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TC NO: 89-11-042

DATE: DECEMBER 8, 1989
 SPONSOR: HOUSE FOREIGN TRADE COMMITTEE
 SUBJECT: 1990 LEGISLATION
 MODERATOR: INEZ WEBB
 SITE: ANCHORAGE

SITES FOR TODAY'S TELECONFERENCE:

1. ANCHORAGE **CHAIRING SITE**
- 2. JUNEAU OFFNET -- REP. HUDSON
- 3. KODIAK OFFNET -- REP. DAVIDSON
- 4. FAIRBANKS OFFNET -- REP. DAVIS
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HOUSE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN TRADE MEETING

December 8th , 1989

AGENDA

DRAFT

I. GENERAL BRIEFING

A. Committee Action

Thank you letters
Christmas cards
Khabarovsk School #5 update
Korea: Update on DEC permit for New Star Trading
Company, Mr. Kim, Young-do, President
Committee report
Discuss ideas for report
Final due Jan. 1
Draft will be sent to each legislator for
review over holiday period
Committee agenda for first meeting next year
Consideration of prefiled resolutions
Release Committee Report
Slide show
Briefing and review of trip
Airport Tour 11/14

B. Briefing - any individual follow up per legislator

II. PROPOSED COMMITTEE LEGISLATION

A. Discuss rough drafts of following resolutions:

1. Support 1 year waiver on Jackson-Vanik Amendment
2. Recommend a U.S./U.S.S.R. Summit in Alaska
3. Aleut Natives: Participation in Native Visa Free Travel Agreement?
4. Urge the U.S. State Department to open an Alaskan office

B. Research and discuss additional ideas for resolutions:

1. Urge renegotiation of Bilateral Maritime Treaty
2. Express continued support for air routes between Alaska and Soviet Far East (* The Committee passed a resolution supporting AK-SFE Flights in 1987 - see enclosures)
3. Eliminate 14 day advance notice requirement for Soviet vessels calling on American ports

C. Other suggestions?

1. Administration
2. Senate

III. ENCLOSURES OF COMMITTEE PACKET

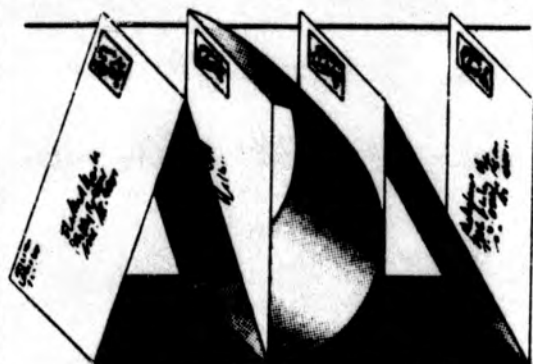
- A. Press coverage on recent trip
- B. News articles on Soviet Far East
- C. Contact list - names and addresses for SFE/Japan/Korea
- D. Protocols from Soviet Union
- E. Previous Committee Legislation

-end-

Anchorage Daily News

Anchorage Daily News Tuesday, November 28, 1989 C5

LETTERS



FROM THE PEOPLE

Move forward with air link

The recent news that Bering Air may have to shut down its charter flight service between Nome and Provideniya is bad news for Alaska.

The key to any kind of international relations — whether trade, cultural, scientific or just plain friendship — has always been dependable, affordable and convenient transportation and communication routes.

Our Soviet neighbors realize this as much as we do. I am hopeful that the reason for stopping this service can be resolved quickly so that Alaskans will not lose this truly incredible and miraculous, but above all, vital link with our Soviet neighbors.

— Rep. George Jacko Jr., chairman
House Special Committee on Foreign Trade

Anchorage Daily News

VOL XLIV, NO 316 396 PAGES

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1989

PRICE 50 CENTS

Lawmaker urges trade ventures

The Associated Press

JUNEAU — Joint ventures and brokering in seafood, timber and other natural resources may provide the best prospects for trade ties between the Soviet Union and Alaska, a state legislator says.

"Alaska is too far away for many domestic markets, but we can use our geographic location to great advantage in trade with nations in the Pacific basin, including the Soviet Far East," Rep. Bill Hudson said.

Hudson, R-Juneau, was one of five lawmakers who participated in a recent 15-day visit to the Soviet Far East with the House Special Committee on Foreign Trade.

Among other things, the group was shown Soviet fish hatcheries, port and mine operations and reindeer herders. Stops included Provideniya, Anadyr, Magadan, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok.



People on both sides of the border have unrealistic expectations of Alaska-Soviet trade, Hudson said. Alaska and the Soviet Union have many of the same natural resources, and Alaska's population is too small to be a major consumer of Soviet products, he noted.

Moreover, the Soviet ruble is worthless outside the Soviet Union, making it necessary to barter for Soviet goods that can be sold on the international market, Hudson said.

For example, if an Alaska business wanted to sell fish-hatchery technology to the Soviets, instead of being paid in rubles the company could take payment in Soviet seafood, which in turn could be sold in Japan.

ДАНСКАЯ ПРАВДА

• № 223 (16200)

Среда, 27 сентября 1989 года

Цена 3 коп.

Деловые контакты

исков «Буржандия» в «Широкий», которые уже дали и государственную каску плазменному металлу, причем буржандизм им удалось довести успеха еще в конце августа. Этого и следовало ожидать: «железные» вымогания мажорит здесь составляли от 111,3 процента а выше, коллективы всех трех подразделений досрочно достигли отметки года. Особенно весом вклад горняков третьего карьера, на долю которых приходится больше половины то-



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Make you
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- Secretary
Nikolai

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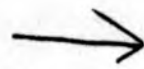
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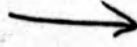


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美國알라스카州政府韓國事務所

梁景善

駐韓代表

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柳 桓 圭

振興本部長

韓國觀光公社

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文機 二八一一番地
서울特別市 中區 茶洞一〇番地

課長 韓昌英

海外振興部 歐美課

韓國觀光公社

Present at mly
Speaks English
10/11

PROTOCOL

USSR
Executive Committee
Soviet of Peoples Deputies
Chukotka Autonomous Region

USA
The Office of the Governor
State of Alaska

Guided by reasons of sovereign equality, mutually spurning the use of power or intimidation, respecting the unbreakable boundaries and territorial integrity of governments, the peaceful resolution of arguments, non-interference in internal matters, human rights and fundamental freedom, the equality and rights of the people to decide their fates, the cooperation between governments, helpfully advising one another in fulfilling obligations arising from the norms of international law and the existing treaties between the USSR and the USA the following parties agree to consider the necessary concentration of their attention on measures which will increase the social and economic development of both their territories, to this mutually beneficial undertaking.

In these goals:

I. Support the development of cooperation in both regions:

I.1 The development of trade, the founding of joint ventures and cooperative-investment trade organizations, and tourism.

I.2 Transportation lines between Provideniya and Nome and Anchorage and Anadyr, and the communication of information between regions.

I.3 Protection of the environment and the encouragement of agricultural production.

I.4 Cultural, the formation of contacts in medicine, and helping the population in the beginning of non-currency exchanges of delegations.

2. To exchange once every three years, on a non-currency basis, delegations of workers from local Soviets of Peoples' Deputies of the Chukotka Autonomous Region and the municipal organizations of the State of Alaska for the mutual study of the working of governmental systems.

3. The yearly (in December of January), on mutal agreement, exchange of schedules and coordination of trips for delegations and tourist groups between Chukhotka and the State of Alaska.

USSR

Confirmed by signing

Chairman of the Executive Committee
Soviet of Peoples' Deputies
Chukhotka Autonoumous Region
RSFSR

Otke, Nadeshda Pavlovna

USA

Confirmed by signing

Governor
State of Alaska

Steve Cowper

ПРОТОКОЛ - НАМЕРЕНИЕ

С С С Р

С одной стороны исполни-
тельный комитет Совета
народных депутатов Чукот-
ского автономного округа

С Ш А

с другой стороны контора
губернатора штата Аляска

Руководствуясь принципами суверенного равенства, взаимно-
го отказа от применения силы или угрозы силой, нерушимости гра-
ниц и территориальной целостности государств, мирного урегули-
рования споров, невмешательства во внутренние дела, уважения
прав человека и основных свобод, равноправия и права народов
распоряжаться своей судьбой, сотрудничества между государства-
ми, добросовестного выполнения обязательств, вытекающих из нор-
м международного права и заключенных международных договоров ССР
и США договаривающиеся стороны считают необходимым сконцентриро-
вать своё внимание на мерах способствующих социально-экономи-
ческому развитию обеих территорий, на взаимовыгодной основе.

В этих целях:

I. Способствовать развитию сотрудничества в области:

I.1. Развития торговли, создания совместных предприятий
и кооперативно-инвестиционных торговых организаций, туризма;

I.2. Транспортного сообщения "Провидения - Ном", "Анко-
ридж - Анадырь", информационной связи между регионами;

I.3. Охраны окружающей среды и развития сельскохозяйствен-
ного производства;

I.4. Культурных, образовательных связей, медицине, трудо-
обеспеченности населения на основе безвалютного обмена делега-
циями.

2. Проводить I раз в три года на безвалютной основе обмен
делегациями - работников местных Советов народных депутатов Чу-
котского автономного округа и муниципальных органов штата Аляски
(США) для взаимного изучения работы государственных органов.

3. Ежегодно (декабрь — январь) по взаимной договоренности принимать график и координировать въезд делегаций и туристических групп сторон на территорию Чукотского автономного округа и штат Аляска (США).

С С С Р

Подпись заверяю

Председатель исполнительного
комитета Совета народных де-
путатов Чукотского автоном-
ного округа (РСФСР)

Отке Надежда Павловна

С Ш А

подпись заверяю

Губернатор штата Аляск
(США)

Стив Купер

PROTOCOL

For the meeting in the Oblastpolkom between the Mayor of Unalaska Paul Fuchs and delegates of the Oblast Soviet of Peoples Deputies, workers and the Oblastpolkom

26 of September 1989

City of Magadan

Participants:

Paul Fuchs ----- Mayor of Unalaska

Dorofeev, Genadii, Efimovich - Deputy Chairman of the Standing Commission for Public Services of the Oblast Soviet of Peoples Deputies, the Chairman of the Magadan City Executive Committee.

Khariuk, Vasilii Vasilevich - Deputy Chairman of the Standing Committee for Trade and Public Welfare for the Oblast Soviet of Peoples Deputies.

Arefev, Vladimir Sergeivich - Member of the Executive Committee

Silaev, Rudolf Vasilievich - Deputy Director, Central PEU of the Executive Committee.

Kapranov, Evgenii Petrovich - Head Engineer for Housing for the Executive Committee

The results of the exchange of opinions between Paul Fuchs and the members of the Executive Committee resulted in agreement on the following:

Paul Fuchs

Will support the resolution of questions of connected with tourist organizations for a proposed route of Magadan-Anchorage-Cuba. Will give help to interested Soviet firms in the construction of ship repair docks, and in the question of setting up contacts between Soviet and American construction firms, and in setting up contacts related to the problems of hunting tourism, will send designs and photos of churches built in Unalaska. He will support the receiving of a five member delegation from interested firms from Magadan to Alaska or other states of the United States, will pay for their expenses connected with their travel.

Dorofeev, G.E.

Will give to interested Soviet firms the proposal for the construction of ship repair docks: will support the resolution of questions related to the organization of a tourist rout Magadan-Anchorage-Cuba. Will give the interested organizations the proposal for the use of icebreakers for the use of ice-resistant ships to transfer American shipments to Arctic and European ports. Will take measures for the beginning of contacts between organizations in Magadan with Americans on the question of purchasing equipment for the autonomous {individual} heating of homes and other questions related to public welfare.

Arefev, V.S.

Will participate in forming contacts with American organizations on the question of construction. Will, with the help of Paul Fuchs, contact representatives of the Russian church community about receiving the designs of churches built in Unalaska.

Kapranov, E.P.

Proposes the give to interested American firms the proposal for the construction of sanitoriums at the Montekleskii mineral hot springs.

Deputy Chairman of the Standing
Commission of Public Services of
the Oblast Soviet and Chairman of
the Magadan City Executive Committee.

Mayor of the City of Unalaska

The Protocol becomes effective on the signing of the soviet side and of the translation of the given text into English by the American delegation.

Translated by Andrew Crow, Research Assistant, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, Anchorage.

П Р О Т О К О Л

встречи в облисполкоме мэра г. Уналяшка
Пола Фуса с группой депутатов областного
Совета народных депутатов, работниками
облисполкома

26 сентября 1989 г.

