FOREIGN FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION ==== ***

RICHARD F. STAAR

Hoover Institution Press



Stanford University

Stanford, California

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
PREFACE	xviii
INTRODUCTION	xxi

PART I ====

FOUNDATIONS

1 ★ SOVIET WORLD OUTLOOK	3
PERIODIZATION OF HISTORY	6
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE	
BREZHNEV DOCTRINE	7
CORRELATION OF FORCES	9
WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS	10
World Communist Movement	11

viii	CONTENTS	
	National Liberation Groups	12
	Left Wing of the Socialist Parties	16
	FUTURE PROSPECTS	18
	2 \star THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS	24
•	THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL	2.8
	THE CENTRAL PARTY APPARATUS	32
	RESEARCH INSTITUTES AND ADVISERS	36
	SHORT- AND LONG-RANGE PLANS	38
	THE SUCCESSION PROBLEM	40
	THE ANDROPOV INTERLUDE	42
	ASCENDANCY OF CHERNENKO	43
	GORBACHEV AT THE TOP	45
	3 ★ IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN	
	POLICY	50
	ORGANIZATION	<u>51</u>
	TRAINING AND ACTIVITIES	56
	OTHER AGENCIES	62
	ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE UNITED	
	NATIONS	63
	NEGOTIATIONS	65
	OBJECTIVES	66
	PAST ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION	67

INSTRUMENTALITIES

4 ★ SOVIET FOREIGN PROPAGANDA	75
CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPARATUS	
FRONT ORGANIZATIONS	79

_

CONTENTS	ix
FRONT CONFERENCES	84
SPECIALIZED PEACE MOVEMENTS	86
RADIO BROADCASTS	88
THE PRINTED WORD	92
PROPAGANDA IN LESS-DEVELOPED	
COUNTRIES	94
FUTURE ACTIVITIES	96
5 ★ INTELLIGENCE, DISINFORMATION,	
AND ACTIVE MEASURES	105
ORGANIZATION	107
PROMINENT ESPIONAGE CASES	109
DIPLOMATS AS SPIES	112
AGENTS OF INFLUENCE	114
LOWER-LEVEL RECRUITMENT	115
HIGH-TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER	117
COUPS, TERRORISM, AND NARCOTICS	118
DISINFORMATION AND MURDER	123
6 \star MILITARY STRATEGY	134
TYPES OF WARFARE	136
The USSR versus the United States	137
Warsaw Pact versus NATO	139
Other Conflicts	140
SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITIES	143
Strategic Missile Forces	143
Ground Forces	144
The Air Forces	150
General Naval Forces	150
Air Defense Troops	151
Civil Defense	152
Other Forces	153
FUTURE PROSPECTS	154

$7 \star FOREIGN TRADE$	162
FOREIGN TRADE DECISIONS	163
EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BLOC	165
EAST-WEST TRADE	169
THE NATURAL GAS PIPELINE	174
THE THIRD WORLD	175
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE	178

_____ PART III _____

REGIONAL POLICIES

8 ★ POLICIES TOWARD EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE	189
THE ROMANIAN EXCEPTION	191
POLAND IN THE LEAD	191
HUNGARY FOLLOWS	193
EAST GERMANY MERGES	194
LAGGING REFORMERS: BULGARIA	195
CZECHS AND SLOVAKS	196
WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION	197
THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE	201
FUTURE TRENDS	206
9 \star EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN EUROPE	211
LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES	212
SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES	216
THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT	217
CONVENTIONAL FORCE REDUCTIONS	219

CONTENTS	xi
INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR	
FORCES	223
WEST-EAST TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER	226
10 ★ THE THIRD WORLD	233
CATEGORIES OF LDCs	235
The Nonaligned Movement	235
Theory	236
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	240
BETWEEN THE MAGHREB AND INDIA	243
LATIN AMERICA	250
11 ★ THE USSR IN EAST ASIA	262
SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS	263
Dispute over Nuclear War	263
Ideological Differences	266
Interstate Relations	268
Economic Relations	272
The Border Dispute	273
VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA	275
RELATIONS WITH NORTH KOREA AND	
JAPAN	277
12 ★ SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS	288
ARMS CONTROL	289
SALT I AND II NEGOTIATIONS	291
THE START TALKS	294
THE INF TALKS	296
EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS	300
SOVIET-U.S. TRADE	303
THE U.S. ASSESSMENT	307

