to be deployed in South Korea. A squadron of A-10 fighters has been transferred there, as well as F-16 fighter-bombers. Washington is reported to be planning to deploy in South Korea *Lance* missiles with neutron warheads.

About 40 US military bases are located in Australia, some of them of a strategic nature. The North-West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar bases, for example, are designed to be used for obtaining the data necessary for targeting nuclear missiles, guiding operations of the strategic nuclear forces, and communicating between them and control centres in the United States. Commands from control centres in the United States are transmitted through the North-West Cape to US missile-carrying submarines scattered around the world. The Nurrungar base, although termed "navigational", has nothing to do with navigation; it is being used by the US airforce for communicating with military satellites. A similar task, for US naval forces, fulfils the Omega base; it services US warships, including missile-carrying submarines. American nuclear submarines make

monthly calls at the Stirling Naval Base near the city of Perth. Of late, Micronesia is regarded by the U.S. as its major strategic zone in the Pacific. And, in fact, Micronesia has become an American nuclear powder-keg. Several years ago US warships and submarines bearing nuclear weapons would call at local ports, whereas now these weapons are deployed right on the islands of the archipelago, despite protests by the local population. In the Palau Islands, for instance, US ballistic missile bases have been set up. More than two-thirds of the territory of the Island of Saipan are taken up by American military installations. In Saipan, there are also an airfield for US strategic bombers and bases (under construction) for aircraft carriers and submarines. On Tinian Island an airfield for strategic bombers has become operational and the island has been chosen as the site for a nuclear weapons depot. New arsenals and communication centres are under construction in the Marshall Islands. The Kwajalein Island has been turned into a missile testing ground.

Stressing the role of the Pacific region in US military strategy, the Canadian newspaper *Toronto Star* wrote in March, 1985, that the first-strike potential of the US depended on the system of ports, bases, airfields and means of communication in the Pacific Ocean. An American anti-submarine system is deployed there, and important operations are being conducted for command, control, communication and reconnaissance within the framework of the US global strategic plan. Most American strategic arms, including new first-strike weapons, are being tested in the Pacific region.

The unprecedented arms race unleashed by the Reagan administration includes the stepping up of US military preparations in the Indian Ocean.

The American militarist infrastructure in the Indian Ocean consists of about 30 military bases and

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strongholds—naval, airforce and army—located in foreign territories.

The airforce and naval bases in Somalia and Kenya form a single complex with the principal US base in the Indian Ocean situated in its very centre, on Diego Garcia Island. This base is being constantly enlarged and improved. It is now capable of receiving and serving B-52 strategic bombers, heavy transport planes, aircraft carriers and atomic-powered submarines. Storehouses for nuclear warheads and chemical weapons are hidden underground, and 13 large vessels are anchored in the atoll, serving as floating warehouses for heavy arms and ammunition for the Rapid Deployment Force.

But the system of military bases already in existence does not satisfy Washington's brass hats. They have now turned their attention primarily to the countries of South Asia—Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. A whole range of military installations—naval and airforce as well as monitoring stations—is going to be constructed for the Pentagon in Pakistan.

Washington does not publicise its plans concerning this region. It puts up a facade that U.S. military and economic aid to Pakistan amounting to 3.2 billion dollars had no strings attached. But General Tixier, a highly competent representative of the Pentagon, told the US Congress that the United States highly valued Pakistan's hospitality towards US warships deployed in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

There have also been alarming reports about placing Chittagong, the largest port of Bangladesh and several islands in the Bay of Bengal at the disposal of the US Navy.

On June 4, 1980, an agreement was signed with Oman giving the US armed forces the right to use airforce and naval bases in that country. In accordance

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with the agreement, the United States sent to Oman, in 1981, a contingent of officers and men to help Oman to enlarge and modernize the Masira and Khasab bases. The United States is also building a military base in the Dhofar District to accommodate 50,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force.

This interventionist strategy is backed up by the US Seventh Fleet warships cruising in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Seven out of every ten of the Fleet's ships carry nuclear warheads. These warheads can be delivered by the fighter-bombers based on aircraft carriers to the Gulf region, South-East Asia and the Hindustan Peninsula.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon is doing everything possible to step up the militarisation of its allies, both by increasing its own military presence and by bolstering the national armies of its allies.

In January 1980, the United States signed a five-year defence and economic cooperation agreement with Turkey, thus renewing the Pentagon's right to use nearly 30 military bases in that country. At present Washington plans to set up three more military bases in the eastern part of Turkey with the intention of strengthening the "Turkish factor" in US policy in South-West Asia. There are now 7,000 US military personnel in Turkey. Within the next ten years the Pentagon intends to sell it 160 F-16 fighter-planes at a cost of 4.1 billion dollars.

The Pentagon draws a parallel between US commitments concerning the "security" of NATO member-countries and the corresponding commitments under Washington's treaties with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and Australia. American troops stationed in the Far East are regarded as the "forward-based forces".

The United States does not conceal the fact that

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should a nuclear conflict break out, it would want the territory of its allies to serve as a sort of a "lightning-conductor" in the event of a retaliatory blow.