г. Магадан

ПРИСУТСТВОВАЛИ:

Пол Фус	- мэр города Уналяшка
Дорофеев Геннадий Ефимович	- заместитель председателя постоянной депутатской комиссии по бытовому обслуживанию и услугам населению областного Совета народных депутатов, председатель Магаданского горисполкома
Харук Василий Васильевич	- заместитель председателя постоянной комиссии по торговле, общественному питанию областного Совета народных депутатов
Арефьев Владимир Сергеевич	- член облисполкома
Силаев Рудольф Васильевич	- заместитель начальника ГлавПЗУ облисполкома
Капранов Евгений Петрович	- главный инженер объединения жилищно-коммунального хозяйства облисполкома

В результате обмена мнениями Пол Фус и представители
областного Совета народных депутатов договорились о следующем:

Пол Фус

Содействует в проработке вопросов, связанных с органи-
зацией туристического маршрута Магадан-Анкоридж-Куба; окажет
помощь заинтересованным советским предприятиям в строитель-
стве судоремонтных доков, в вопросах установления контактов

между советскими и американскими строительными организациями, в организации связей по проблемам охотничьего туризма; вылет чертежи и фотографии церкви, построенной в г. Уналяшка; ^{в Аляске 1-й из серии машин США} ~~содействует~~ приёму магаданской делегации из 5 человек, оплату расходов, связанных с поездкой.

Дорофеев Г.Е.

Передаст заинтересованным советским организациям предложение по строительству судоремонтных доков; содействует проработке вопросов по организации туристического маршрута Магадан-Анкоридж-Куба. Передаст заинтересованным организациям предложение по использованию ледокольных кораблей для проводки грузов ~~от~~ американских арктических портов, ^{до европейского побережья} примет меры по налаживанию контактов магаданских организаций с американскими по вопросам закупки оборудования для автономного отопления домов, другим вопросам коммунального хозяйства.

Арефьев В.С.

Вступит в контакты с американскими организациями по вопросам строительства. Воспользовавшись помощью Пола Фуса свяжется с представителем русской церковной общины для получения чертежей церкви, построенной в городе Уналяшка.

Капранов Е.П.

Предлагает передать заинтересованным американским фирмам предложения по строительству санатория на Монтеклейском минеральном источнике.

Заместитель председателя
постоянной комиссии по бытовому
обслуживанию и услугам населению
областного Совета народных депутатов
председатель горисполкома

Г.Е.Дорофеев

Мэр города Уналяшка,
штат Аляска, США

Пол Фус

29/09/89

Принято. считается действительным
после подписания советской стороной перевода
данного текста на английский язык,
сделанного американской делегацией

29.09.89.

29/09/89

PROTOCOL

On Proposals for the Development of Friendly Economic, Scientific Technical and Cultural Links between Kamchatskaya Oblast', USSR and the State of Alaska, USA

4 October 1989

City of Khabarovsk

Expressing the first initiatives for the development of good economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations between the Kamchatskaya Oblast', USSR and the State of Alaska, USA delegations representing the Chairman of the Kamchatskii Executive Committee and Representatives of the Alaska State Legislature consider it necessary to note:

I. The goal of cooperation : the development of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural ties.

II. The objectives of cooperation:

II. 1. Cooperative activities in the area of the scientific study of biological resources of the Bering Sea and the a surface resources of the Pacific Ocean which belong to Kamchatskaya Oblast' and the State of Alaska with the goal of the rational opening of them for joint ventures and cooperative production in harvesting, and advanced processing of fish and marine products.

II.2. The creation of joint ventures and cooperative production for the advanced processing of timber products and the production of consumer goods.

II. 3. The creation of joint cooperatives for the preparation of food products.

II. 4. The creation of joint ventures for the advanced processing of northern reindeer.

II. 5. Joint trade activities in the areas covered in independent contracts and agreements.

II. 6. The creation of joint ventures for various types of tourism, rehabilitation, and health complexes based on natural resources.

II. 7. An exchange of scientific-technical information, and the creation of joint research into the rational use and beginning of exploitation of natural resources, ecological, environmental and other scientific activities.

II. 8. The development of contacts between native populations with the goal of reestablishing national traditions, hunting and fishing, and the development of various forms of peoples diplomacy.

II. 9. Support for and the exchange of experience in the area of education

II. 10. The development of cultural contacts to the eventual exchange of non-professional and professional performing groups, the creation of exhibits and joint publications, and joint film production.

II. 11. The development of citizen diplomacy and sister city relationships between cities.

II. 12. To cooperate in arranging the 250th anniversary of the founding of the city of Petropavlosk-Kamchatskii and the 250th anniversary of Vitus Bering's expedition to the shores of Alaska.

III. The sides have come to agreement on the goal of starting an exchange of delegations to further these objectives and to begin cooperation.

IV. The actual Protocol of intention has set out the principals and the goals for cooperation and does not hold any commercial obligations.

Signatures:

**In the name of the
Kamchatskii Executive Committee**

**In the name of the
Alaska State Legislature**

**Petropavlosk-Kamchatskii Executive Committee
683019 Petropavlosk-Kamchatskii
Chairman of the Executive Committee
Mr. Sinetov, Nikolai Alexsanrovich**

Translated by Andrew Crow, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, Anchorage.

П Р О Т О К О Л

о намерениях по развитию добрососедских, экономических, научно-технических и культурных связей между Камчатской областью, СССР и Штатом Аляска, США

4 октября 1989 г.

г.Хабаровск

Выражая обоюдное стремление к развитию добрососедских, экономических, научно-технических и культурных связей между Камчатской областью СССР и Штатом Аляска США делегации в лице представителей Камчатского облисполкома и Законодательного органа Штата Аляска считают необходимыми определить:

1. Цель сотрудничества: развитие экономических, научно-технических и культурных связей.

2. Объекты сотрудничества:

2.1. Совместная деятельность в области научного изучения биологических ресурсов Берингова моря и акватории Тихого Океана прилегающих к Камчатской области СССР и Штата Аляска США с целью рационального их освоения в рамках создания совместных предприятий и кооперированных производств по добыче, комплексной переработки рыбы, морепродуктов.

2.2. Создание совместных предприятий и кооперированных производств по комплексной переработке древесины и выпуску товаров народного потребления.

2.3. Создание совместных кооперированных по изготовлению продуктов питания.

2.4. Создание совместных предприятий по комплексной переработке северных оленей.

2.5. Совместная торговая деятельность в рамках отдельных заключенных контрактов и соглашений.

2.6. Создание совместных предприятий в области различных видов туризма, реабилитационных и оздоровительных комплексов на базе природных ресурсов.

2.7. Обмен научно-технической информацией, проведение совместных исследований в области рационального использования и воспроизводства природных ресурсов, экологии, охраны окружающей среды и другая научная деятельность.

2.8. Развитие связей между коренными народностями с целью возрождения национальных традиций и промыслов, развития различных

2.

форм народной дипломатии.

2.9. Совершенствование и обмен опытом в области образования.

2.10. Развитие культурных связей путем обмена самостоятельными творческими и профессиональными коллективами, проведение выставок, совместного издания полиграфической продукции и производства кинофильмов.

2.11. Развитие побратимых связей и форм народной дипломатии между городами.

2.12. Проведение совместных празднований 250 летия г.Петропавловск-Камчатского и 250 летия экспедиции Витуса Беринга к берегам Аляски.

3. Стороны пришли к соглашению с целесообразности взаимного обмена делегациями в рамках согласованных объектов и форм сотрудничества.

4. Настоящий Протокол намерений определяет основные принципы и цели сотрудничества и не несет каких-либо коммерческих обязанностей.

Подписали:

От имени:
Камчатского Облисполкома

От имени законодательного
органа Штата Аляска

Петропавловск - Камчатский Облисполком
683019 Петропавловск - Камчатский
Председателю Облисполкома
Госпадину Синетову Николаю Александровичу.

Nikolai Alekseevich Sinetov
Chairman of the Kamchatka Oblispolkom
683019 Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski.
USSR

10/4 - Protocol signed at meeting
with First Deputy Chairman
of the Council

Mr. Virilio Barko
President of the Columbia
Societies of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President and friends!

Drug addiction not only affects the people who are caught in its net. It is an affliction of all society. It is an affliction that has no class or national boundaries. The drug business drains all humanity. Its brazenness and its strength have reached a point where it has begun to openly wage war against governments, succeeding and growing fat on its secret war against humanity.

The government of Columbia is carrying out a deadly skirmish against the drug cartels. The entire world should give support to this worthwhile enterprise, every honest person who can should do something.

Nations and people fight with one another for no reason, for no reason they live in fear and suspicion. Humanity has too many social problems now. Elemental poverty, hunger, AIDS, drug addiction have upset the nature's balance. These problems must be solved together, and solved today.

The whole world helped us when disaster fell on our country, when the elements brought the bloody horror to Armenia. Governments, social organizations and private people helped. The heart of every Soviet person warmed with a feeling of thanks, knowing that the whole world was rushing to our aid. The influence of drug addiction ruins the lives of many more people. Not one country can be sure of its defence against the penetration of this poison.

A group of Soviet pilots of ultra-light and light-motor planes, professionals and non-professionals, offer their help to the government of Columbia in the fight against the drug cartels, in the direct participation in government operations against crime organizations. All that is needed is an agreement on the acceptance, and providing for the initial formation of 10 to 15 pilots. The formation has already be organized.

We ask for the support of any social organization, private or official organs of the United States of America in delivering our proposal to governmental organizations in Columbia.

If Columbia accepts our help, transportation across the territory of the United State and the direct preparation of the group for action will be necessary.

We would be very glad if any of our American colleges who believe as we do would contact us . It would be exceptional, if we could form an international brigade.

With respect, in the name of the international group,
Igor Morozov

USSR, Magadan 685024
ul. Portovaya, d. 5 kv. 16

USSR Magadan 685007
ul. Kolimskoe Shosse, d. 6
Youth Aviation Center

tel. 4-20-52

Translated by Andrew Crow, Research Assistant, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, Anchorage.

Президенту Колумбии.
Общественности
СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕРИКИ.

Уважаемый г-н Президент, дорогие друзья!

Наркомания не есть частное дело тех, кого она поймала в свои сети. Это беда общечеловеческого масштаба. Это бедствие не имеет сословных, классовых и государственных границ. Наркобизнес паразитирует на человечестве. Его наглость и его сила дошли до того, что он объявляет открытую войну правительствам, преуспевая и жирея на своей тайной войне с человечеством.

Правительство Колумбии ведет смертельную схватку с наркомафией. Весь мир должен оказать содействие этому благородному делу, каждый честный человек, который может сделать хоть что-то.

Странам и народам незначит воевать друг с другом, незначит жить в условиях недоверия и страха. У человечества сейчас слишком много общечеловеческих проблем. Это разрушающийся природный баланс, стихийные бедствия, голод, СПИД, наркомания. Это проблемы, которые надо решать сообща, решать сегодня.

Весь мир помог нам, когда беда постигла нашу страну, когда стихия навела кровавый ужас в Армении. Помогали правительства, общественные организации и частные лица. В сердце каждого советского человека осталось теплое чувство благодарности, которое мы испытали узнавая как весь мир спешит принести нам помощь. Наркомания гораздо более обширна в сфере своего разрушительного воздействия. Ни одна страна не может быть уверена, что надежно защищена от проникновения яда.

Инициативная группа советских пилотов ультралегкой и легкомоторной авиации, профессионалов и любителей предлагает правительству Колумбии свою помощь в борьбе против наркомафии путем непосредственного участия в операциях проводимых правительственными силами против преступных формирований. Для этого необходимо согласие на прием и размещение группы из 10-15 пилотов, к предварительному формированию которой

вой, но мы рассчитываем на поддержку и помощь официальных и общественных организаций, как в Советском Союзе так и за его пределами.

Мы просим содействия со стороны любых общественных организаций, частных или официальных органов Соединенных Штатов в том, чтобы наше обращение дошло до правительственных организаций Колумбии.

А в случае, если Колумбия согласится принять нашу помощь, необходимо будет содействие в транзитном перемещении через территорию Соединенных Штатов и непосредственной подготовке группы к действиям.

Мы будем очень рады, если кто-нибудь из наших американских коллег и единомышленников изъявит желание присоединиться к нам. Это будет великолепно, если мы создадим интернациональный отряд.