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	319
INDEX OF NAMES AND ORGANIZATIONS	220
ORGANIZATIONS	339

_

=

1.1	SOCIOPOLITICAL WORLD MAP, 1950 AND 1989	5
1.2	GROWTH OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1917–1990	11
1.3	WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM, 1989	13
1.4	MOVEMENTS WITH A "SOCIALIST" ORIENTATION IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES	15
2.1	CPSU POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARIAT, 1990	25
2.2	PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL, 1990	29
2.3	PROBABLE FOREIGN POLICY- Making teams, 1990	39
3.1	USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN Affairs, collegium, 1990	53
3.2	USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OFFICES, 1990	59

3.3	SOME REPORTING UNITS ON	
	FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1990	63
4.1	SOVIET EXPENDITURES FOR	
	PROPAGANDA	76
4.2	INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST	
	FRONT ORGANIZATIONS, 1990	80
4.3	ORGANIZATIONS CLOSELY	
	CONNECTED WITH FRONTS	82
4.4	COMMUNIST FOREIGN RADIO	
	BROADCASTS, 1950–1989	89
5.1	EXPULSION OF SOVIET	
	OFFICIALS, 1970–1988	II 2
5.2	MAJOR TERRORIST AND	
	REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS	119
6.1	MAJOR SOVIET EQUIPMENT	
	DELIVERED TO THE THIRD	
	WORLD, 1982–1989	141
6.2	SOVIET COMBAT OPERATIONS	
	ABROAD, 1950–1989	142
6.3	SOVIET ARMED FORCES	
	ABROAD, 1990	149
7.1	DEBTS OWED TO THE USSR,	
	1989	166
7.2	LARGEST NONCOMMUNIST	
	TRADE PARTNERS BY RANK,	
	1989	170
7.3	LEADING SUPPLIERS OF	
	SOVIET HIGH TECHNOLOGY,	
	1986	172
7.4	SOVIET TRADE WITH	
	SELECTED LESS-DEVELOPED	
	COUNTRIES, 1989	176
7.5	SOVIET IMPORT DEPENDENCE,	•
	1990	178
7.6	SOVIET ECONOMIC	
	ASSISTANCE TO SPECIAL FRIENDS, 1954—1989	
01	_	179
8.1	WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES, 1990	
	1770	198

8.2	UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS ANNOUNCED BY THE WARSAW	
	PACT, 1990	199
8.3	REAL GROSS NATIONAL	
	PRODUCT GROWTH IN USSR	
	AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE, 1981–1989	
8.4	SOVIET TRADE WITHIN THE	201
ð. 4	COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL	
	ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, 1989	204
8.5	BASIC DATA FOR THE USSR AND	
0.0	EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE, 1990	205
9.1	DISPARITIES BETWEEN	2
	EASTERN AND WESTERN	
	DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE	
	MUTUAL AND BALANCED	
	FORCE REDUCTION (MBFR) AREA, 1 JANUARY 1981	220
0.7	EQUIPMENT AND TROOPS	220
9.2	BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND	
	THE URALS, 1990	222
9.3	INF DEPLOYMENTS: USSR AND	
	U.S. PERSPECTIVES IN 1983	225
9.4	SOVIET MILITARY	
	PRODUCTION, 1982–1989	227
10.1	MEMBERS OF THE NON-	
	ALIGNED MOVEMENT, EARLY	
	1990	237
10.2	TREATIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND	
	COOPERATION IN THE THIRD WORLD, 1971–1989	244
10.3	NUMBERS OF COMMUNIST	244
10.5	ECONOMIC AND MILITARY	
	TECHNICIANS IN THE THIRD	
	WORLD, 1989	247
10.4	LATIN AMERICAN GROUPS	
	AIDED BY CUBA, 1989–1990	254
11.1	STRATEGIC BALANCE: USSR-	
	CHINA, 1990	265

11.2	PRO-CHINESE COMMUNIST	
	ORGANIZATIONS, 1989–1990	269
11.3	SOVIET-CHINESE TRADE, 1960– 1989	272
11.4	SOVIET ATTACKS ON FOREIGN AIRCRAFT, 1950–1983	, 278
12.1	SUMMIT MEETINGS, 1943–1990	292
12.2	U.SUSSR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES, SEPTEMBER 1990	297
12.3	SOVIET-UNITED STATES TRADE, 1968–1989	305
12.4	MILITARY PRODUCTION: USSR AND UNITED STATES, 1988– 1989	
	1707	311

xvi

.