With these considerations in mind Washington plans to spend more than 1.5 million dollars for the support of pro-American regimes in Asia and the Pacific basin in the 1986 fiscal year. Of this about 230 million dollars will go to South Korea and nearly 140 million to Thailand. It is significant that Seoul regime has received a loan of four billion dollars on favourable terms from Tokyo.

The aims of such a "distribution of means" become clear if one takes into account the fact that there is only one officially existing military bloc to date in Asia—ANZUS—made up of Australia, New Zealand, the United States. The CENTO and the SEATO had already disintegrated in the mid-1970s. Washington is currently planning to set up, close to the far-eastern borders of the USSR, a tripartite military alliance comprising Japan, South Korea and the United States.

As for Japan, a plan of joint American-Japanese military operations envisages the establishment of coordinating bodies, and special communication systems, as well as an exchange of intelligence data. According to US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, military contacts with Japan at various levels take place almost weekly. The number of joint military exercises is to be increased.

In September 1985, Japan's government approved a draft programme for the development of the national armed forces in the 1986-1990 period which provides for the purchase of modern armaments and other military equipment.

The military potential of South Korea is also increasing at a rapid rate. The Seoul regime already has an army of 700,000—quite large for peace time. Military

ties and coordination between South Korean, American and Japanese armed forces are constantly improving. The annual exercises of the South Korean and US Navy, under the codename "Team Spirit", held in the Sea of Japan, involve up to 200,000 officers and men.

The US interest in Thailand is largely motivated by the Pentagon's plans to tie the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to the US and turn it into a military bloc at the junction of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. This may enable the United States to establish yet another link in the bloc system of the Eastern Hemisphere, which through CENTCOM in the South of the Asian continent, would be connected with the eastern flank of NATO. In order to cement these three elements into a single whole, the ruling circles of Washington, with the active support of Tokyo, are hatching plans to set up a "Pacific Community", which will include the member-countries of ANZUS and ASEAN as well as South Korea, Japan and some Pacific States.

American intrigues around ASEAN testify to the fact that the United States makes a special emphasis on the drawing of developing, primarily non-aligned, countries into the arms race. The US takes into account the fact that, given the tense international situation, ever greater shares of the resources of non-aligned and developing countries will be used for the military purposes. As a result, developmental work in these countries will suffer and they continue to serve as permanent markets for US monopolies which amass huge profits on the manufacture and sales of arms. For the developing countries participation in the escalating arms race will mean the continued preservation of the burdensome inheritance of the colonial past in most diverse spheres of life, as well as increased economic dependence, which may threaten their political independence.

It should be noted that the exacerbation of the



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situation in Asia, the formation of blocs, heightened militarist propaganda, and tension along state frontiers have already led to a sharp increase in the military spendings of quite a few non-aligned countries.

According to UN figures, during the 1970s the average annual increment of military expenditure in the world amounted to 2.6 per cent. This figure for developing countries was 10.3 per cent, and for Middle Eastern states 16.7 per cent.

Pakistan annually spends more than two billion dollars on the upkeep of its army of half a million. State expenditure per soldier is 1,000 dollars a year. Annual per capita income is 350 dollars.

It would be naive to think that the nuclear weapons deployed by the United States in various parts to the Asian continent and on islands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans constitute a threat to the Soviet Union alone. American strategic and tactical weapons pose a double imperialist danger to Asia. On the one hand, the Pentagon is thinking of using various regions of Asia for the preparation of a new war against the USSR and its allies. And, on the other, the United States is raising its nuclear sword over the hundreds of millions of people in the developing countries, denying them the opportunity to pursue independent policies and effectively oppose the neocapitalists' drive for monopoly. In addition, Washington harbours the illusion that by stationing its bases and missile launching sites on Asia which is situated far from the United States, in the event of a U.S. attack on socialist countries a good part of the massive retaliatory blow would fall on Asia, especially on the territories of Pakistan, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand.

These cold-blooded calculations become ever more dangerous in view of the US administration's intention to develop a wide-range of nuclear-missile weapons

with space-based elements. Tokyo is favourably inclined towards President Reagan's "Star War" plan and this causes particular anxiety. The more so since Pentagon strategists have recently begun to display heightened interest in Japanese scientific and technological achievements. According to experts, the US lags behind Tokyo in a number of areas which have direct bearing on the militarisation of outer space. According to the American magazine *Business Week* Japanese microprocessors, special ceramics and super-hard coatings are beginning to play a decisive role in the production of American missiles and fighter planes. For example, integrated circuits of a Japanese firm are used in the *Tomahawk* cruise missiles.

A considerable threat is posed by the Pentagon's plans to make Micronesia a springboard for the implementation of the Star Wars programme. Thus, a missile launched from there intercepted another at a distance of 100 miles before the latter entered the atmosphere. On Roi Namur Island the Altair radar system has been in operation since 1982 monitoring satellites for the US airforce. The system is capable of targeting anti-satellite weapons. Thus, preparations for Star Wars are going on in full force in Asia, too, putting up fresh obstacles in the way to a radical reduction of nuclear arms.

In these conditions, the concept of détente put forward in Helsinki finds an ever greater response on the part of the peoples and governments of Asian countries. The public in Asia are coming to the conclusion that decisive and concerted actions are needed to stop the arms race in the region and throughout the world.