С уважением,

от имени инициативной группы



Игорь Морозов.

СССР, г. Магадан, 685024
ул. Портовая д. №5 кв. 16.

685007, г. Магадан
ул. Колымское шоссе, д. № 6
авиатехнический молодежный центр
тел. 4-20-52

**STATE OF ALASKA
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

1987

Source

HR 8

House

Resolve No.

4



Establishing a House Special Committee on Foreign and Domestic Trade.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

WHEREAS enhancing foreign and domestic trade is of increasing importance to the economy of the state; and

WHEREAS the legislature should be well informed about developments in foreign and domestic trade in order to plan for the state's future; and

WHEREAS the state should promote and facilitate foreign and domestic markets for the products and services of the state; and

WHEREAS the establishment of foreign trade zones may be an important part of the state's efforts to diversify the economy and participate in international trade;

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives that a House Special Committee on Foreign and Domestic Trade is established to study issues relating to foreign and domestic trade; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the speaker of the House of Representatives shall appoint members of the House to serve on the committee; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the House Special Committee on Foreign and Domestic Trade may meet during and between sessions of the legislature and is terminated on the convening of the First Session of the Sixteenth Alaska State Legislature.

COPIES of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States; to the Honorable George Shultz, Secretary of State; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

ORIGINAL

STATE OF ALASKA

THE LEGISLATURE

1987

Source

HJR 31

Legislative
Resolve No.

22



Relating to a Siberian crossing and cultural exchange.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

WHEREAS President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, recognizing the desires of the citizens of their countries, signed an agreement in 1986 encouraging people-to-people exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union; and

WHEREAS the Alaska Performing Artists for Peace brought this agreement to life by visiting the Soviet Union last year; and

WHEREAS the people of Alaska and the Soviet Union have a shared history; and

WHEREAS some of the inhabitants of the Alaska and Soviet Union coastal communities on the Bering Strait have family and cultural ties; and

WHEREAS the people of St. Lawrence Island in Alaska have extended an invitation to the people in Siberia to participate in an Alaska whaling festival this summer; and

WHEREAS other Alaska communities are planning activities to welcome the people from Siberia and would like to include the Siberian visitors in the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics in August; and

WHEREAS, if Siberian residents are allowed to visit Alaska, the visit will be the first Siberian crossing for the residents in almost 40 years; and

WHEREAS the proposed exchange would promote international understanding and world peace;

STATE OF ALASKA

THE LEGISLATURE

1988

Source

CSSJR 48(SA) am H

Legislative
Resolve No.

60



Relating to the promotion of Alaskan and Soviet exchanges.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

WHEREAS the United States and the Soviet Union agreed in December 1987 to establish a bilateral group to work on Arctic issues; and

WHEREAS the United States and the Soviet Union also agreed to work toward the promotion of air transportation between the two countries; and

WHEREAS Alaska lies only a few miles from the Siberian coast of the Soviet Union; and

WHEREAS Alaska and the Soviet Union share a common interest in the sound management of the fisheries resources of the Bering Sea; and

WHEREAS efforts to stimulate travel, trade, cultural, fisheries, wildlife, and scientific exchanges between Alaska and Siberia are consistent with and supportive of efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to improve understandings between the two nations; and

WHEREAS President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are hoping to meet in mid-1988 to discuss a wide range of issues;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Alaska State Legislature respectfully requests the President of the United States to give continued support to an opening of the border between Alaska and Siberia to air travel, trade, cultural, fisheries, wildlife, and scientific exchanges and these subjects be a part of the agenda for the 1988 meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev.

upon a continuing effort by Alaskans to identify fully these specific objectives so that they may be pursued through appropriate channels;

*Actual
note?* BE IT RESOLVED that the Alaska State Legislature respectfully requests the Governor to appoint a nine person commission on Alaska-Soviet relations to explore and identify areas of mutually beneficial interactions and to prepare findings and recommendations for the Governor and the legislature; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governor is requested to make appointments to the commission from government, civic, academic, cultural, labor, and business leaders of the state; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governor is requested to instruct the commission to examine the cultural and historical relationship of Alaska to the Soviet Union and to investigate areas of mutually beneficial relationships between the people of the state and our Siberian neighbors; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governor is requested to direct the commission to report its findings and recommendations to the Governor and legislature by July 1, 1989.

STATE OF ALASKA

THE LEGISLATURE

1988

Source

HCS SCR 34(SA) am H

Legislative
Resolve No.

66



Relating to the establishment of a commission on Alaskan-Soviet relations.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

WHEREAS the United States and the Soviet Union, recognizing the desires of the citizens of their countries, signed an agreement in 1986 encouraging people-to-people exchanges between the two countries; and

WHEREAS the United States and the Soviet Union have signed a medical research agreement giving the University of Alaska the responsibility and authority to teach, develop, research, and coordinate circumpolar interests between the United States and the Siberian branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences in the Soviet Union; and

WHEREAS the United States and Soviet Union agreed in December 1987 to establish bilateral groups to work on Arctic issues; and

WHEREAS Alaskans and the Soviet Union are each seeking closer ties with the other as evidenced by the travel of Alaska's Performers for Peace to the Soviet Union, by the efforts of citizens of Alaska and of the Soviet Union to bring Siberians to the St. Lawrence Island Whaling Festival and the Eskimo-Indian Olympics, and by the agreement of the Soviet Union to consider proposals for airline traffic between Alaska and Siberia; and

WHEREAS it would be consistent with and supportive of the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union to improve understanding between the two countries to stimulate travel, trade, and cultural and scientific exchange between Alaska and Siberia; and

WHEREAS achievement of these goals will be dependent in part

research program, and encourages all citizens of the state to participate in this historic effort to further peaceful cooperation and understanding.

COPIES of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, and to Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; to Evgeny Chazov, Minister of Health of the U.S.S.R.; His Excellency Yuriy V. Dubinin, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the United States; to the Honorable George P. Shultz, United States Secretary of State; the Honorable Otis R. Bowen, M.D., United States Secretary of Health and Human Services; Robert Windom, M.D., Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health and Human Services, and Director of the U.S. Public Health Service; Donald D. O'Dowd, President of the University of Alaska; to each of the following: the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States; the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R.; the Peoples Soviet of the Territory of Siberia of the U.S.S.R.; the Peoples Soviet of the Territory of Khabarovsk of the U.S.S.R.; the Soviet Medical Workers Union; and the House of Friendship with Peoples of Foreign Countries, Far Eastern Countries Department, U.S.S.R.; to the United States Arctic Research Commission; the President's Office on United States-Soviet Initiatives; the National Institutes of Health, Fogarty International Center; the Board of Regents of the University of Alaska; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

STATE OF ALASKA

THE LEGISLATURE

1988

Source

SJR 54

Legislative
Resolutive No.

50



Expressing support for the Alaska Airlines application for approval to fly to Siberia.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

WHEREAS Alaska is the focus for air transportation between North America, Asia, and Europe; and

WHEREAS President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev agreed to broaden civil air service between the United States and the Soviet Union during their last summit meeting; and

WHEREAS officials of the United States and the Soviet Union will be discussing proposals for seasonal airflights between Nome, Alaska, and Providenya, Siberia; and

WHEREAS Alaska Airlines has applied for official approval of its proposal to provide two round trips each week between Nome and Providenya during the summer; and

WHEREAS scheduled air service between Nome and Providenya will encourage renewal of cultural ties between the Native peoples of western Alaska and eastern Siberia;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Alaska State Legislature expresses its support for the application of Alaska Airlines to provide air service between Alaska and Siberia; and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED that the Alaska State Legislature respectfully requests the Department of Transportation and Department of State to approve the application of Alaska Airlines to provide air service between Alaska and Siberia.

COPIES of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Ronald Reagan, President of the United States; the Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State; the Honorable James H.

Burnley IV, Secretary of Transportation; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

STATE OF ALASKA

THE LEGISLATURE

1987

Source

Legislative
Resolve No.

SJR 26

38



Relating to Siberian medical research.

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:

WHEREAS the state has strong historic bonds with the Territory of Siberia within the U.S.S.R.; and

WHEREAS the state represents the primary American interest in the northern arctic and subarctic regions; and

WHEREAS the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America have signed a medical research agreement giving the University of Alaska the responsibility and authority to teach, develop, research, and coordinate circumpolar interests between the United States and the Siberian branch of the Academy of Medical Sciences in the U.S.S.R.; and

WHEREAS this medical research agreement is the first ever to be signed between the Territory of Siberia and a western nation and reflects the unique and common environmental problems shared by both areas; and

WHEREAS the people of the state have a strong desire to promote good relations within the border area of the Bering Sea shared by the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America; and

WHEREAS common family ties also exist across the border area; and

WHEREAS the medical research agreement has been cited as a potential model for further cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Alaska State Legislature expresses its support for the University of Alaska's Siberian medical

12: - 12:30

On teleconference from WASHINGTON D.C.:

① JUDY DEANE AND POSSIBLY WAYNE NEIL
Economic Officers
Office of Soviet Affairs
U.S. Dept. of State

② Jessica Gavora, staff member
Senator Murkowski's office
Bill Wolfe, fisheries aide, Senator Murkowski

- Judy Deane and Wayne Neil will give us
an overview of the status of
U.S. - Soviet trade relations and
of the federal laws and regulations
affecting trade between our two
nations.

- Jessica Gavora is also available to answer
~~for~~ any questions for committee
members. She has worked on many
of the Alaska - Soviet initiatives
from Senator Murkowski's office in D.C.,
and is familiar with many of
the problems and benefits associated
with trying to open doors between
Alaska and the Soviet Far East.

12:30 - 2:00

We have on teleconference and in person many representatives from business community who have experience and knowledge in trading with Soviet Union. They will each give us a 10 minute briefing on their experiences w/ trading w/ ^{Soviet} USSR!

First, on teleconference is:

- ① Alaska Airlines representative Bill ~~Mackay~~ Mackay
Regional Vice President
Alaska Airlines has been trying to gain permission to land in Soviet Union. They also flew the hallmark "Friendship Flight" from Nome to Provideniya last June. general Bill, could you give us some ~~history and insight into projects~~ ~~sent~~ information on your companys project

② Alas com-

Alascom representative Tom Jensen
Alascom has recently installed a telephone link across Bering Sea from Gambell to Provideniya - for anyone who has recently tried to make a phone call to Soviet Union, what was normally a long and difficult process is now much easier thanks to Alascom. Tom could you brief us on this project:

7/21/89

ALASKA AIRLINES
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY - SOVIET AFFAIRS

Charters Flights

- 1966 Alaska Airlines first applied to the U.S. government for authority to operate flights from Nome to Provideniya. This application was not approved, but led to implementation of more ambitious plans in 1970.
- 1970 Alaska Airlines operated a series of tourist charter flights from Anchorage to Khabarovsk, using Boeing 707 equipment.
- 1971-1972 Alaska Airlines operated a tourist program in conjunction with Aeroflot and Intourist, flying tourists from Anchorage to Khabarovsk and to Leningrad.
- January 1988 Alaska Airlines filed an application with the U.S. Department of Transportation to provide scheduled service between Nome and Provideniya, in order to help solidify the warming trends in trade and cultural relationships between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and to re-establish long-standing cultural relationships between many native Alaskans and Siberians.
- June 1988 Alaska Airlines personnel flew from Nome to Provideniya on a technical evaluation flight.
- June 1988 Alaska Airlines conducted a "friendship flight" from Nome, bringing approximately 80 native Alaskans and other U.S. citizens to Provideniya on a Boeing 737-200 aircraft for a one-day visit.
- August 1988 Alaska Airlines reviewed its Nome-Provideniya service proposal with a delegation of Soviet embassy and foreign trade representatives in Washington D.C.
- September 1988 Officials from Magadan and Provideniya arrived in Nome by ship and visited Nome and Anchorage in a return friendship trip. Business meetings were held on the Nome-Provideniya service proposal.
- October 1988 Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov visited Seattle and Anchorage and indicated that he saw no obstacles to the proposed Nome-Provideniya service by Alaska Airlines.