Indonesia, has advocated the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific basin. Making South-East Asia nuclear-free zone would be a concrete

step in this direction. The Indonesian proposal has been discussed by the ASEAN foreign ministers in New York during the UN General Assembly session. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumatmaja is of the view that the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Pacific basin would provide for all countries, large and small, a real opportunity to contribute to the cause of preserving peace on Earth. The arms race concerns all states, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, for in the event of a nuclear conflict all will suffer.

The establishment of such a zone in South-East Asia would make it possible to extend a "nuclear-free bridge" to South Asia, which would diminish the danger of a nuclear conflict.

When in February 1985 New Zealand closed its ports to American warships carrying nuclear weapons or equipped with nuclear launchers, Washington responded by denying New Zealand's labour government, headed by David Lange, access to military information, which it used to receive as a member of the ANZUS bloc. Washington has also cancelled joint military exercises and regular meetings of representatives of ANZUS. The US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger went so far as to call upon New Zealanders to disobey their government, while the US State Department declared that it would no longer consider New Zealand an ally if Prime Minister Lange submitted his decision for Parliament's approval.

But New Zealand's decision to close its ports to American warships has remained valid.

New Zealand's stand has caused panic in the Pentagon. Admiral Gene LaRocque, according to *Le Monde Diplomatique*, believes that the United States' anxiety over New Zealand's decision is caused, above all, by fears that this "anti-nuclear fever" might spread to other US allies, particularly Japan.

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The well-considered step of the New Zealand government indicates that the time is ripe to give a resolute rebuff to the American militaristic plans in Asia, and to wage an effective struggle to eliminate the threat of war.

In the spirit of the Helsinki Conference, which proclaimed "the need to exert efforts to make détente both a continuing, and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope", the Asian states have, of late, been taking measures to implement détente in Asia in a variety of forms.

Legitimate anxiety caused by the nuclear activities of certain Western powers in the region, and the increasing alarm over the growing presence in the Pacific of nuclear weapons at the disposal of the US Navy, have compelled the leaders of thirteen member-states of the South Pacific Forum to draw up a treaty proclaiming the southern part of the Pacific a nuclear free zone. The treaty provides for a permanent ban on the production, deployment and testing of nuclear weapons on the territories of the member-countries of the forum. A ban has also been introduced on the dumping of radioactive wastes into the Pacific.

This Treaty came into being largely as a result of the Asian peoples' growing awareness of the danger the US militarist policy spells for them. It is no coincidence that the treaty followed New Zealand's decision to deny American nuclear-powered warships with nuclear weapons on board access to its ports.

Serious anxiety is mounting in Australia, too, which is the United States' main ANZUS partner. In late 1984, the Nuclear Disarmament Party was organised in that country, which by January 1985 had acquired a membership of 50,000. In the spring of 1985, 28 M.P.s from the Australian Labour Party set up a group called "Labour Parliamentarians for a Nuclear-Free

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Australia." It is also significant that in April 1985 Australia officially refused to participate in the SDI programme of President Reagan. At present 88 administrative councils in Australia have declared their territories nuclear free.

The legislative bodies of Palau Archipelago have enshrined their anti-nuclear stance in the Constitution. The Solomon Islands have closed their waters for ships carrying nuclear weapons. The Malaysian Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Mohathir Mohammad, has advocated a ban on nuclear-weapons tests, the stockpiling of these weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste into the Pacific Basin (this followed his talks with New Zealand's Prime Minister Lange). New Zealand's stand on this question was also supported by Papua-New Guinea.

The movement of countries and peoples to eliminate the danger hanging over the Indian Ocean, and to pool the efforts aimed at making this area a zone of peace is gaining momentum.

A declaration adopted in 1982 at the International Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, in which more than 50 countries participated, noted that in an attempt to establish its domination in the Indian Ocean the United States has been hindering the implementation of the UN declaration on turning the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace. The 7th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Delhi in 1983 also reflected growing opposition to the aggressive, militarist course of American imperialism in the Indian Ocean.

The majority of participants in the sessions of the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Ocean, convened in 1983, denounced the unprecedented build up of Washington's military presence in the region, as well as the obstacles to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean put up

by the United States. Representatives of India, Sri Lanka, Mozambique and Mauritius demanded that the sessions prepare a concrete document establishing the framework and the main trends of the conference's work. The obstructionist stand taken by the US delegation in the Committee was another manifestation of the expansionist objectives pursued by the United States in the Indian Ocean.

The Asian public and quite a few statesmen and political figures are coming to realise that a successful solution to the problems facing them will not be possible until the security of the continent is ensured. Certain steps have been taken recently in this direction. However, many people in Asia believe that it is time to approach the problem of security from a broader angle. It could include the five principles (*panch sheel*) elaborated at one time by Asian countries, the Ten Principles of Bandung, and a number of initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the countries of Indochina, India and other countries of the region all concerned with Asian security and turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

"The significance of the Asian and Pacific direction is growing," emphasizes the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "In that vast region there are many tangled knots of contradictions and, besides, the political situation in some places is unstable. Here it is necessary, without postponement, to search for the relevant solutions and paths. Evidently, it is expedient to begin with the coordination and then the pooling of efforts in the interests of a political settlement of painful problems so as, in parallel, on that basis at least to take the edge off the military confrontation in various parts of Asia and stabilise the situation there."