7/21/89

- October 1988 Alaska Airlines participated in the Alaska Trade and Friendship mission to the Soviet Far East, which entered into protocol agreements with the cities of Magadan, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. The American delegation included business leaders and State of Alaska government representatives.
- February 1989 Alaska Airlines discussed its Nome-Provideniya proposal again with Soviet officials in Washington D.C., including personnel from the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Aeroflot. A memorandum of understanding was signed, whereby both sides agreed to encourage their governments to amend the existing bilateral agreement to allow scheduled air service between Nome and Provideniya.
- February 1989 Alaska Airlines agreed to provide air transportation between Anchorage and Anadyr for the Bering Bridge Expedition flight.
- March 1989 Alaska Airlines transported the Bering Bridge Expedition team members as well as other passengers to Anadyr.
- April 1989 The U.S. State Department submitted a "diplomatic note" to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposing that the bilateral agreement be amended as noted above, and designating Alaska Airlines as the carrier to operate this route.
- May 1989 A Soviet delegation from Anadyr flew to Kotzebue for a one-day visit with Alaska Airlines and government officials.
- June 1989 Five members of a Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation delegation visiting Anchorage were hosted in Seattle by Alaska Airlines.
- July 1989 Alaska Airlines announced it was discontinuing planning for flights to the Soviet Far East in 1989 but that it remains committed to pursuing an agreement for flights in 1990 and beyond.

Aug-89 Looking Rost Ark
Ann upgrade - Khabarovsk
will be send - dl. in October.

Far Eastern Economic REVIEW

Stampede Across the Strait

SRI LANKAN ECONOMY

Winning a Reprieve

SOVIET FAR EAST

Vladivostok Opens Up

Asia-Pacific Community

Expanding the rice bowl



Local prices	Great Britain	£84.00	France	Fr 22	India	Rs 24	Korea	Won 2000	Singapore	S\$ 11	Sri Lanka	Rs 40	Thailand	Baht 70	
Australia	A\$3.70	Canada	C\$4.00	Holland	G 6	Indonesia	Rp 3000	Laos	US\$ 1000	Malaysia	RM 1.00	Philippines	P 20	Spain	P 100
Bangladesh	Taka 50	China	US\$ 1.00	Hong Kong	HK\$ 2.00	Japan	¥ 100	Malaya	RM 1.00	New Zealand	NZ\$ 4.00	Sweden	S\$ 20	U.K.	£2.40
														U.S.A.	US\$ 1.00

Moscow's winds on Asia opens to the world

Looking outward

By Sophie Quinn-Judge in Vladivostok

Vladivostok is gradually ending its hamlet existence, receiving increasing numbers of foreign visitors each year. They still come only on special invitations, but even this trickle of outsiders is enough to tax the city's modest tourist infrastructure.

Chinese trade delegations rub elbows with fast-talking American businessmen in the city's crowded restaurants, and finding a free table poses a challenge. It is no longer a question of whether this Pacific outpost will become fully opened, says Valery Lozovoi, who is in charge of foreign economic relations for the Soviet maritime region. The only question now is the timing.

Already, 700 foreign delegations have visited the city this year and, by next year, some optimists predict that foreign ships will be plying the waters of the Golden Horn, where Vladivostok's commercial port is located. Runways at the city airport are being renovated and may begin welcoming international aircraft by next year.

The final decision to open Vladivostok will be taken in Moscow, maritime region party secretary Victor Gorchakov said, adding that it will depend on "the world situation." But already the momentum in this direction seems too strong to reverse.

Vladivostok's debut on the world stage will not be entirely graceful. A glamorous natural setting on hills overlooking the Pacific and some charming turn-of-the-century architecture cannot disguise the fact that the city is suffering from all the ills associated with years of stagnation. Ageing infrastructure, polluting industries and primitive living conditions for many residents belie the image of "the Soviet San Francisco," as some call it. The crime rate is high, and Mafia-style gangs run the underworld, local people say.

Although the city needs to attract talented specialists from other parts of the Soviet Union to take part in its renaissance, it has little to offer them. Scientists in their 20s and 30s with families find themselves living in single dormitory rooms for up to 10 years. Of one group of young experts interviewed, only those born in the Soviet Far East are contemplating settling down in Vladivostok. Employees of Far Eastern Shipping Co. can expect to wait 20 years for a flat.

Already, the city's hills are thickly covered with monotonous, concrete box-like homes; the only room for new building is on the city's fringes. Some specialists are recommending that the population be restricted to 750,000, slightly above the current level, until the housing crisis is overcome.

Equally serious is the city's ecological crisis. "Our technology is out of date and

On other pages

Subliminal environmentalism and Japan
Shipments, navy, 300-400,000 tons of goods
the door, 300-400,000 tons of goods

doesn't preserve environmental cleanliness," explained Yuri Kashuk, editor of the newly established *Pacific Business Herald*.

The ship-repair industry and navy pollute the sea, he said, while an antiquated sewage system purifies less than 10% of the waste which pours into the ocean. "The Amur Gulf 40 years ago was a unique natural phenomenon," he said, "but now we've lost it, thanks to the city's sewage." The sanatoria and beaches along the gulf are threatened with closure; local people refuse to swim in it.

To bring the gulf back to life will require



Vladivostok port city stagnation ills.

ecologically clean industry and an enormous amount of money. "We can't be particularly optimistic about this without a general uplift of the economy," Kashuk said.

Vladivostok's vocal Greens are on their guard against the import of polluting technology. "We want the city authorities to make ecological cleanliness one of the first demands to potential foreign partners," Kashuk said.

This Greens also would like the city to become nuclear-free. Although they may well succeed in preventing construction of a planned nuclear power station, they may have a more difficult time persuading the navy to remove its nuclear weapons. "Vladivostok was traditionally a military fort," Kashuk explained, "so naturally it is now also a nuclear fort."

As elsewhere in the Soviet Union, funds for modernisation are in short supply. "We should ask Karl Marx where to find the money to build socialism," quipped one wit at an October conference on Vladivostok's development. City party first secretary Vladimir Semyonkin, 39, is hoping that a Supreme Soviet decision on territorial autonomy will soon give Vladivostok a budget to spend. At the moment, 70% of national income is spent by Moscow, he said, and only 30% goes to the regions. It should be the opposite, he believes.

Without some degree of territorial independence, there will be no turn-around in Vladivostok's fortunes. Both radical members of non-formal groups and the men at the top of the regional party structure now accept this conclusion. Independent political activists are calling for the formation of a "far eastern republic," patterned on the one that existed in the early days of Soviet power from 1920-22. They see this as the only way to gain full control of their resources.

The Soviet Far East is now routinely compared to a colony which has been milked of its raw materials by monopolistic ministries. A far eastern republic could become a buffer, not between warring states as it was in the 1920s, but between the "restructuring economy" in the rest of the Soviet Union and the most rapidly developing region of the world, Kashuk said. It could remain under the direction of the ruling party, he concedes, as was the case in the 1920s, but would have a free market and free press if the parallel were followed through.

Gorchakov, until recently the rector of the University of the Far East, sees territorial self-sufficiency as a realisable goal but one that will be difficult to achieve. "Some of our elected deputies exploited this idea during the elections," he said, "but they didn't have any idea how to carry it out."

There are plenty of complex problems involved, he pointed out, among them the pricing of raw materials produced in the Soviet Far East — fish, timber and light metals mainly. "Without price reform, there won't be any territorial self-sufficiency," he explained.

Other specialists say that their region needs to make its own decisions about resource development. Sakhalin's gas, for example, could be a key energy source for

the region. At the same time, though, the Sakhalin chief is not a high priority, these specialists maintain.

But the region must also integrate itself into the outside world, specialists believe. "We've been oriented towards the internal market in past years," says Gorchakov. "We lived a closed, happy life." But he believes that the city could exist without the rest of the world is an illusion, he said. Growing imports of used Japanese cars and foreign computers are proof of this.

However, Gorchakov and other leaders are adamant that they will no longer simply supply unprocessed raw materials to Japan. "We won't go down the path we've already followed," said Lozovoi. "We have told the South Koreans we want capital, we don't want them to replace Japan as a market for raw materials."

Does Vladivostok see itself as another Hongkong in 20 years? Gorchakov has more modest hopes: "We want life to be

more civilised and more comfortable here," he said, "but the speed of our development will depend on our neighbours' willingness to help us . . . We need contemporary technology."

One of the major unanswered questions is whether the communist party will remain in control of the city's evolution. Elections for new regional and city councils to be held early next year will be a key test of the party's ability to regain popular trust.

The communists are taking steps to develop a more caring, competent image. Urbane men like Gorchakov and Lozovoi represent a break with the old-style party bosses of the Soviet Far East. Still, Moscow scholars point out that the relationship Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov maintains with intellectuals is not repeated here. "Academics in the Far East are third-rate citizens," one intellectual asserted. He added that there are too many people dependent on Moscow ministries for their pensions and

housing. "They don't raise their voices."

On 12 October, the party published its election programme: "A new quality of life for the maritime region — through democratisation and economic self-sufficiency." Party leaders promise they will support non-party candidates who endorse their platform.

Semyonkin insists that the city party's role is to "guarantee the most natural and free process of events" during the elections. "If along the way we meet obstacles — organisational or psychological — we shall try to remove them," he said. "In the end we will all win," he added, "by getting an elected city council."

It will take a lot to convince local people that the party is sincerely committed to democracy. Even Vladivostok's deputy to the Supreme Soviet, law professor Victor Shekhovtsov, has lost some of his prestige by joining the party soon after his surprise victory in March.

SOVIET UNION 2

Vladivostok's civilians would like the sailors gone

Ship out, navy!

On a hillside high above Vladivostok's harbour is the city's only active church, the pink-painted "Grieving Mother of God." It was built as a monument to the sailors who lost their lives in the Russo-Japanese War. Vladivostok was and is a naval town.

"We are linked in one fate," said Mikhail Appolonov, the Soviet navy's head of "propaganda and agitation" for the city. "We opened up Vladivostok and named its bays and streets. We want to see the town beautiful and, as before, naval."

But ordinary inhabitants of Vladivostok and the rest of the Soviet Far East seem less than satisfied with the role the navy has played in their lives. Lack of sympathy for the military elite was vividly demonstrated here in March, when the commander of the Pacific Fleet, Adm. Gennady Khvatov, was defeated by university professor Victor Shekhovtsov in elections for the congress of people's deputies. The commander of the Far Eastern Military District, Lieut-Gen. Victor Novozhilov, was also beaten, by Yevdokia Gayer, an ethnographer of the Nanai ethnic minority.

The distrust which caused these humiliating defeats remains strong, judging by comments of the local people and press. In one week in October, the newspaper of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, *Battle Watch*, carried at least two articles addressing what might be called the navy's credibility gap.

One such story tried to scotch a rumour

that sailors on a minesweeper in dock had fired a deck gun into a populated area. The loud noise had not been a shot, the newspaper said, but just the explosion of compressed air in an improperly fitted gun. Another article, by an officer's wife, aimed to debunk the widespread idea that the military have the best of everything — the best shops, the best flats and the best salaries.

In the popular mind, a naval withdrawal from Vladivostok would bring noticeable benefits. "Many people would be happy to see the navy leave, as they occupy about one-third of the flats here," said a member of an informal political group.

Although city authorities say they do not have precise information on the naval population of Vladivostok, maritime region party secretary Victor Gorchakov confirms that the navy is already handing over some buildings, but "it's an illusion to think that we can chase them all out yet," he said, adding: "We need to be well-defended." And as he put it, the recently completed US naval exercises in the region, Pacex '89, did not represent "the white sails of peace."

Indeed, in the view of some observers, the Pacex exercises will provide fresh ammunition for those who argue in favour of retaining the navy's grip on Vladivostok. "The exercises will give the people responsible for security the upper hand in deciding the question of opening Vladivostok," said Vladimir Ivanov, head of the Pacific Region Research Department at Moscow's Institute

of World Economics and International Relations. "This lessens the influence of those interested in economic development and generates more energy in certain groups of people," he said.

In the official view, the offensive nature of the exercises and their proximity to Soviet borders, confirm that the US still sees the Asia-Pacific region as an arena of the Cold War. Gorchakov has suggested that anti-military tendencies could to some extent be combatted by providing more information to the public on foreign military activity near Soviet borders. "Pacifism not infrequently comes from lack of information," he told the Defence Ministry's news organ, *Red Star*, on 20 September.

Despite the perceived Western threat, the Soviet navy does not intend to keep Vladivostok closed, Appolonov said. "Those naval forces now in the city don't stand in the way of opening it," he said.

However, civilian experts like Ivanov have no illusions about the speed with which Vladivostok can shed its last military secrets. Defence facilities that were once outside the city limits have been surrounded by residential areas as the city expanded, Ivanov pointed out. This, he surmised, makes the navy sensitive to the danger of electronic eavesdropping on its command-control communications intelligence centre.