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The Soviet Union's constructive approach to the problems of ensuring peace in Asia meets with broad public approval and the support of realistically-minded government and political figures in Asia.

Of special importance for strengthening peace and international security in the Asian and Pacific region in the present complicated situation is the proposal put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement of May 21, 1985, to approach the problem of security in Asia in a comprehensive manner. He suggested that a pan-Asiatic forum be held some time in the future to exchange views and jointly search for constructive solutions. This idea was further developed by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986: "The Soviet state calls upon all Asian and Pacific nations to cooperate for the sake of peace and security. Everyone who strives towards these goals and who hopes for a better future for one's people, will find that we are willing to talk and are honest partners," the Soviet leader stressed. The Soviet Union has demonstrated once again its striving to build new, fair relations in Asia and in the Pacific, to develop cooperation with full respect for the right of every people to live according to its own choice and to solve its problems independently under conditions of peace. Moscow has shown the whole world that the Soviet Union is a devoted adherent of the idea of disbanding military groups, of renouncing military bases in Asia and in the Pacific, and withdrawing troops from other countries' territory. "For an objective, however remote, we would like to propose a conference, in the mould of the Helsinki conference, to be attended by all countries gravitating towards the ocean. When an agreement is reached on its convocation (If an agreement is reached at all, of course) it will be possible to establish the place for this conference. Hiroshima is a possible option. Why should

that city, the first victim of nuclear evil, not become a "Helsinki" for Asia and the Pacific Ocean?" Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The proposals advanced in Vladivostok (if they are implemented) would help overcome confrontation for the sake of cooperation among all peoples of this region with due account of the Helsinki experience. The *Nation Review*, a Bangkok newspaper, notes that the Soviet Union displays great diplomatic flexibility in relations with non-communist countries in Southeast Asia. The paper points out that Moscow's proposals on holding an all-Asian forum are timely.

In connection with the fact that Hiroshima was suggested as the venue of a forum on the security of the Asian-Pacific region, Mayor Takeshi Araki stated that this is a great honour for the city.

As pointed out by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, "our views on security in the Asian-Pacific region did not come out of thin air. They take into account the experience of the past and of today." The accumulated experience of relations of goodneighbourliness and cooperation shows that all peoples without any exception will only gain if they jointly work for the elimination of mistrust, for the attainment of mutual understanding in the sphere of inter-state ties. One should not underestimate the difficulties lying on the way to the conference. But the idea of convening the conference on security and cooperation in Europe initially also seemed to be a chimera. And yet the idea was implemented and yielded tangible positive results. "The longest road also begins with the first step" goes an old saying. Time is calling upon all of us to take this step. Asia which since the ancient past has done much for humankind's progress can and should contribute to the creation of a world without nuclear and conventional wars, without bloodsheds.

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Moscow regards the Asia-Pacific region as part of a general process of establishing a comprehensive system of international security, the basic principles of which in the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres were put forth at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Specifically, these concern primarily the issues of *regional settlement*. There are many issues of such kind. *First*. The problems facing South-East Asia and Kampuchea, and the situation around Afghanistan and in the Korean peninsula must be settled. *Second*. The USSR is for blocking the proliferation and build-up of *nuclear weapons* in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. *Third*. The Soviet Union proposes that talks be held on the reduction of the activity of *naval forces* in the Pacific, in particular, nuclear-armed ships. It remains strongly in favour of resuming the talks on proclaiming the *Indian Ocean a zone of peace*. *Fourth*. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the radical *reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia* to limits of reasonable sufficiency. *Fifth*. The Soviet Union believes that it is high time to switch to practical discussions on confidence-building measures and on the non-use of force in this region.

Other socialist countries of the region are also actively seeking to strengthen peace and security in Asia and the Pacific basin. In 1981, the Mongolian People's Republic put forward a proposal to conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between states in Asia and the Pacific. In January 1985, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Laotian People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea jointly advocated the creation of a zone of peace, co-operation and stability in South-East Asia, the holding of a regional conference between the countries of Indochina, ASEAN and other interested countries of the region for the purpose, as

well as the signing of bilateral or multilateral treaties on the peaceful coexistence of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea with the People's Republic of China. At a meeting of the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in Phnom Penh in 1985 new initiatives were put forward: a deadline for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea was set and Kampuchea announced its readiness to begin negotiations with representatives of Khmer groupings abroad with a view to discuss the question of national reconciliation on the basis of ousting the Pol Pot followers and holding general elections after the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers. The three countries expressed their readiness to normalise relations with the United States and the People's Republic of China.

A peaceful settlement in Korea was discussed in January 1986, during a visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR Foreign Minister and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. In a Joint Soviet-Korean Communique the Soviet representative "confirmed the USSR's solidarity with the policy of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and the Korea's unification on a peaceful democratic basis without outside interference. The communiqué also supported DPRK's ideas to form a democratic confederative republic through a dialogue and negotiations between the parties concerned; to replace the armistice agreement by a peace agreement in Korea; to elaborate a declaration on non-aggression between North and South Korea, as well as to take constructive steps for the development of a broad peaceful dialogue between them. The government of the DPRK has put forth an important proposition on the establishment on

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the Korean peninsula of a nuclear-free zone.

The war danger looming over mankind has never been so grave. But never before have the possibilities to preserve and consolidate peace been so real. The increased aggressiveness of imperialism is countered by the growing potential of the forces of peace. This is above all the socialist states and their increasing economic and defence capacities. The emergence of the world socialist system and the strengthening of the socialist community have led to a radical shift in the correlation of forces in the international arena. This is manifested in the fact that a majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries, which are members of the non-aligned movement, are vitally interested in preserving peace and halting the arms race, and are actively pursuing anti-imperialist policies; it is manifested also in the upsurge of anti-war movements on all continents.

"The forces of peace and progress all over the world", says the Resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, "can neutralise the threat emanating from imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the brink of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield. Human life, the possibilities of its all-round development, the interests of the advance of society, rank uppermost."

III. COOPERATION, NOT CONFRONTATION

"The noose of the trillion-dollar foreign debt, currently strangling dozens of countries and entire continents," Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized in his Statement of January 15, 1986, "is a direct consequence of the arms race. The more than 250,000 million dollars annually siphoned out of the developing countries is practically equal to the size of the mammoth US military budget. Indeed, this is no chance coincidence." Attaining huge means through the economic and financial plundering of developing countries, the United States finances largely at their expense its arms build-up, which is not only a direct threat to universal peace, but also an obstacle in the way of economic and social progress. The peoples of the world are coming to realise ever more clearly that development and peace are indivisible.

During the past five years the sum total paid by the developing countries as interest on foreign loans has increased by nearly 50 per cent. Estimates show that in 1985 it ran to almost 130,000 million dollars. This money could have been used to improve the plight of the newly free countries suffering from economic backwardness, hunger and poverty.

From 35 to 50 per cent of the export earnings of Asian countries are spent to repay their foreign debts, depriving them of hard currency so badly needed for

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purchasing industrial equipment and foodstuff. As a result, poverty is steadily rising.

The enormous foreign debt is a direct result of imperialist policy and unjust economic relations engendered by imperialism. The United States is primarily responsible for this. It manipulates bank rates, artificially raises the exchange rate of the dollar, forces on its partners unequal trade conditions, places all sorts of obstacles in the way of international trade, and virtually plunders Asian countries.

American monopolies have created "price scissors" by reducing the price of raw materials coming from developing countries and raising the price of their own goods imported by the developing countries. For example, the prices of American metal-cutting lathes exported to Asian countries rose by 22 per cent between 1980 and 1983. During the same period the prices of tea and rubber bought from these countries dropped by 20 to 24 per cent.

Inasmuch as the world capitalist market is controlled by American and other Western transnational corporations, of the 100 billion dollars annually earned by Asian countries on the sale of raw materials, they actually receive only 20 billion. The rest of the money lands in American and other Western banks. The United States puts up protectionist barriers in the way of commodities from developing countries, thus seeking to solve its own economic problems at the expense of others.

American monopolies receive about 4.5 dollars on each dollar invested in the economies of Asian countries. The United States also amasses billions of dollars by fuelling the arms race in these countries and then selling them arms.

After gaining control over ever greater financial and material reserves, the United States, directly or

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indirectly, uses these reserves to implement its ambitious programmes. The American weekly *U.S. News & World Report* wrote recently that in the eyes of millions of poor people in developing countries, who can hardly make both ends meet, the United States is a prospering ogre squandering billions of dollars on the arms race, whereas they are compelled to vegetate in abject poverty.

The United States is clinging, by hook or by crook, to this neocolonialist order which has proved so advantageous. Therefore it is trying to undermine the unity of developing countries by means of bilateral deals or through the influence of international financial organisations which it controls. Hence Washington's vehement opposition to any initiatives of the developing countries aimed at establishing a new international economic order.

In recent years Asian countries have felt especially keenly the burden of military tension, the arms race and the dependence of their banks and markets on Western banks and markets. This is a direct consequence of the economic crisis that has gripped industrial countries of the West.

As was pointed out in the *Financial Times* of London, a year ago nothing of the kind would have been possible. Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines have all stopped harbouring any illusions... Pessimism is growing over economic prospects in this region. Trends towards industrialisation observed in certain areas did not help. The upheavals on the world computer market have dealt a serious blow to Singapore and Malaysia. But even more harmful to the countries of the continent proved to be the general decline in prices of all basic raw materials produced in Asia—oil, natural rubber, tin, palm oil, timber, sugar, rice, copra and tapioca. The growing protectionist

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demands on the part of industrial countries have also affected Asian countries, bringing about a slump in their textile industry.

And all this leads to the inescapable reality that currently more than a billion people in Asia are suffering from hunger. In the meantime, Asia's foreign debt is nearing 400 billion dollars.

Where is the way out? The progressive public sees it in strengthening national economies of Asian countries, implementing progressive socio-economic reforms and broadening foreign political ties, particularly those between developing countries themselves and with the socialist states. This will serve as a reliable counter-balance to the expansionist design of the neo-colonialists.