What is more, the navy will have to build new depots for nuclear warheads if it gives up all its port facilities. Already, Vladivostok's Greens are calling for the city to be made entirely nuclear-free. The relocation of these facilities may run into several billion roubles, Ivanov said.

It will take time and money to make Vladivostok the cultural and commercial capital of the Soviet Far East.

■ Sophie Quinn-Judge

A port city faces obstacles in attracting investment

Going it alone

By Sophie Quinn-Judge in Nakhodka

In late October, another secret of the Soviet Far East yielded itself up to glasnost. The military airport, located 25 km from Nakhodka, was for the first time shown to Western visitors.

The visitors were not military attachés, but a delegation of US businessmen and consultants who had come to examine this small city's attractions to Western investors. Among them was a representative of Bechtel Corp. which, if Moscow gives the go-ahead, may sign a contract to enlarge the airport. And not only are the Soviets discussing opening up this formerly closed installation but they are talking of turning it into a hard currency-earning joint venture.

The conversion of the airport to civilian use is one of the keys to Nakhodka's plans to create a special economic zone (SEZ). The project has been greeted with derision by some economists and is unlikely to receive any funding from Moscow. The local authorities, however, are pushing ahead with their drive to attract Western investment to their dingy port.

"The initiative came from below here," said Tatiana Ilyina, who represents the city's department of foreign economic relations. "Not everyone in Moscow and Vladivostok is supporting us," she said. "We have to be glad if they're not interfering."

Soviet cooperatives and enterprises from other republics are showing a strong interest, though. "We're getting many proposals; we now have to choose the ones most needed here," she explained.

In October, the city established a development association for the SEZ. By January 1990, it hopes that a council of ministers resolution will spell out the conditions to be granted to foreign investors there.

The Soviet Far East already enjoys a special status under foreign-investment regulations that came into force on 1 April. The tax on exported profits has been reduced to 10% or lower, depending on the nature of the enterprise, from 30%. A tax holiday granted to foreign investors was extended from two to three years after the first declared profit.

Soviets drawing up the decree on Nakhodka are hoping that the SEZ will receive the right to engage in free barter trade. Licensing restrictions, which also came into force in April, have tied the hands of Soviet Far Eastern enterprises that had begun to develop an active border trade with China in timber and other raw materials.

The draft decree also specifies that Soviet

enterprises operating in the SEZ would have no more than 50% of their production controlled by the central plan. In addition, Nakhodka is seeking the right to independently authorise investments or joint ventures up to a ceiling of Rbl 15 million (US\$23.9 million) in hard currency.

Nakhodka's selling point is its geography and complex of modern ports, combined with plenty of empty space. Located at the end of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the landbridge between Europe and Japan, it is already an international transport centre.

Its commercial port handles 7 million tonnes of freight each year, while its sister port of Vostochny, the most modern in the Soviet Union thanks to Japanese technology, handles around 10 million tonnes. By the year 2000, Vostochny's capacity is projected to reach 40 million tonnes. Unlike Vladivostok, Nakhodka is an open city — with three foreign consulates — where a US-Soviet fishing joint venture has had its base



Naval officers: no longer welcome.

for 10 years. This year Hyundai, the South Korean conglomerate, established an office of its trading company here.

The effort to attract American investors is partly motivated by politics. There is a growing realisation here that if the US can be persuaded to play a leading role in developing the Soviet Far East, it would reassure cautious Japanese and South Korean business-

men. American involvement might at the same time exert competitive pressure on the Japanese, a Soviet expert said.

Soviet sources said some American businessmen see Nakhodka as a possible springboard for entry into the Japanese market. One of the more outlandish proposals that Nakhodka has received was from an American real estate developer who would like to construct giant warehouses for lease to Western companies with products to market in Japan, where warehouse space available to Western firms is severely limited. The same developer is talking about organising an air shuttle service between Nakhodka, Japan and South Korea.

United Telecommunications has discussed extending its deep-sea cable from Japan to Nakhodka, as well as longer-term involvement in communications in the Far East. However, decisions on communications are still tightly controlled by Moscow, so local authorities cannot be confident of quick approval on this project. Heron, Burchette, a Washington-based legal firm, is playing an intermediary role in finding potential American partners for Nakhodka.

Despite growing interest, Nakhodka's SEZ could still founder due to factors beyond its control. "Everything depends on the Supreme Soviet passing the law on property and leasing," said a local official who, like most reform-minded officials, hope the law is passed by December. The law would enable foreigners to lease land for 50 or perhaps 99 years. However, there are pessimists who believe that the Russian Federation, which has administrative control over the Soviet Far East, will fail to uphold the legislation.

Nakhodka's labour shortage is another factor working against it. Not only is there a shortage of skilled cadres, there are also very few workers. In the whole maritime region, there are fewer than 1 million working people. Because of growing social tensions, public opinion is running against the large-scale import of unskilled workers from Asian countries. Many experts would like to see imported labour limited to temporary construction projects.

The Nakhodka SEZ would, by force of circumstance, be limited to low-technology, raw-materials processing. It would thus be dependent on industries in the undeveloped hinterland outside its boundaries. These basic industries of the Soviet Far East — fisheries, timber and light-metals mining — are still controlled by plans drawn up in Moscow.

"We need to emphasise a sectoral approach, not a geographic one," a specialist on the region said. "We need to liberalise these industries for foreign investors. Our leap forward needs to be based on a change in people's mentality," he explained. "A physical breakthrough can't replace a conceptual breakthrough."

* Accompanied US all day 10/1 in Nakhodka

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Soviets relax guard along Asian land frontier

Opening gambit

By Tai Ming Cheung in Moscow and Khabarovsk

Soviet troop reductions in Asia, pledged last December by President Mikhail Gorbachov, are now well under way. But most of the cuts are being made in border garrisons facing China, with so far little change in the line-up against Japanese and US forces.

The cutbacks are cited as evidence of the much talked about defensive shift in Soviet military doctrine being applied to the Soviet Far East, and also an important signal from Moscow that it wished finally to end three decades of military suspicions with Peking.

Western and Asian defence circles remain unconvinced about the first claim, but the latter point is certainly true: the Soviets are trying hard to return Sino-Soviet military relations from confrontation to coexistence, and even restart limited cooperation. The Soviets have invited Chinese officers to watch their military exercises and begin academic exchanges. So far, the Chinese have eschewed these offers and have limited contacts to goodwill messages and hand-shaking on respective army days.

By the beginning of July, said Maj.-Gen. Oleg Il'in, deputy director of the Far East Military District's Political Directorate, more than 200 "military systems," such as artillery guns and tanks, had been withdrawn from along the border. These reduc-

tions, however, hardly affect Soviet military capabilities in the area.

More indicative of a possible lessening of Soviet military power in the Far East is the reduction of 200,000 troops from east of the Urals by the beginning of 1991, announced by Gorbachov. If more far-reaching proposals, most importantly the complete demilitarisation of the Sino-Soviet border, made by Gorbachov to the Chinese in May are agreed, border forts may disappear off the map. Peking agreed to the Soviet suggestion for a joint working group to negotiate the demilitarisation, though the Chinese have yet to decide when to begin the process.

Soviet defence analysts say they do not regard the Chinese as a threat to Soviet sec-

urity, even though the estimated 65 or more Chinese divisions deployed, numbering in excess of 800,000 troops, outnumber three-to-one Soviet forces in the region (not including forces matched against a US-Japan threat). Neither were the Soviets concerned with the modernisation and blue-water ambitions of the Chinese navy. "We consider it very much as a coastal force. It represents no threat to us at all," said retired general Vyacheslav Burin, a researcher at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies in Moscow.

This perception is not reciprocated by Chinese counterparts. A debate is raging among Chinese defence planners, much like in the West, about whether the Soviet military machine is fundamentally becoming more defensive. As yet, no conclusion has been reached, and the Chinese, extremely conservative when it comes to thinking about their Russian neighbours, will probably wait it out for more concessions before reciprocating with disarmament measures. But the Chinese downgraded the Soviet threat in 1985, and unilaterally reduced their standing army by some 800,000 troops to help cut government spending.

Soviet military officials insist the changes are more than just revised definitions: there are major reforms taking place in how the Soviet forces are trained, equipped and organised to reflect a switch from offensive warfare to a defensive structure based on the notion of "reasonable sufficiency," mutual security and military parity.

The 200,000 troops to be cut — 120,000 of them from the Far East on the eastern sector of the Sino-Soviet border, the Pacific seaboard and outlying islands facing the US and Japan — represent a sizeable proportion of the total forces Moscow admits deploying in the Far East. Most will



Soldiers mothballing a tank at Leninski.

View from Leninski Fort

Nowhere is the temperature of Sino-Soviet relations more directly felt than among the soldiers of Leninski Fort, a Soviet army outpost on the eastern rump of the expansive Sino-Soviet border. Hurriedly set up in 1967 — Leninski's buildings are mostly wooden, unlike the concrete bunkers usual in other border fortifications — the fort stood poised for war as the ideological split between the two communist giants threatened to turn bloody.

Today, with rapprochement making conflict remote, Leninski is a more relaxed place. Boredom and the long harsh winters are of more pressing concerns to the soldiers than provocations from across the border. Following the Soviet leadership's decision late last year to slash the size of the armed forces and put them on a more defensive footing, Leninski's operational readiness is being lowered. When the *REVIEW* was taken to tour the fort, the out-

post's main armaments, 10 World War II-era tanks emplaced in the ground and used as anti-tank guns, were being dismantled and mothballed, and their store of shells withdrawn. Manning is also being reduced, from three to two battalions.

Whether Leninski's rundown, which Soviet military officials say is being repeated all along the heavily fortified border, is proof of a less offensive military posture is still questionable. Leninski has been a purely defensive and intelligence-gathering point anyway, to guard against possible incursions in coordination with KGB border forces, and to keep tabs on Chinese military activities. No serious border incidents have occurred since the mid-1980s, said the fort commander, Lt. Col. Vladimir Belikin, and the Chinese had greatly scaled back their presence facing Leninski.

The demobilisation of a 10,000-man unit, one of the smallest of the 100,000-man units stationed along the border, is one big part of the plan. The unit, which includes infantry divisions and one artillery brigade, will be fully deactivated by this December, said its chief of staff Col. Oleg Mayorov. What

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came from ground and air force units dedi-
cated to the Sino-Soviet border, involving
the demobilisation of 12 divisions, mostly in-
fantry, and 11 air regiments, and the scrap-
ping or mothballing of 16 warships from the
Pacific Fleet. Three of the four army divi-
sions in Mongolia will be withdrawn, along
with both the Soviet air regiments.

Remaining formations, the Soviet De-
fence Minister Gen. Dimitriy Yazov has
said, will be reorganised from "motor-rifle"
(mobile infantry) into machine-gun
and artillery units, designed purely
for defensive operations. These
machine-gun and artillery forma-
tions will make up more than 60% of
the remaining divisions, said political
commissar Il'in.

Other parts of the military col-
ossus being pruned include
intermediate-range nuclear
forces and headquarters staff. As part
of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces
Treaty, the Soviets have scrapped
436 of these missiles from their Asian
bases, including the much feared
SS20 missiles. Headquarters person-
nel in the military district is being re-
duced by 15%, said Il'in.

As more evidence of the defen-
sive Soviet military posture, Soviet
officials point out that military exer-
cises in the region are being scaled down.
Regimental and divisional manoeuvres,
involving 3,000 or more soldiers, this year had
been cut by half, said Il'in. Naval exercises,
too, have been curtailed. The Soviet Pacific
Fleet has scheduled only eight this year, said
Maj. Gen. Ulig Markelov of the Soviet Gen-
eral Staff, as against about 30 joint US-Japan-
ese naval drills.

Should Sino-Soviet relations once again
worsen, however, some of the reductions
could be quickly reversed. This is also true
for the Soviet forces being pulled out of

Mongolia which, Soviet officials admit,
could be returned quickly with a minimum
of difficulty in a crisis.

This is one of the reasons why Western
and Asian governments have so far re-
mained unconvinced about Soviet rhetoric
on its more defensive posture. Defence ana-
lysts point to the establishment at the end of
the 1970s of the Soviet Far East High Com-
mand, allowing a system closer to that re-
quired in wartime — giving commanders



much autonomy in a crisis or in war. Soviet
officials would neither confirm nor deny the
existence of this command system, but they
do acknowledge that Far East commanders
are given more independence of action than
others. Many of the top Soviet military com-
manders, such as Yazov and the chief of the
general staff Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, are
former Far East commanders.