The section of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference called the "second basket" concentrated on the problems of cooperation between the participating countries in the fields of economy, science, technology and environmental protection.

The Final Act contained an extensive programme for development of ties between states in the sphere of trade and industry. It outlined some joint projects and determined the most promising fields of scientific and technological cooperation.

In the current economic situation the developing countries should redouble their efforts in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order and radical changes in Western countries' policies towards them. They should search constantly for new ways to increase their exports. In this context, the familiarisation with the "second basket" programme of the Helsinki Final Act and with the principles of economic and technical cooperation between states put forward at the Madrid and Belgrade meetings of representatives of European countries, and the

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promotion of the ideas of the Helsinki Conference, could considerably help in speeding up the establishment of a new international economic order, more favourable to Asian countries.

Today there is greater realisation among Asian countries of the need to develop mutual economic relations. Many of them are encountering difficulties in selling their raw materials and finished goods. It is only through joint effort that the schemes of Western corporations can be foiled. It is also necessary to pool resources in combatting the protectionist policy of the West and the multinational corporations hindering the social and economic progress of liberated countries.

The first steps along the "Helsinki lines" in Asia are already being made, and they have yielded positive results.

To this effect, the meeting of the foreign ministers of the member states of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) held in Bhutan's capital, Thimphu, in May 1985, was of great importance. Naturally, some states showed a negative attitude towards the idea of cooperation between the countries of the region, because they felt that the economically strong and politically stable South Asia would be able to thwart the schemes of Western corporations flooding the region with their goods.

Nevertheless, the meeting in Thimphu was a success. Its concluding communique expressed the desire of South Asian countries jointly to oppose the protectionist policy of the West and the multinational corporations that obstruct the social and economic development of the newly-free countries. Many participants felt that the time had come for the countries of the region to unite and do away with their economic backwardness. These countries are determined to do this

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despite heavy odds, and they have already proved their readiness to overcome all the difficulties.

At the same time, in Asia there is a growing movement against the "price scissors" existing between the raw materials from the East and the finished goods from the West, against financial exploitation of developing countries and against imperialist protectionism in trade.

In the past two decades, for instance, the losses suffered by developing countries as a result of the protectionist barriers raised by the West amounted to about 700,000 million dollars. The negative impact of such a policy on the delicate economies of the young states, especially those which are largely dependent on foreign markets, is obvious. This means an end to the sources of foreign currency needed by developing countries to pay back their debts, the aggravation of the unemployment problem, and, ultimately, the slowing down of economic development rates.

The ministers of trade and commerce of 64 developing countries justly noted at a conference in Delhi in the summer of 1985 that the protectionist policy pursued by countries of the capitalist West not only caused enormous damage to the economic progress of the liberated countries, but was also fraught with a serious danger for the entire system of the world goods turnover. This idea has been emphasised by spokesmen of developing countries during the discussions of trade issues in the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) of the UN General Assembly. They demanded that the United States discontinue its policy of blackmail and discrimination in trade relations.

The socialist countries are supporting the developing countries' struggle for economic independence and for a just solution of their foreign debt problem. "The

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Soviet Union.” emphasised General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement of January 15, 1986, “wants each measure limiting and reducing arms and each step towards eliminating nuclear weapons not only to bring nations greater security but also to enable them to allocate more funds for improving people’s life. It is natural that the peoples seeking to put an end to backwardness and rise to the level of industrially developed countries associate the prospects of freeing themselves from the burden of foreign debt to imperialism, which is draining their economies, with limiting and eliminating weapons, reducing military expenditures and transferring resources to the goals of social and economic development.”

A memorandum of the Soviet government, “International Economic Security of States—A Major Condition for the Improvement of International Economic Relations”, issued on January 27, 1986, also underscores that an end to the arms race, the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and a considerable reduction in the military spending of states would release funds and resources sufficient to meet the economic and social requirements of the developing countries. The USSR, the memorandum points out, actively supports the initiatives of developing and non-aligned states aimed at creating conditions to ensure international economic security. Such initiatives include proposals to hold “global negotiations” within the UN framework on the most urgent world economic problems and to convene an international monetary-financial conference, as well as to start talks on the elaboration of behaviour codes for transnational corporations and the exchange of technological information. However, these initiatives have also been stone-walled by Western powers.

In the spirit of Bandung and Helsinki, the socialist states have been lending strong support to the newly-free countries in their efforts to overcome their backwardness and consolidate their sovereignty. The economic, scientific and technological assistance of the socialist community to Asian, African and Latin American countries for the creation and development of their national industries is a concrete manifestation of their solidarity with the peoples fighting to strengthen their independence.

The industrial enterprises built with the assistance of CMEA member-states account for a considerable, if not the major, portion of industrial output in the public sector of many developing countries. These enterprises account for more than 90 per cent of the steel produced in Algeria, and more than 70 per cent of electric power in Afghanistan and Syria; they refine 100 per cent of the oil mined in Syria; they mine all natural gas and produce all nitric fertilizers in Afghanistan; they turn out oil products and tyres in Ethiopia.

With the economic and technical assistance of Poland, India has commissioned iron ore dressing plants and mines to extract coking coal. Czechoslovakia helped India construct large metallurgical and engineering plants. In all, CMEA member states have participated in building more than 400 industrial enterprises in India.

Primary attention in the developing countries continues to be devoted to such branches of industry as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, oil exploration and refining, and coal extraction.

The socialist countries build in the developing countries multi-branch complexes rather than individual enterprises for the oil and oil-refining industry. In Syria such complexes are being built with participation of the USSR, Romania and Czechoslovakia, in Iraq with that

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of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and in India with that of the USSR and Romania.

Soviet-Indian economic and trade ties are a vivid example of equitable cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki.

A distinguishing feature of bilateral Indo-Soviet trade ties is their stable and high growth rates. Since the signing of the first trade agreement between the two countries in 1953, the volume of their trade has grown 300-fold to reach an annual level of two thousand million roubles.

India is the USSR's principal trade partner among the developing countries. The Soviet Union supplies India with industrial equipment and other commodities necessary for the rapid development of its economy. Soviet deliveries include metal-cutting lathes, forging and press equipment, walking excavators, drilling installations, computers, and other goods. In turn, India sells the Soviet Union cables, storage batteries, garage equipment, containers for sea cargo transportation, printing equipment, jute and jute products, textiles, spices, tea, coffee etc.

It should be noted that the capacities of the Soviet market, in contrast with the unpredictable markets of capitalist countries, allow to ensure the stable development of certain branches of the Indian economy.

Large projects in India's key industries have been built with Soviet assistance. It is not surprising that an ever greater number of developing countries which had very close economic links with Western capitalist states and Japan, are now moving towards more and more economic cooperation with socialist countries.

The Indonesian government, for instance, has recently expressed particular interest in expanding the export of Indonesian goods to socialist states. During his visit to the USSR in 1984, Indonesian Minister of Foreign

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Affairs Mochtar Kusumaatmaja reaffirmed Jakarta's willingness to increase its trade and economic cooperation with the USSR. That very year a delegation of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry made a trip to the USSR. The delegation also visited a number of socialist countries in Eastern Europe. As a result, important documents were signed with Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia, and bilateral commissions on trade were set up. The delegation identified a vast range of commodities suitable for exchange between Indonesia and the socialist countries for developing mutually beneficial trade.

The Soviet Union is now Indonesia's principal trade partner among the socialist countries. Then come Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria. Indonesia exports to socialist countries rubber (80 per cent), tin, coffee, spices, palm oil, timber and hides.

In accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union will continue to expand and strengthen its allround cooperation with newly liberated states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This cooperation is aimed above all at consolidating the economic and political independence and the social and cultural rebirth of the liberated nations and rendering assistance to rebuff the intrigues of the imperialist forces infringing on their sovereignty. The economic and technical assistance rendered by the socialist community to the developing countries opens to them broad opportunities for advancing along the road of social progress, pursuing independent policies, creating their own industrial base, and training their national personnel.

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The third section of the Final Act (the "third basket") is devoted to the development of cooperation in the field of culture, education, information, and personal contacts. These problems, though perhaps not as crucial or universal in their application as, say, the problem of war and peace, nevertheless have bearing on the day-to-day lives of people. As for the implementation of the Final Act, this section requires painstaking and prolonged work of various kinds, for it deals with a very wide range of questions—state and individual, cultural and legal, long-term and current. All of them are, in one way or another, closely connected with the general international situation, internal legislation of states, and national traditions.

There are people in the West who choose to interpret the problems of the "third basket" to best suit their own interests. For example, influential figures in Washington would like contacts between countries to take the form of joint research under the Star War programme. According to the *Financial Times*, they pass their "strategic defence initiative" off as a purely scientific research programme. Then, in the US they express indignation about a "violation of their sovereign rights" when other countries condemn the bombardment of living quarters in Philadelphia in the local authorities' crackdown on squatters. Or take the situation in Great Britain. The number killed in the troops' operations against the Catholic minority in Ulster has exceeded one and a half thousand. Immigrants from India, Pakistan and other Asian countries are openly discriminated against in Britain. At the same time, the United States and its closest allies do not hesitate to interfere in other states' internal affairs under the pretext of "concern for human rights".

The Western press and some statesmen in the United States, Britain and other countries tried to play up and

distort the facts regarding terrorist activity in India. But the same press and statesmen remained silent about the mass bombings and shellings of Pashtoon villages by Pakistani army units, or the obstacles put by the authorities in Britain in the way of reuniting British families of Asian origin. Naturally, such a distortion of the Helsinki "third basket" principles is not in the world nations' interests.

The programme of cultural and humanitarian contacts elaborated at the Helsinki Conference, if applied to Asia, would, first and foremost, contribute to solving such urgent problems as the elimination of unemployment, hunger and poverty; the improvement of medical services; the introduction of universal education; the establishment of a reliable system of social security; the achievement of racial and national equality; and the enhancement of political, economic and legal rights for all citizens in every country.

It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of developing countries and all the socialist states have repeatedly insisted that UN documents should contain the fundamental principles guaranteeing the rights of man. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights have been prepared and adopted with the active participation of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, leading Western states have not yet ratified the principal international documents in this field. The United States, for instance, is a signatory to only ten of such documents. Some West European countries have not even signed the International Covenants on Human Rights.