Unlike the reduction taking place in East-
ern Europe, where the emphasis is on the
withdrawal of major quantities of weapons
systems, including 10,000 tanks, and the re-

moval of offensively dedicated units, such
a pruning of similar resources has yet to
take place in the Far East. There has been,
for example, no decision yet on the number
of tanks to be cut, admitted Il'in, though a
decision was expected at the end of this
year.

An important reason for not reducing
tank numbers, which according to Soviet
figures stand at almost 13,000 in the Far East,
was that compared to the state-of-the-art
models, such as the M1 Abrams,
possessed by the US and Japanese,
"our 1950s-vintage of T54s are obso-
lete," said Il'in. Western analysts
speculate that some of the more
modern tanks being withdrawn from
Eastern Europe, such as the T62s,
T72s and T80s, will end up in the Far
East as only half of the 10,000 tanks
will be scrapped.

Soviet officials agreed their prior-
ity now would be to upgrade the
quality of weapons and soldiers to
compensate for decreasing numbers.
A debate has even begun on whether
the armed forces should become vol-
unteer rather than conscript.

US defence officials point out that
already the modernisation of the Far
East divisions "has been the cen-
tre-piece of Moscow's ground activity
in the 1980s." The air force, navy and

nuclear forces have not been left out, with
the introduction of increasingly potent com-
bat aircraft and bigger and more capable
warships, including aircraft carriers.

It is, in fact, the increasing modernity of
the Soviet military machine that concerns
US and Asian defence planners more than
any expansion in the size of its forces. With
better arms, Soviet ability to project power
grows. US and Japanese concerns are fo-
cused in two fields: long-range, deep pene-
tration aircraft, and submarines. In these
areas, the Soviets have made major strides,

the REVIEW visited the corps headquarters at the beginning of Au-
gust, the demobilisation was already 80% complete.

The corps' artillery brigade had completed its demobilisation by
July. Where once there was located more than 100 anti-tank guns,
130-mm field guns and 152-mm howitzers in a sprawling
base on the outskirts of Birobidzhan, there are only empty stor-
age hangers and vacant parking lots. Conscripts who had served
their compulsory two years' service were demobilised, while the
others were transferred to other units, said officers of the brigade.
Officers had a choice to stay on or retire. The base itself would be
turned into a supply depot.

The Birobidzhan corps was formed in 1979 to provide defence
for the Baikal-Amur Railway, the country's so-called transport
project of the century which duplicates the Trans-Siberian
Railway. It is these long lines of communications — particularly
the Trans-Siberian line which runs close to the border, in
some parts in range of Chinese artillery — that would be most
vulnerable to Chinese attack. For these and other logistical
reasons, including location of strategic nuclear missiles close to

the railway, ground forces are concentrated along the railways.

However, with improving Sino-Soviet relations and a reduc-
tion in Chinese forces facing the Soviet Union, Soviet defence
planners have gradually downgraded the Chinese threat against
these facilities. Therefore, the Birobidzhan corps' mission has be-
come increasingly redundant. Even before the present scale-
back, said Mayorov, the corps had been reduced by one division.

Another similar sized army corps, with headquarters on the
outskirts of Khabarovsk, on the confluence of the Amur and Ussu-
ri rivers, will also begin its demobilisation at year-end. The two
corps, with a combined total of more than 60,000 troops in some
six divisions will account for half of the reductions of the Far East.

Most of the hardware from the disbandment of these army
units would be retained, either in storage or transferred to other
units, military officials said, though there would be a limited de-
struction of some weapons. The transport vehicles were being
transferred for civilian use. Almost all of the Birobidzhan corps'
500 1950s-vintage T-54/55 tanks would be retained, said Mayorov.

By Tai Ming Cheung

with the introduction of Backfire, Badger and Fencer bombers equipped with cruise missiles, and increasingly quiet submarines to evade the US and Japanese controlled choke-points.

Despite these developments, Moscow's ability to conduct sustained offensive operations along its Asian borders should it decide to, whether against China or Japan, is severely limited. For amphibious operations, as would be necessary in an invasion of Japan, the Soviets have only one brigade of an estimated 7,000 marines, hardly sufficient to overcome the Japanese. For the Chinese, the Soviets could only hope to conduct limited operations confined to a few hundred km from the border. For a full-scale invasion of China to reach the Yangtze River, the Soviets would need more than 3 million troops, Chinese analysts estimate.

The Soviet military posture in Asia is, in terms of Moscow's priority in military planning being that of Europe, defensive in nature. The Far East forces' main strategic mission in the event of an East-West military showdown is to deter the opening of a second front from forward-deployed US, Japanese and even Chinese forces. The main US aim vis-à-vis Soviet forces in the area is, according to the Pentagon, "to conduct offensive actions against the Soviet forces in order to neutralise Soviet military capabilities and inhibit Soviet transfer of Far Eastern forces to Europe."

In this respect, Soviet military officials are quick to point out that the Soviet-US-Japan military balance is heavily weighed against them. Writing in the official newspaper *Pravda* in late May, Defence Minister Yazov said: "Although we have a 2:1 superiority in tanks, the US and Japan have a 2:1 superiority in personnel, 4:1 superiority in warships (though not in submarines) and a 2:1 advantage in tactical and naval aviation." These figures, however, are presumably limited to those forces specifically facing the US and Japan in the Pacific — around half the forces in the Far East — with the China-dedicated forces not taken into the reckoning.

Soviet officials see Japan's efforts to rearm as one of the most worrying trends in the military situation in Asia, though it is specifically the context of the US-Japan security alliance rather than the Japanese military buildup alone that is of most current concern.

The increasingly pessimistic Soviet view of Japan's rearmament seems likely to grow, with little sign of a major improvement in the two states' frosty diplomatic relations. Soviet officials see a more forward — even offensive — posture being taken by the Japanese. Naval and air exercises later this year, said Markelov, would work out strikes against Soviet installations on the Kamchatka Peninsula, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles.

Given such Soviet concerns over US and



Soviets return from cross-border trip.

Japanese military superiority in the region, and their offensive military doctrines predicated on taking any war on to Soviet territory, Soviet officials admitted their Pacific seaboard forces had been little affected by the current reductions.

The US-South Korean military relationship is also given the same cold war polemical treatment by the Soviet. Moscow, in line with its North Korean ally, sees the continuing presence of US military bases, and the "provocative" large-scale annual joint US-South Korean military exercise as a major source of instability on the peninsula. Even without the US military presence, Soviet military analysts say the military balance between the North and South would be roughly equal, the North's superior numbers more than matched by the South's technological edge.

In this respect, the Soviets have provided considerable military assistance to North

Korea since the mid-1980s to help narrow this "quantitative" gap in capabilities, usurping Peking, traditionally Pyongyang's principal military aid-giver, in the process. This has included MiG 23s and various air-defence systems. In return, the North Koreans have allowed Soviet naval visits, joint naval exercises, and Soviet aircraft to overfly its airspace for intelligence gathering missions. Vietnam is also another of the Soviet Union's main military aid recipients in Asia.

Critics at home say Moscow can ill-afford such assistance — official US estimates put Soviet military aid to 30 countries in 1987 at up to US\$21 billion. Under a leadership that emphasises political and economic approaches in foreign policy over traditional military muscle-flexing, it is also seen as counter-productive. In North Korea's case, said Vasily Mikheev, a researcher at the Institute for World Socialist Systems in Moscow, "there have been increasingly divergent views of the necessity for continued military assistance between the politicians, who see it as not helping the case for reunification, and military chiefs, who view the situation from a purely military perspective."

Despite the flurry of activity by Moscow since 1986 in reforming its military posture and undertaking new approaches to relations with Asian states, there has been a frustrating lack of response from its targeted audience. "It is all one-way traffic so far. There should at least be some dialogue, even if only the Asians would tell us what they want," said one Soviet analyst. "There are certain limits to how long we can wait, and how many unilateral steps we can take by ourselves without reciprocity," said Vladimir Yakubovsky, a researcher at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies.

DEFENCE 2

Lowering the military profile has its costs

Weighing anchor

Three years have passed since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov's Vladivostok speech proclaiming a new era in Soviet policies towards Asia. Vladivostok — the centrepiece of Soviet military might in the region — would, Gorbachov promised, become an open port within a few years to spearhead the economic opening of the Soviet Far East.

But the port remains off-limits to foreigners, and no one seems sure when it will finally open. When questioned recently in the Supreme Soviet, the country's revitalised parliament, Defence Minister Gen. Dimitriy Yazov replied that it was partially open, but only to officially invited international delegations, of which 37 including Western

academics have visited the city since 1986.

Vladivostok's uncertain status reflects the broader complexities in the change of priorities from military to economic policies in the Far East. The military community is reluctant to throw Vladivostok's doors open because sensitive military installations are located in the city — though the US probably knows about them from satellite surveillance.

But it is believed to be a matter of when, not if, the city will open, so another important consideration is the economic cost of relocating military facilities. Preparations are in the pipeline, analysts said, to move parts of the Pacific Fleet, based in Vladivostok, 240 km up the coast to Strelak. The estimated

costs have risen more than Rbl 30 million (US\$5 million), said Vasily Mikheev of the Institute of World Socialist Economic Systems in Moscow.

It is ironic that the Soviets are finding that demobilisation, glasnost and the relaxation of tensions are financially expensive undertakings. One of the main rationales driving the pruning back of the Soviet military machine is the need to reduce its massive burden on the national economy, which US intelligence estimates say eats up 13-17% of GNP. However, recently released official Soviet figures puts the defence budget at less than half the total of these Western estimates, at Rbl 77.3 billion.

It is not known what savings the present reductions in the armed forces will produce but at least in the short term, it will not be significant — the chief cost being housing for demobilised officers. For the Far East, where locals make up only a small percentage of the ranks, re-housing will be less of a problem.

What would present major problems would be agreement between Moscow and Peking on demilitarising the Sino-Soviet border, which would require a massive relocation of Soviet military facilities, which because of geography and logistics have traditionally been located along the axis of the Trans-Siberian Railway and, more recently, the Baikal-Amur Railway, which run close to the Sino-Soviet border. Far East military officials are not sure if funds are available to rebuild bases and lines of communication. "It will take a minimum of five years to move the troops from present bases and rehouse them in the more inhospitable regions of central and northern Siberia," said Maj.-Gen. Oleg Il'in of the Far East Military District.

The benefits for the civilian economy from the military's restructuring include the handing over of military vehicles and facilities such as airfields and ports to civilian enterprises. Forestry and oil drilling enterprises in Siberia in particular will profit from the surplus of ex-army trucks and tracked carriers. The heavy burden of military use on the rail system will be reduced.

The conversion of military industrial plants, regarded as the technologically most advanced sector of the economy, could help boost Siberia's chances of drawing in much wanted foreign investment, especially in manufacturing rather than raw material processing ventures. Soviet officials said the defence industry's production of civilian goods will increase over the next few years from the present 40% to 60% of the defence sector's total output. ■ **Tai Ming Cheung**

Asians hard to convince about Soviet sincerity Lifting the curtain

The Soviet Far East military establishment has warily stepped from the shadows in an effort to convince its sceptical Asian neighbours that it is neither as threatening or formidable as it might appear. In recent months Soviet military officials have provided previously classified data — albeit selectively — on their forces in the region and the nature of the reductions currently taking place.

In late May, Defence Minister Gen. Dmitry Yazov disclosed Soviet forces in the region totalled almost 600,000 troops, 12,600 tanks and 1,290 combat aircraft — excluding non-combat support personnel and units of the strategic rocket forces based in the area. These forces are distributed between two army groups, one facing China and the other the US and Japan, and comprise around 25% of the Soviet Union's 3 million strong armed forces.



Defence Minister Yazov.

The army group deployed against China numbers 271,400 troops, 820 aircraft, 8,100 tanks, 10,200 armoured personnel carriers and 9,400 artillery pieces, while the army group arrayed against the US and Japan has 326,200 soldiers, 4,500 tanks, 4,100 armoured personnel carriers, 7,000 artillery pieces and 870 combat aircraft — 470 in the strike role. Although the Soviets differentiate between China and Japan-assigned army

groups, the relative ease troops can be moved between fronts suggests their interoperability may be more flexible than this theatre designation suggests.

Given the technological edge Japanese and US forces have over the Chinese, the Japan-dedicated army group is presumably equipped with more modern weapons systems. However, the majority of Soviet divisions in the Far East are maintained at "not ready" levels — which means they only have a fraction of the allocated personnel, sometimes as low as 10-20%, and would require at least a week to mobilise.

The Soviet Pacific Fleet, which has emerged as the largest and most capable of the country's four geographically divided fleets, has 55 major surface warships — including two Kiev-class 30,000 tonne aircraft carriers — and 40 conventional and 48 tactical nuclear submarines.

These Soviet supplied numbers are

lower than Western estimates. The US Department of Defence puts Soviet forces in the Far East at 57 army divisions (troop numbers are not given), with 14,900 tanks, 1,300 tactical aircraft and a growing Pacific Fleet of some 77 major surface warships and 98 submarines. Soviet officials say the Western figures are "artificially" high as they include non-combat personnel and their definition of a major warship is lower.

Soviet officials insist that the overwhelming bulk of these forces are ground units whose main task is defensive, and that compared to the US and Japanese forces they are significantly weaker in naval and air power projection. In addition, the US and its allies' armed forces are equipped with more sophisticated weapon systems.

The release of the figures, while not proving Soviet military forces are merely sufficient for their defensive requirements as the Soviets argue, does meet a basic first step that various Asian states have demanded — greater openness on the size and disposition of Soviet military strength in the region.

Unlike the arms reductions taking place in Eastern Europe or the destruction of missiles under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty — where foreign observers and journalists have been allowed to witness the process — whatever reductions have been taking place in the Far East have remained off-limits until very recently. The REVIEW was the first foreign news organisation allowed to inspect military facilities involved in the reduction.

One reason for the contrast in approach between the eastern and western parts of the Soviet Union is the nature of the audience Moscow is seeking to influence. Compared to the active concern of the electorates in Western Europe — where the Soviet "threat" looms large — Asian audiences are generally more passive about the Soviet military presence in the region. This may reflect in part a lack of democracy in some of the countries, as in China, and or the "off-limits" nature of national security issues for civilians, as is often the case in South Korea. Moscow has therefore felt little urgency to promote the arms reduction process in Asia beyond the region's ruling élites.

Nevertheless, the Soviet authorities have started to realise that a more open and positive image of its military posture will go some way to calming Asian fears. In early July, foreign journalists and observers were allowed to monitor, from a distance, an exercise by the Pacific Fleet.

■ **Tai Ming Cheung**

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Neglected Sakhalin seeks foreign investors

Left on the shelf

By Sophie Quinn-Judge in Krasnoyarsk

Sakhalin island, like most of the Soviet Far East, has been a financial liability to the central government for years. High salaries for workers in its fishing, forestry and mining industries have been exacerbated by artificially low prices for its raw materials. Extracting a ton of oil here costs twice what the oil sells for on the Soviet market.

Despite the region's rich resources, which include more than 100 billion m³ of natural gas and oil reserves estimated at hundreds of millions of tons, local officials do not expect dramatic changes in the near future.

"The centre still wants to keep us under

known as the Democratic Movement for Perestroika. "There is talk about free economic zones on Sakhalin," he says, "but when this will ever happen and who will do it, we don't know."

The Soviets readily admit that foreign capital and technology are essential for the restructuring of Sakhalin's economy. And since the island was officially opened up last year, foreign businessmen have begun to show some interest in developing its resources.

Three joint ventures have already started with Japanese participation as well as one with the New Zealand dairy board. And a Sakhalin import-export agency has been set up to handle the region's border trade (the region includes the Kurile Island chain). Direct ties have been opened with China, Vietnam, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea.

Even the local branch of Gostelradio, which runs television and radio broadcasting, is taking decentralisation seriously. Since Moscow has refused it permission to open its own foreign-currency account, the station has started to work with Japanese television teams on a non-cash basis. The result is that Sakhalin Gostelradio now owns seven video cameras, more than the Leningrad branch, and has paid for its own trips to Japan by receiving Japanese crews.

Links with Japan are developing in several ways. Japanese now regularly come from Hokkaido to visit family graves. But Soviet sceptics still suggest the Japanese are more interested in reasserting their ancestral right to the southern portion of the island than in making profits. Japan had official possession of Sakhalin below the 50th parallel between 1855 and 1875, and again between 1905 and the end of World War II.

But the 14 July announcement in Tokyo that the Sakhalin Oil Development Cooperation Co., a Japanese consortium, was reviving a moribund project to develop oil and gas on the Sakhalin shelf, may prove the sceptics wrong.

According to the latest plan, the consortium, which is 42.9% owned by Japan's Oil Development Corp., would invest US\$2 billion in the project, to match a Soviet contribution. Negotiations, suspended in 1986 when oil prices nosedived, may be finalised in August in Moscow, during a meeting of the Japan-Soviet Joint Economic Council, an organisation of private-sector representatives. If the project goes ahead, crude oil exports to Japan would begin in 1994. Meanwhile, the New Orleans-based McDermott

Corp. is negotiating a joint-venture agreement to survey for oil and gas.

Within the framework of their 1987 integrated development plan, the Soviets are also promoting the development of a gas-chemical complex for the eastern shore of Sakhalin which would produce ethylene, propylene and polythene products. So far no partners have come forward, but during July potential Japanese participants met representatives of the Ministry of Chemical Production. Local officials say that their ecological standards for the project will be stringent.

Away from the glare of publicity reserved for billion dollar deals, two more modest joint ventures have actually started operation. They are based on what is still Sakhalin's main industry — fishing. Diana is a Rbl 7-million (US\$11.13 million) partnership between Sakhalinrybprom, a branch of the Far Eastern Fisheries Ministry, and three Japanese firms — Tayo Gyogyo, Monikawa Trading Co. and Kitataiheiyo Gyogyo.

The Japanese are supplying credits to re-equip the venture's leased ships with up-to-date processing equipment, and to build an on-shore factory. The main product will be



Sakhalin ports: central control.

its control, but they hardly ever come here," complains Valery Belonosov, the communist party's regional secretary for ideology. The Khabarovsk Institute for Economic Research has in fact been awarded a contract to develop a plan to push the economy towards financial autonomy. But Belonosov believes it will be at least 10 years before the territory can enjoy such freedom. As for profit-and-loss accounting, one of the keystones of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov's restructuring, the party official admits that it still is not being applied. "We still pay people simply for showing up at work," he says.

"We don't have enough competent people — economists, lawyers," explains Victor Kovinko, one of the leaders of the nascent popular front on Sakhalin, now

surimi, the mixed fish made from pollock, for which the Japanese apparently have an insatiable appetite. So far, says Anatoly Lunin, Diana's general director, their profits are higher than anywhere else in the Sakhalin fishing industry.

Another larger venture, named after the River Pilinga, will harvest and farm sea scallops and salmon, again using Japanese technology. The Japanese partner, Hokkujo Godo Suisan, owns 49% of the Rbl 24 million enterprise. They hope to process the salmon by freezing or smoking it, and get away from the traditional low-quality Soviet tinned fish products. Scientific-technical director Vladimir Tabunkov says there are also plans to process biologically active agents in the waste from salmon processing and other sea products.

Island dispute continues to mar Soviet-Japanese ties

Bleak prospects

By Sophie Quinn-Judge in South Kurilsk, Kunashir

After years of secrecy, the Soviet Union is beginning to open up the four southern Kuril Islands, which it occupied in 1945. Japan claims these islands — Iturup (Etorofu), Kunashir, Shikotan and the Habomai group — as its "northern territories," and says they are not technically part of the Kuriles chain. The Japanese have refused to sign a peace treaty formally ending World War II with the Soviet Union until the islands are returned.

But in early July, the first visit to the Southern Kuriles by any non-communist foreigners since the Red Army moved in, gave the Soviets their turn to stake a counter-claim. The three-day visit by five foreign correspondents to Kunashir island coincided with the 250th anniversary of the first Russian landing in the Southern Kuriles. The message was clear: the islands are now thoroughly Soviet and no one is contemplating a swap of territory for Japanese credits and technology.

From Kunashir's airport, on the slope of a volcano, the cliffs of Hokkaido are clearly visible across the 39-km strait that separates the two islands. But Japan and its economic miracle could be thousands of miles away: Kunashir is a distant, undeveloped outpost of Soviet power with few traces left of the Japanese who lived there before their repatriation in 1948. This island, at least, appears to be anything but a threatening military garrison.

The airport, where the runways are surfaced with what islanders say is US military-issue perforated steel sheeting, can be closed for weeks at a time during the spring thaw when the ground becomes water-logged. The largest aircraft it can handle is the 48-seat Antonov 24 turboprop. South Kurilsk, the island's main settlement and regional capital, has only a makeshift log pier. The ships which resupply the island unload their cargoes and passengers — everything from newsprint to fresh contingents of border guards — onto barges offshore.

Why anyone would want to fight over the Kuriles is, at first glance, unclear. They are caught in an almost permanent fog bank, where warm and cold ocean currents meet. Warm sunshine is guaranteed only in August and September, and the boat trip

from the Sakhalin port of Korsakov is likely to become a 38-hour odyssey if the weather turns foul. The Soviet Government has to pay workers, most of whom are employed in the fishing industry, twice the wages they would earn in the western part of the country, with increments bringing this up to 2.8 times standard pay after five years' residence.

South Kurilsk, located on the island's Pacific coast, could at best be called weather-beaten — its tar-papered houses giving it the air of a makeshift shanty town. Wooden and steel walkways bypass the muddy, unpaved streets. Frequent low-intensity earthquakes crack the plaster inside homes and force local people to keep furniture and possessions close to the ground. They learn to start counting when they feel the tremors start. "I count to 13 and if the quake is still gathering force, I run outside," one resident explained. No one on the islands, though, seems particularly worried by its four active volcanoes, one of which, Tyatya, last erupted in 1973.

To long-term Kunashir residents, the island's attraction is simple. Aside from high salaries and the closeness engendered by



Phevardnadze and Nakasone: no treaty in sight.

living within a small community, they now consider it home. "I was born and studied on Shikotan and it's my native place," Masha Kuzevanova, deputy editor of the local newspaper says. "We have a fourth generation now being born here," says schoolteacher Fyodor Pyzhyanov. Two-thirds of the Southern Kuriles region's 7,800 population now live there permanently, he estimates. The Soviets do not include Iturup in the region — it is administratively in the Central Kuriles.

Asked whether he thought it had been a mistake to repatriate the remaining Japanese from the islands in 1948, 78-year-old builder Grigory Kochetov said "it's hard to say — everyone has his homeland. Ours was here, theirs was in Japan." He was one of the first civilian Russians to arrive in 1946. The departing Japanese received no compensation for the houses and belongings they left behind. "They took with them everything they needed," Kochetov said. The Soviets had little regard for the wooden Japanese houses. "They had only sliding doors and were heated by iron stoves," Kochetov said, adding "we improved them by putting on permanent doors and insulating them with sawdust." During our visit we met only one resident of Asian extraction: Ivan Kim, of Japanese-Korean parentage, from Sakhalin. He is the president of a cooperative dealing in scrap metal and marine products.

Many of the early settlers, such as Lyubov Nepryanina from Saratov, came from the western Soviet Union, where their homes had been destroyed during the war. She admits that when she arrived in the Kuriles with her husband and two-month-old son in 1949, she thought she had made a mistake. "We lived very poorly — now we live at a higher level. In the first years you had to wait in line at the well for water — the government only started to build a piped water system in the 60's," she says.

Five years ago work started on the regional party headquarters and wooden apartment buildings on a hill overlooking the small harbour. Until then, the town had clustered along the shorefront, where tsunami tidal waves are a constant threat. Now, after 28 years' work in the local fish processing plant, Nepryanina lives on a pension of Rbl 132 (US\$200) a month. Her son has moved to South Sakhalinsk, but a daughter — married to a military man — has stayed in the Kuriles with her children.

The 2 July commemoration of the first Russian landing in the Southern Kuriles gave these old-timers a chance to assert their roots and the legitimacy of the Soviet claim to the islands. For the island's youngsters it was the chance to hold a disco under the watchful eye of Lenin in the town square. The celebrations were organised in the hope of attracting major Japanese media coverage. The propaganda impact was weakened, however, by the last-minute decision of most Japanese media not to risk their Foreign Ministry's sanctions against companies visiting the islands on Soviet visas. Only the small PA news organisation sent a television crew to record the event.