IV. TOWARDS NEW FRONTIERS

Now, eleven years after the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we refer back to the ten principles of the Final Act which heralded the end of cold war and became the symbol of true humanitarian ideals. The achievements at Helsinki were, above all, a result of the consistent peaceloving policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. This policy has been supported by all progressive-minded people the world over, by noted statesmen and political figures, as well as by outstanding scientists and cultural figures.

At the same time, the past eleven years have revealed the true intentions of imperialism. Soon after the signing of the Final Act, political leaders in the United States and in some Western countries shelved this document and turned their attention to the arms race, following the road of the aggravation of world tension. Instead of fulfilling the hopes and responding to the wishes of millions upon millions of people of goodwill by strengthening security and broadening cooperation, the United States has begun deploying new nuclear first-strike weapons in Europe and elsewhere.

Washington is exerting tremendous efforts to draw its NATO and other allies into the implementation of the

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Star Wars programme. The West is spending astronomical sums for military purposes.

The main reason for the retardation in the early 1980s of the multilateral process begun in Helsinki was the actual refusal of the United States and NATO to recognize one of the conclusions drawn by the All-European Conference and defined in the Final Act, namely, the need to complement political détente with military détente. Washington's policy of arms build-up aggravates the situation in Europe and Asia and considerably heightens the danger of a nuclear conflict. Moreover, NATO member-states blatantly ignore the important and entirely feasible peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries, as well as proposals put forward by non-aligned states, particularly those in Asia. They thereby undermine the possibility of solving the problems of the limitation and reduction of nuclear and conventional arms and the non-militarisation of outer space.

But the ideas of peace, security and cooperation are gaining ever firmer ground. The principles laid down in the Final Act are still vital. The successful conclusion of the Belgrade and Madrid meetings has proved their vitality. This is also demonstrated by the growing anti-nuclear and anti-war movement. The efforts aimed at turning Northern Europe, the Balkans and many regions of the Asian continent into nuclear-free zones, refusing sea-going vessels with nuclear weapon on board access to the ports of many countries, and the mass movement against the deployment of American nuclear weapons in various parts of the world and against SDI are fully in keeping with the principles of the Final Act. It can safely be said that the ideas of Helsinki are being put into practice in regions many thousands of miles away from Europe.

The conference in Helsinki has shown that meetings

of such kind constitute an important form of cooperation between nations, and that their successful outcome depends on the same factors—as do international relations as a whole.

A process begun by a well-prepared conference can in itself have a considerable impact on the international situation.

The signing of the Final Act in Helsinki has paved the way for expanding and strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the peoples of Europe, Asia and other regions. The conference participants declared their desire to build up confidence between the peoples and governments, complement political détente with military détente, and guarantee all nations a peaceful future. The past decade has proved that this task is a difficult but feasible one. Goodwill and concerted efforts are required for its implementation.

The favourable conditions created during the 1970s promoted economic and trade ties, cultural exchanges, and political contacts among European states, and showed the peoples of other countries and continents a realistic road towards achieving this aim. The socialist countries have been, and remain, in the vanguard of those forces which are sincerely striving to implement the principles of the Final Act. There are now ever greater opportunities for rallying the world nations in the struggle to liberate humanity from war altogether and strengthen peace and security. This aim has been pursued by numerous initiatives of the socialist and non-aligned countries.

The Helsinki Conference has convincingly confirmed that differences in the political systems of states do not prevent them from cooperating in the search for joint solutions in the interests of universal security.

The majority of the world's population is concentrated in Asia. The voice of Asian states acting

FOR HELSINKI SPIRIT IN ASIA

jointly can play a decisive role in solving the most crucial issues facing humanity.

The process of détente should be universal and embrace also the Middle East, the Pacific and Indian ocean regions, the Far East, Central America and Africa. The task of continuing the process begun eleven years ago at the Helsinki Conference is complex and enormous, but to it there is no alternative but war. The spirit of Helsinki means hope which should not be allowed to die.

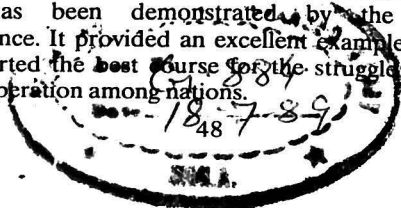
A halt in the preparations for Star Wars is a necessary step. The arms race in outer space in any form should be banned without delay. The peoples of Asia should demand this too, for the testing and improvement of space weapons can lead to an irrevocable situation.

Rather than stepping up the arms race, which will have fatal consequences, the peoples of the world must come out against all military preparations in outer space, for keeping it only as a field of international cooperation for peaceful purposes.

Measures for stabilising peace must be carried out immediately. The most important among them is to put an end to the arms race. Positive shifts in the reduction of armaments and ultimately the complete elimination of nuclear weapons will facilitate the solving of other pressing tasks and improve international climate.

The present strained situation in the world requires urgent concerted efforts drastically to improve the political climate in Europe and Asia. The entire potential of the the Helsinki Final Act should be geared towards achieving this purpose.

The concerted actions can have far-reaching results. This has been demonstrated by the Helsinki Conference. It provided an excellent example to follow and charted the best course for the struggle for peace and cooperation among nations.



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