The event being commemorated centred on a Danish sea captain, Martin Spanberg,

himself by Tsar Peter the Great to take part in Vitus Bering's exploration of the Arctic and the Northern Pacific. His landing on Shikotan in 1739 was re-enacted in full dress, with a family of long-time residents playing welcoming Ainu — the region's indigenous people — on the town beach. Earlier Russian explorers had mapped some of the Kuriles in 1711-13, and more accurately in 1720-21. As Soviet historians point out, this was during the Shogunate, when Japanese were forbidden to travel beyond the home islands on pain of death. The Soviets admit that Spanberg was a less than model leader. He sold his stocks of flour to his crew at extortionate prices, and was vengeful towards his more capable subordinate, Englishman William Walton.

By 1828, the Russian-American Co. had established a trading outpost on the island of Urup, just north of the disputed Iturup. By this time the Japanese had become more outward looking; in 1786 they had sent two of their own expeditions to the Kuriles. In 1800 they established their first fort on Iturup. The 1855 Shimoda treaty between the two powers fixed the border between Iturup and Urup until 1875, when another treaty gave the Japanese jurisdiction over all the Kuriles in exchange for Russian possession of Sakhalin island.

The anniversary was organised by a local citizens' group, the Frigate Society, with help from the party secretary for ideology. The Frigate Society appears to be the Soviet answer to the Japanese societies for the return of the northern territories, which stage nationwide demonstrations every 7 February. Led by 54-year-old Fyodor Pyzhyanov and composed mainly of his ex-students, it is what the Soviets call a "local studies" society. Pyzhyanov has acquired an encyclopaedic knowledge of the islands' unique geology, as well as early Russian exploration and settlement. Small, bearded and energetic, he undoubtedly has the right qualities to succeed at "people-to-people diplomacy," one of the methods the Soviets are banking on to defuse the northern territories issue in Japan.

The Frigate Society has issued a formal invitation to the Northern Territories Society of Hokkaido to visit Kunashir, along with a group due to visit the island's four Japanese cemeteries later this summer. Such groups come directly from Hokkaido without being issued Soviet visas. Last year one visited graves on uninhabited Habomai island. Pyzhyanov is taking on the task of clearing up the overgrown cemeteries.

Leonid Stashkevich, the new director of Kunashir's 65,000-ha nature reserve — where brown bear roam and ordinary plants grow to gigantic proportions — is already a successful citizen diplomat. While director of the Wrangel Island nature reserve in the Arctic Ocean, he gained favourable publicity for the Soviet Union by participating in an international campaign to save a threatened species of wild geese. Now ornithologists on his staff are helping their Japanese counterparts on Hokkaido track threatened species — all by mail so far. "But we would like to invite them to visit," his deputy Mikhail Dykhan says. According to Pyzhyanov, though, the single most important ecological question for the Kuriles is how to preserve their rich schools of fish. "This can't be put off until a solution of the territorial problem," he emphasised.

Although the Soviets may manage to give the Kuriles a more human face, their efforts to improve their image in Japan can only go so far towards defusing the territorial issue, Western diplomats believe. And assertions of historical legitimacy

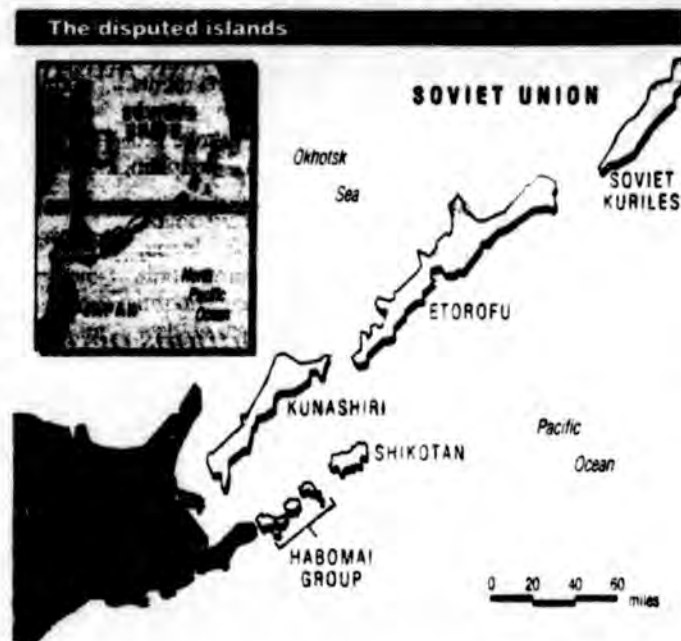
realists. Three sessions of a peace treaty working group, in which the Soviets have agreed to discuss the territorial issue, have already been held, and a fourth is due later this year.

The most compelling reason for hanging onto the Southern Kuriles is rooted in realpolitik. The Soviets believe they cannot risk setting a precedent for tampering with their post-war boundaries, established by Great Power agreements at Yalta and Potsdam. Had they signed the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty, in which the Japanese agreed to abandon the islands, they would have an international treaty to support their claim. Stalin's reasons for refusing to sign are obscure — Soviet Asia specialists now say ruefully that failure to sign was a major mistake. For its part, the US placed its support firmly behind the Japanese claim by May 1957. In a note to the Soviet Government, the US stressed that the term "Kurile Islands" in the San Francisco peace treaty and the Yalta agreement did not include the Habomais, Shikotan, Kunashir and Iturup.

When Japan and the Soviet Union normalised their diplomatic relations in October 1956, their joint declaration called for further negotiations to conclude a peace treaty. At that time the Soviets stated their agreement to hand over the Habomai Islands and Shikotan to Japan on conclusion of a peace treaty. But after the extension of the US-Japan security treaty in 1960, Soviet willingness to return the islands evaporated. Ever since, growing US-Japanese strategic cooperation has been a major obstacle to the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations.

When agreement was reached on normalising US-Chinese relations in 1978 and the Japanese signed a peace treaty with China, this also saw the start of a new period of heightened tension between the Soviet Union and Japan over the disputed islands. In 1979, Japan's Self Defence Agency charged that the Soviet Union had deployed new military forces and was constructing new military facilities on Kunashir and Iturup. Later they announced that forces had also been deployed to Shikotan. Western sources say that a motor rifle division was deployed to the islands around this time, as well as more advanced fighter aircraft. The Soviets, on the other hand, saw Japan developing into — in former Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's words — "an unsinkable aircraft carrier" for the US.

Western experts now believe that the military arguments for retaining the islands are



carry little force in international law. With seemingly little hope of a quick resolution to this territorial dispute, just how long will the Soviet Union maintain its claim at the expense of finally signing a peace treaty with its powerful neighbour?

Even Japanese diplomats admit that in this time of glasnost, the Soviets cannot neglect the voices of the people living on the islands. "Frankly speaking, the situation is getting more difficult," one told the REVIEW. This analysis was borne out by a leader of an informal democratic group on Sakhalin. "How can [Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard] Shevardnadze hold talks about the return of the Kuriles without consulting the people?" he asked in a private conversation with jour-

no longer as strong as they were. The need to protect sea passages to the Pacific from the Sea of Okhotsk for ballistic missile-carrying submarines has been overtaken by the development of new long-range missiles, carried in submarines deployed close to the Soviet mainland. And though Western sources say the Soviets still have elements of one army division, if not a full division, on the islands, they do not believe an attack on Hokkaido could be mounted from the Kuriles — Sakhalin would be the obvious staging point.

When Lieut-Col Anatoly Kleshchukov, referred to as the regimental commander on Kunashir, met reporters on 3 July, he claimed that "we don't have the strength or possibilities to attack Japan." He said he knew of no plans for troop reductions in the Kuriles, within the framework of overall troop cuts now planned for the Soviet Far East. But he did explain that, in line with the new Soviet doctrine of defence sufficiency, some changes had taken place in the equipping of his forces and in their training exercises. "We do not practise attacking manoeuvres," he said.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev confirmed in May during the visit of his Japanese counterpart to Moscow, that the Soviet Union did not consider the US-Japan security partnership to be an obstacle to a peace treaty with Japan. "The meaning of the US-Japan security treaty will evidently lessen after the conclusion of the agreement on medium-range missiles," he told journalists.

The understanding among diplomats in Moscow now is that the Soviets will not make any more unilateral peace initiatives in the Pacific until they get an answering move from the US and Japan. But having reduced the tension on their border with China, their perception of a military threat in the Far East obviously has changed.

If the military face-off loses its intensity, economic aspects of the Japan-Soviet relationship may be the decisive factor in an eventual solution of the territorial question. "Ultimately, everybody knows that the Soviets will have to deal with Japan," a Western diplomat in Moscow told the REVIEW. "But this may be farther down the road than anyone realises," he added. The Soviets are not yet ready to fully open Vladivostok, for example, or to absorb large-scale credits. And the Japanese have, since the 1970s, found alternative sources of raw materials. "Every indication from Tokyo is that they can wait," the diplomat said. "The Soviets have alternatives to the Japanese, and the Japanese don't need the Soviets."

But during the reporters' visit, the local leaders did not hide their interest in getting Japanese help to develop the Kuriles. If there were foreign partners wanting to invest money in the islands, it would be easier

to open them up, Yevgeny Soldatenko, head of the regional party committee, said. The local authorities believe that the development of the hot mineral springs on Kunashir as international tourist centres would be a good investment. The 98% pure sulphur deposits on Iturup could also be exploited under joint partnership, officials on Sakhalin say. They did not mention what are rumoured to be rich deposits of titanium in the black sands of Kunashir.

However, it is the rich fishing grounds around the islands which give the Soviets their greatest incentive for keeping them, and which also probably provide the greatest potential for cooperation. The confluence of warm and cold ocean currents off Shikotan forms one of the three richest fishing banks in the world, the local people say. It is a devastating indictment of the Soviet economy that they have been unable to make a profit out of their reserves of salmon, herring, crab and scallops. The regional authorities collected Rbl 647,00 in poaching fines this year.

Rbl 15 million in annual subsidies. Now, in order to cut high labour costs, they are planning to thoroughly mechanise their processing industry. For this, however, they want foreign partners and equipment.

Under annually renewed agreements, Soviet and Japanese fishermen already jointly exploit their respective 12-mile economic zones. The Soviets complain,

though, that the fast Japanese trawlers often ignore international fishing quotas when they are in the Soviet zone. They also use illegal methods to catch crabs and fail to return egg-bearing females to the sea.

When caught, Japanese fishermen often use the argument that they are in Japanese territorial waters. Local fish inspectors claim the Japanese authorities do little to discourage these violations. So far the Sakhalin authorities have collected Rbl 647,00 in poaching fines this year.

The Japanese, too, are making some adjustments to the spirit of perestroika. When the then foreign minister Sosuke Uno visited Moscow in May, he announced that the conclusion of a peace treaty, while the most important aspect of relations, was not the only way to improve them. As he told a press conference, the development of business ties in a "correct and realisable way" was another way to improve the relationship.

It is clear that the Japanese are planning to develop all fields of the relationship together, which means that the Soviet Union cannot bypass the territorial issue. But the solution of the territorial issue is not a prerequisite for the development of relations. Diplomats also pointed out that the economic relationship is governed by economic principles: Japan obviously has no intention of restraining its business if there is a profit to be made.

CHINA

*Report details allegations against Zhao***Capitalist crimes**

By Robert Delfs in Peking

The most detailed presentation so far of the Chinese Government's version of the turmoil of May and June has been revealed in an investigative report by Peking Mayor Chen Xitong. The report attempts to link former party chief Zhao Ziyang and prominent Chinese liberal intellectuals to what it called "a political conspiracy" in collusion with Western political forces whose eventual aim was to bring China "under the rule of international monopoly capital" and to adopt capitalism.

The accusations in Chen's report, presented to the National People's Congress standing committee on 30 June, could serve as the basis for future criminal or party discipline charges against Zhao and key liberal intellectuals. The intent of the charges appears to be not merely to target these officials and intellectuals as individuals, but also to define as heretical the ideas and

concepts with which they are associated.

The allegations of collusion with foreign enemies in theory could be used to justify capital charges against the plotters if the current events are a prelude to a much more serious anti-Western campaign. A recent editorial in the party newspaper, the *People's Daily*, charged that foreign forces, having failed in the 1950s to overthrow communism through direct confrontation and armed attacks, had adopted a new strategy of combining economic and technical aid with "spiritual weapons" of Western political concepts. By using economic pressure and supporting liberal elements in China, the US and other Western governments sought to bring about an internal collapse of the socialist system through peaceful evolution, the editorial said.

But what is most striking in Chen's report is the weakness of the substantive charges, which ultimately hinge on the presumed intent of the plotters to "overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist