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Federal Republic of Germany
France
Austria
Italy
Liechtenstein
Freiburg
Mulhouse
Belfort
Basel
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Sankt Gallen
Herisau
Appenzell
Aarau
Zürich
Solothurn
Besançon
Zug
Vaduz
Landeck
Neuchâtel
Lucerne
Schwyz
Glarus
Bern
Stans
Sarnen
Altdorf
Chur
Fribourg
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Geneva
Sion
Bellinzona
Lago Maggiore
Mont Blanc Tunnel
Great Saint Bernard Tunnel
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Chambéry
Novara
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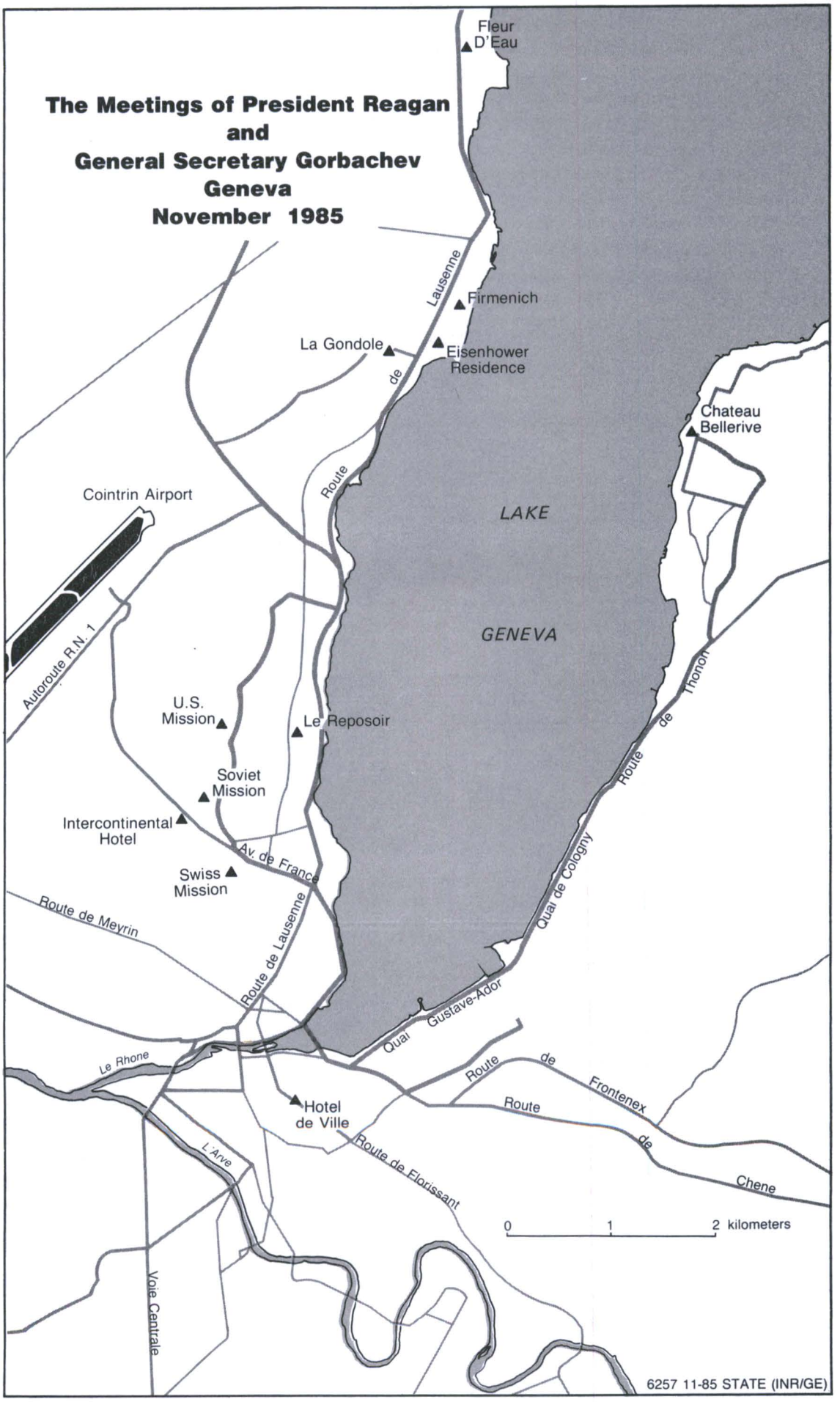
The Meetings of President Reagan
and
General Secretary Gorbachev
Geneva
November 1985
Fleur D'Eau
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La Gondole
Eisenhower Residence
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Cointrin Airport
LAKE
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Le Reposoir
Soviet Mission
Intercontinental Hotel
Swiss Mission
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background notes

Switzerland

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

October 1985
Revised

Official Name: Swiss Confederation

PROFILE

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Swiss (sing. and pl.). **Population** (1984 est.): 6.5 million. **Annual growth rate:** 0.1%. **Ethnic groups:** Mixed European stock. **Religions:** Roman Catholic 49%, Protestant 48%, Jewish 0.3%. **Languages:** German 65%, French 18%, Italian 12%, Romansch 1%, other 4%. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—9. *Attendance*—100%. *Literacy*—100%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—9/1,000. *Life expectancy*—men 70.3 yrs., women 76.2 yrs. **Work force** (3.1 million): *Agriculture*—7%. *Industry and commerce*—39%. *Services*—50%. *Government*—4%.

Geography

Area: 41,288 sq. km. (15,941 sq. mi.); about twice the size of New Jersey. **Cities:** *Capital*—Bern (pop. 145,000; metropolitan area pop., 286,000). *Other cities*—Zurich (375,000; metro area, 707,000), Basel (183,000; metro area, 365,000), Geneva (157,000; metro area, 336,000), Lausanne (128,000; metro area, 227,000). **Terrain:** Plateau, hills, mountains (Switzerland straddles the central ranges of the Alps). **Climate:** Temperate, varying with altitude and season.

Government

Type: Federal state. **Independence:** The first Swiss confederation was founded in August 1291 as a defensive alliance among three cantons. **Constitution:** 1848; extensively amended in 1874.

Branches: *Executive*—Federal Council, collegiate of seven members, one of whom is elected president for a 1-yr. term. *Legislative*—Federal Assembly (bicameral: Council of States, 46 members; National Council, 200 members). *Judicial*—Federal Tribunal.

Administrative subdivisions: 23 cantons (states) with considerable autonomy (20 full and 6 half cantons).

Political parties: Radical Democrats (conservative), Social Democrats, Christian Democrats (conservative), *Volkspartei* (Peasants' Party), and six smaller parties representing views from extreme left to extreme right. **Suffrage:** In federal matters, universal over age 20.

Central government budget (1984): $10.1 billion. *Deficit*—$626 million.

Defense (1984): 2.1% of GDP.

National holidays: Jan. 1, Jan. 2, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Ascension Day, Whitmonday, Aug. 1 (National Day), Christmas Day.

Flag: Square, white cross on red field.

Economy

GDP (1984 est.): $93.7 billion. **Annual growth rate:** —0.1% in real terms. **Per capita income:** $14,408. **Avg. inflation rate** (1984): 3.0%.

Natural resources: Waterpower, timber, salt.

Agriculture (4% of GNP): *Products*—dairy products, livestock, grains, fruit and vegetables, potatoes, wine. *Arable land*—45%.

Industry (40% of GNP): *Types*—machinery, precision instruments, watches, drugs, chemicals, textile, tourism, banking, insurance.

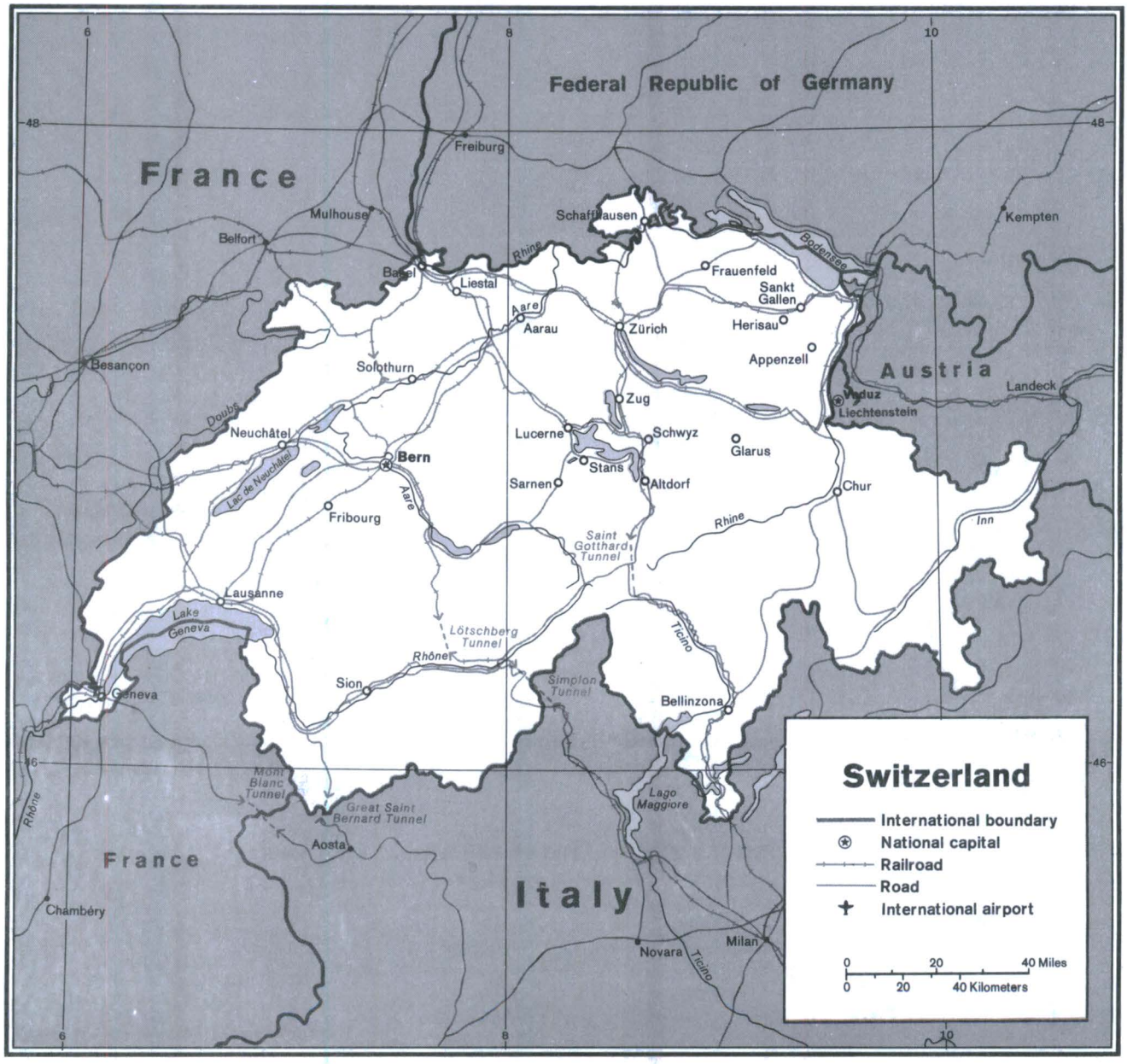
Trade (1984): *Exports*—$25.5 billion: power equipment and electric appliances, instruments, watches, chemicals and dyestuffs, drugs, industrial machinery, yarn and textiles, foodstuffs. *Major markets*—FRG, France, Italy, US, UK. *Imports*—$29.6 billion: crude oil and petroleum products, industrial machinery, iron and steel, foodstuffs, grains, tobacco, motor vehicles. *Major suppliers*—FRG, France, Italy, US, UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Austria.

Official exchange rate (avg. for 1984, IMF): 2.29 Swiss Francs = US$1.

Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Membership in International Organizations

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Council of Europe, European Free Trade Agreement, Bank for International Settlements, Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation, International Energy Agency, INTELSAT, Economic Commission for Europe. Though not a UN member, Switzerland belongs to many UN specialized agencies, such as the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, International Court of Justice, World Health Organization, and International Atomic Energy Agency.


Switzerland
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Basel
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Herisau
Appenzell
Schaffhausen
Kempten
Landeck
Freiburg
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Belfort
Besançon
Solothurn
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Bodensee
Lac de Neuchâtel
Lake Geneva
Lago Maggiore
Saint Gotthard Tunnel
Lötschberg Tunnel
Simplon Tunnel
Mont Blanc Tunnel
Great Saint Bernard Tunnel

PEOPLE

So many cultures have influenced Switzerland that it is impossible to define ethnic groups there. In 1982, resident foreigners totaled 14.9% of the population. No minority groups exist in the generally accepted sense of the term.

More than 75% of the people live in the central plain, which stretches between the Alps and the Jura Mountains and from Geneva to the Rhine River.

Switzerland has three official languages—German, French, and Italian, and four national languages—German, French, Italian, and Romansch. Romansch, based on Latin, is spoken principally by a tiny minority in Canton Grauduenden. Spoken Swiss German differs substantially from regular spoken German, varying from canton to canton and even from town to town. The standardized written language, High German, is used in broadcasting, on the stage, and in university lectures. French is spoken in Fribourg, Vaud, parts of the Valais, Neuchatel, Geneva, and Jura Cantons. Italian is spoken in Ticino Canton. Many Swiss speak more than one language.

Almost all Swiss are literate. Switzerland's 10 universities had a total enrollment of 63,900 in academic year 1981–82, including 12,400 foreign students. Two technical universities and many lower engineering schools provide excellent training for engineers and technicians.

Freedom of worship is guaranteed by the 1874 constitution.

GEOGRAPHY

In the alpine highlands of Western Europe, Switzerland is bounded by the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein, Italy, and France. Its position has been described as the crossroads of northern and southern Europe.

Switzerland, where many rivers originate, forms the great European watershed. The Rhine flows to the North Sea; the Inn feeds the Danube; the Rhone empties into the Mediterranean; and the Ticino, which runs through Lake Maggiore, is the source of the River Po.

The Alps mountain chain runs roughly east and west through the southern part of the country and constitutes about 60% of Switzerland's area. The Jura Mountains, an outspur of the Alps, stretch from the southwest to the northwest and occupy about 10% of the territory. The remaining 30% comprises the lowlands—actually a plateau between the two ranges—where the larger cities and the industrial sections of Switzerland are concentrated. The highest point in the country is the Dufour Peak on Mont Rose—4,638 m. (15,217 ft.)—above sea level. The lowest point—192 m. (633 ft.)—is the shore of Lake Maggiore in Canton Ticino (Tessin).

Switzerland's climate is temperate but varies with altitude. During January, the average temperature in Basel—277 m. (909 ft.)—is 0°C (31.8°F); on the Saentis—2,501 m. (8,202 ft.)—it is -9°C (16°F). In July, Basel enjoys an average temperature of 19°C (66°F), and the Saentis, an average of 5°C (41°F). Average annual precipitation ranges from 61 centimeters (24 in.) in Canton Valais to 200 centimeters (79 in.) near Lucerne. Bern and Zurich receive about 101 centimeters (40 in.) per year.

HISTORY

Originally inhabited by the Helvetians, or Helvetic Celts, the territory comprising modern Switzerland was conquered by Julius Caesar during the Gallic wars and was made part of the Roman Empire. It remained a Roman province until the fourth century A.D. Under Roman influence, the Helvetians reached a high level of civilization and enjoyed a flourishing and peaceful commerce. Important cities, such as Geneva, Basel, and Zurich, were linked by good military roads that also served as trade arteries between Rome and the northern tribes.

After the decline of the Roman Empire, Switzerland was repeatedly invaded by Germanic tribes from the north and west. Some of these tribes, such as the Alemanni in central and northeastern Switzerland, and the Burgundians, who ruled western Switzerland, settled there. In A.D. 800, the country became part of Charlemagne's empire. It subsequently passed under the dominion of the German emperors in the form of small ecclesiastical and temporal holdings until 1291, the date marking Swiss independence.

Foundations of Modern Switzerland

In August 1291, on the shores of Lake Lucerne, representatives of the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden signed the Eternal Alliance, which united them in the struggle against foreign rule. At the Battle of Morgarten in 1315, the Swiss defeated the Hapsburg army and secured their independence as the Swiss Confederation. During the 14th century, the confederation grew, adding five more cantons, including Zurich and Bern.

By the beginning of the 16th century, Switzerland comprised 13 autonomous cantons and several subject communities. During this period, the Swiss gained renown throughout Europe as excellent soldiers, not only in protecting their own country but also as mercenary troops throughout the continent.

After the disastrous battle at Marignano in 1515, in which Swiss mercenaries fought on both sides, the confederation abandoned mercenary soldiery and adopted neutrality.

The religious struggles of the Reformation, although severe in Switzerland, failed to sever the union, and the country was spared the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Under the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, Swiss independence and neutrality were recognized by the other European nations.

Switzerland remained neutral until 1798, when it was invaded and conquered by the armies of the French Revolution. The Treaty of Vienna and the Second Peace of Paris in 1815 reestablished Switzerland as an independent country, and the powers participating in the Congress of Vienna agreed to recognize Swiss permanent neutrality.

Constitutions of 1848 and 1874

Organized as a confederation of 22 cantons in 1815 under the Federal Pact, Switzerland adopted a federal constitution in 1848, modeled in part on the U.S. Constitution. The Swiss amended their constitution extensively in 1874, establishing federal responsibility for defense, trade, and legal matters. Since that time, continued political, economic, and social improvement has characterized Swiss history. Determined to preserve their neutrality, the Swiss stayed out of both World Wars.

GOVERNMENT

Switzerland is a federal state composed of 23 cantons (20 full cantons and six so-called half cantons) that retain attributes of sovereignty such as fiscal autonomy and the right to manage internal cantonal affairs. Under the 1874 constitu-

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tion, the cantons hold all powers not specifically delegated to the federation. In 1978, a new, 23d canton—Jura Canton—was created from part of Bern Canton.

Switzerland's federal institutions are:

- A bicameral legislature, the Federal Assembly;
- A collegial executive of seven members, the Federal Council; and
- A judiciary consisting of a single, regular court—the Federal Tribunal—in Lausanne and special military and adminstrative courts. In addition, the Federal Insurance Tribunal is an independent division for social security questions. Although its seat is in Lucerne, it is part of the Federal Tribunal.

The constitution provides for separation of the three branches of government. The two houses of the legislative branch, the only national governmental element having a direct mandate from the people, have equal powers in all respects, including the right to introduce legislation. Legislation may not be vetoed by the executive nor reviewed for constitutionality by the judiciary.

Federal Assembly

The Federal Assembly is the primary seat of power, although in practice the executive branch has been gradually increasing its power at the expense of the legislative branch. The Federal Assembly has two houses—a Council of States and a National Council.

The 46 members of the Council of States (two from each canton and one from each half canton) are elected by methods determined by each of the cantons. Direct elections are held in all but three cantons, where the State Councilors are designated cantonal legislatures. The 200 members of the National Council are elected directly under a system of proportional representation. Members of both houses serve for 4 years.

The Federal Assembly meets quarterly and may be legally dissolved only after a popular vote calling for a complete constitutional revision.

The constitution stipulates that all Swiss citizens aged 20 or older have the right to vote unless disqualified by a cantonal legislature. Women were granted the franchise in 1971.

The emphasis on the initiative and the referendum arises out of the traditional Swiss belief that the will of the people is the final national authority. The constitution provides for:

- A constitutional initiative exercised either by a group of 100,000 voters or by one of the houses of the Federal Assembly;
- A compulsory referendum whereby every constitutional amendment or revision is submitted to popular vote; and
- An optional legislative referendum under which certain types of laws, upon petition by either 50,000 voters or 8 cantons, must be submitted to popular vote following adoption by the Federal Assembly.

As a limitation on the power of referendum, however, the Federal Assembly can declare an act to be too urgent to allow time for popular consideration.

Executive

The top executive body is the Federal Council. Although the constitution provides that the Federal Assembly shall choose and supervise the council, the latter has gradually assumed a preeminent role in direction of the legislative process as well as in execution of federal laws.

The Federal Council has seven councilors elected for 4-year terms by the Federal Assembly. Each year, the assembly elects from among the seven a president and vice president of Switzerland. The member who is vice president 1 year traditionally is elected president the next year. No canton may have more than one representative in the council, and a rough balance is maintained among the major political and linguistic elements. The three major parties, the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the Radical Democrats, are represented by two federal councilors. A fourth party, the *Volkspartei* (Peasants' Party), has one federal councilor.

Each federal councilor heads one of the seven federal departments and is responsible for preparing legislation pertaining to matters under its jurisdiction. The president of the Federal Council has limited prerogatives and is actually only the first among equals, presiding over the Federal Council and acting on its behalf in certain emergencies. The president of the council also officiates at ceremonial functions and receives foreign representatives. The president may not be recalled or impeached.

New governmental responsibilities arising out of an increasingly complex society have been handled by the creation of new central agencies and institutions, rather than by the formation of new departments. These agencies fall under the general supervision of one of the federal departments.

Judiciary

The administration of justice is primarily a cantonal function. The only regular federal court, the Federal Tribunal, is limited in its jurisdiction. In recent years, the tribunal's principal function has been hearing appeals of civil and criminal cases. It has authority to review cantonal court decisions involving federal law but does not have the power to review legislation for constitutionality. The Federal Tribunal sits at Lausanne and is composed of 30 members elected for 6-year terms by the Federal Assembly.

Local Government

Local government is regulated by the 23 cantons. The basic unit of local government, that which administers a village, town, or city, is the commune or

municipality. Swiss citizenship is derived from membership in a commune and can be conferred on foreigners by a commune.

The Swiss cantons are subordinate to federal authority, although they retain a few vestiges of their former sovereignty. The structure of the cantonal government varies from canton to canton, but in all of them the legislature plays the predominant role. Cantonal legislatures are unicameral. In five cantons and half cantons, the legislative function is still performed directly by all the voters in a traditional annual meeting, the *Landsgemeinde.* The cantonal executive is a governing board of five to nine members. Communal governments are organized in roughly the same manner as on the cantonal level—a small executive grouping and a larger executive council.

Principal Government Officials

Federal Departments

Public Economy—Kurt Furgler[1]
Finance—Otto Stich
Foreign Affairs—Pierre Aubert
Interior—Alphons Egli[2]
Justice and Police—Elisabeth Kopp
Defense—Jean-Pascal Delamuraz
Transport, Communications, and Energy—Leon Schlumpf

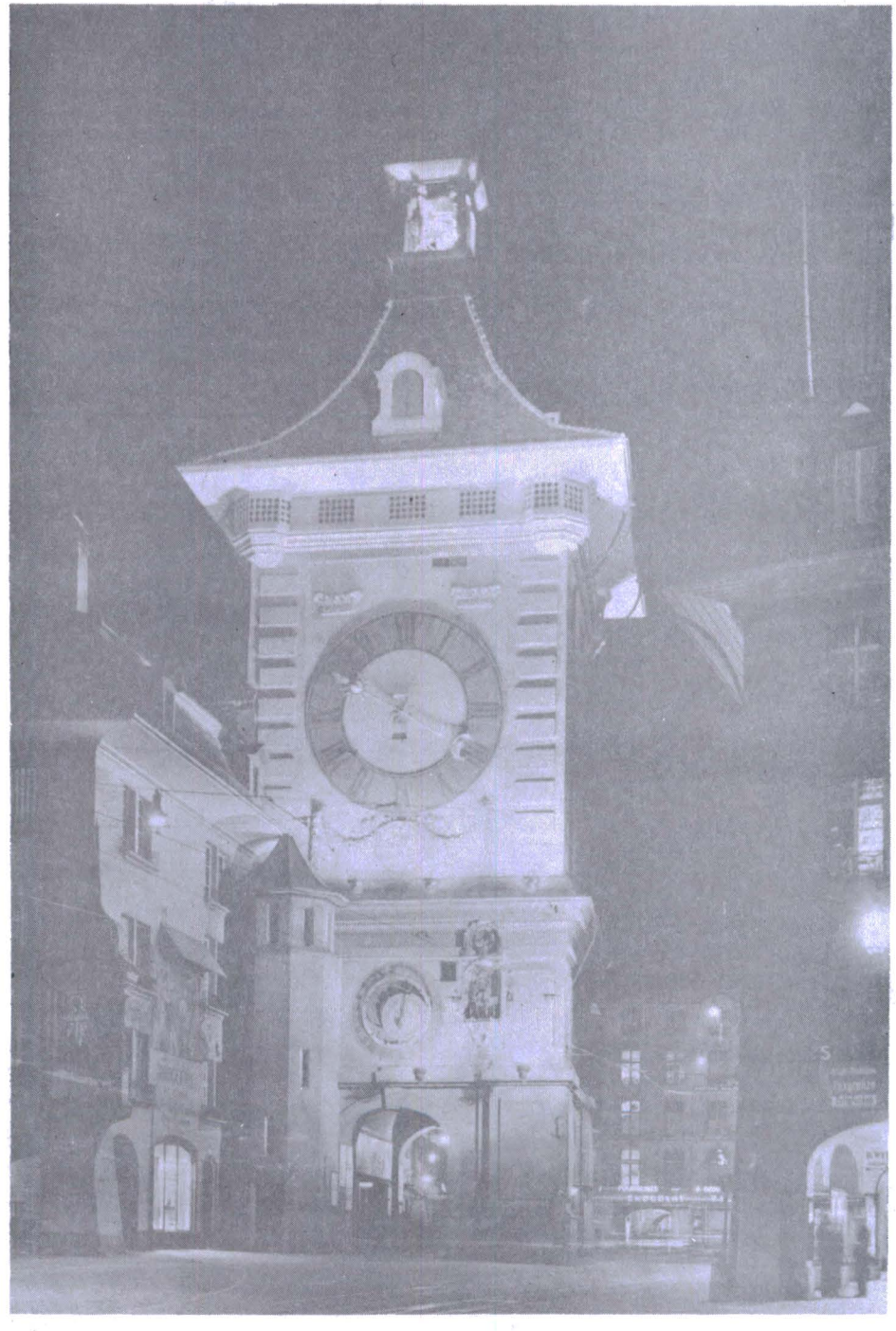
Ambassador to the United States—Klaus Jacobi

Switzerland maintains an embassy in the United States at 2900 Cathedral Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20008. There are also consulates general at Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New Orleans, and New York.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

In spite of the diversity of its society, Switzerland has one of the world's most stable governments. Most of its well-educated and politically sophisticated voters support the government in the armed neutrality underlying its foreign and defense policies. Domestic policy poses no major problems. Disaffected elements such as the communists form only an insignificant minority. Elections held in 1975 and 1979 resulted in few major changes in party representation, demonstrating the stability of Swiss political life.

Although the constitution limits the influence of the confederation in the formulation of domestic policy and specifically emphasizes the role of private enterprise and of the cantonal governments, the confederation has been compelled to enlarge its policymaking powers in recent years to cope with national problems. The increased size of federal subsidies to education, necessitated by the inability of the cantons to finance modern institutions, has resulted in greater federal influence within the cantons. In 1947, the confederation acquired constitutional authority to formulate agricultural policy and since that time has used guaranteed prices, import quotas, and other devices to strengthen the economic position of Swiss farmers. In 1960, the confederation took from private industry responsibility for the principal Swiss project for nuclear energy development.



The Clock Tower is one of Bern's most famous landmarks.

[1]President for 1985.
[2]Vice president for 1984.

ECONOMY

Switzerland was one of the few West European countries to emerge from World War II with its economic structure virtually unimpaired. Although almost totally lacking in raw materials, it is a well-developed manufacturing country. Its highly skilled labor force forms the backbone of the economy, and the Swiss transportation and communications networks are efficient. Raw materials are imported and high-value finished products exported. Typical Swiss manufacturing and export products are those containing high labor value, such as watches and precision instruments; special quality products, such as chemicals, cheese, and chocolate; and items that do not lend themselves to mass production methods, such as generators and turbines. Other important segments of the economy, which counterbalance Switzerland's usually negative balance of trade, are the tourist industry, international banking, insurance, and transportation.

Switzerland depends on the world economy for its prosperity, as its small domestic market consumes only a fraction of industrial manufactures. Swiss exports of goods and services constituted 36% of its GDP in 1984. The Federal Republic of Germany is Switzerland's most important trading partner; the United States ranks fourth. In 1984, the United States took 9.5% of Swiss exports ($2.44 billion) and supplied 6.6% of Swiss imports ($1.96 billion). Swiss trade with communist countries was less than 5%.

After World War II, Switzerland experienced practically uninterrupted economic growth for more than 25 years and now maintains one of the highest standards of living in the world. The influx of foreign workers—about 17% of the workforce—did not hamper this prosperity. Among the expansionary forces at work have been:

- A heavy influx of foreign capital;
- Intense investment activity;
- High individual consumption with an accompanying increase in imports;
- Expanding export industries; and
- High demand for construction.

From late 1974 to early 1976, however, Switzerland experienced a deep recession. Real GNP in 1975 declined by 7.7% and, in 1976, by 1.3%. It grew again in 1977 by 2.7% and in 1978 by a modest 1.2%. The continuous appreciation of the Swiss franc (1978 average, +23%) kept import prices low. This accounts for the low inflation rate of 1.2% in 1977 and 1% in 1978. During the 1974–76 recession, the number of foreign workers in Switzerland fell by almost 25% (582,000 in 1978). The average unemployment rate in 1983 was 0.8%. Although Switzerland's economy contracted in 1981 and 1982, recessionary tendencies were less pronounced than in the mid-seventies. While real GDP declined slightly in 1982, this trend was reversed in 1983. Real growth in 1984 was 2.4%, and most observers expect this trend to continue into 1985.

In 1983, European Community (EC) countries supplied 66% of Swiss imports and took 49% of Swiss exports. In accordance with the terms of its trade agreement with the EC, Switzerland eliminated duties on industrial products imported from the EC in 1977. However, Switzerland has not applied for full EC membership because this has been considered incompatible with traditional Swiss neutrality and adverse to Swiss agricultural interests.

Switzerland plays an active role in international financial and trade matters. It is a member of a number of international organizations, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation

Travel Notes

Transportation: Railroads connect the main cities and towns. The Swiss Federal Railway system is entirely electric. Trains are clean and run on schedule; fares are reasonable, with special roundtrip and holiday rates.

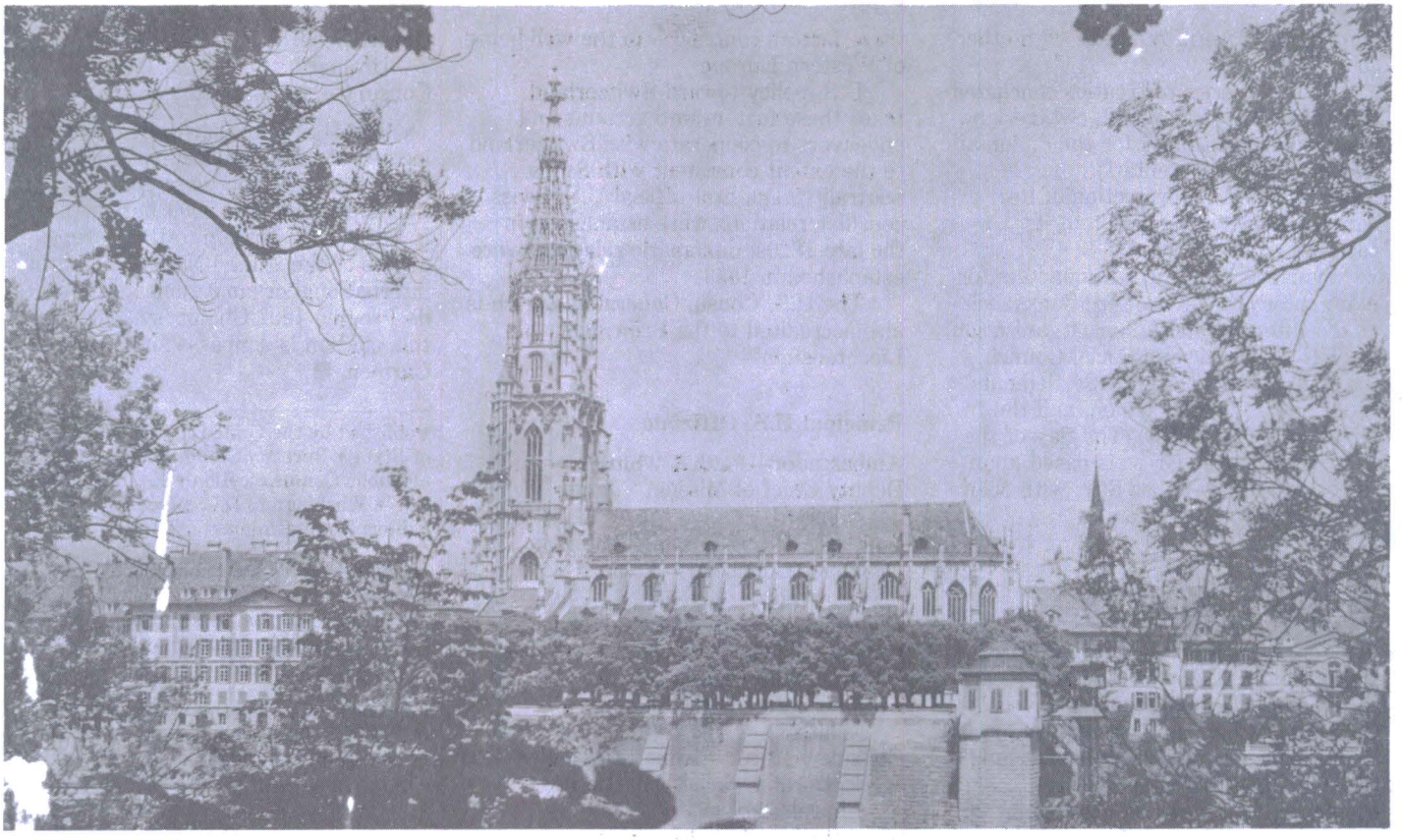
Geneva and Zurich are international flight centers, and both airports schedule daily flights to the US.

Local transportation systems—trams, buses, taxis, and commuter lake steamers—are efficient. Swiss roads are good, though often narrow and winding. Traffic moves on the right. An expanding system of limited-access highways joins the major cities.

Telecommunications: Direct dialing is in use throughout the country and includes international telephone calls. Telegraph service is also excellent. Bern is 6 hours ahead of eastern standard time.

Health: Immunization against disease is required only if the traveler has passed through an infected area. Health requirements change; therefore, check latest information. Special health measures are unnecessary in Switzerland. Swiss medical facilities are good.

On a clear day, the view of the Alps is magnificent.



The Bern Cathedral dominates the Old Town section of Bern.

and Development (OECD), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Energy Agency (IEA), and many UN specialized agencies, including the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

DEFENSE

Switzerland has a 650,000-member militia army. All physically fit male Swiss citizens must serve from age 20 to 50. Civilians with certain occupations are exempt from duty after completing recruit training. There are no full-time active combat units, yet the army is capable of full mobilization within 48 hours. The army is organized into four army corps and an air force. The Swiss Armed Forces are equipped with modern weapons either of Swiss design and manufacture or purchased from the West. The field forces are mobilized for training each year for 3 weeks.

Direct defense expenditures represent about 2% of the GNP. When the cost to civilian industry of paid personnel absences due to annual military service is included in the calculation, the estimated defense expenditure is more than 3% of GNP. Switzerland is attempting to modernize its weapons inventory and is evaluating various weapons systems.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The principle of Swiss armed neutrality has not been seriously challenged since 1815. The rise of Soviet power, however, has compelled the Swiss to reinterpret their neutrality in light of circumstances radically different from those existing in 1815.

The Swiss have avoided alliances that might involve them in any military, political, or direct economic action against another state or group of states. In recent years, however, the Swiss have broadened the scope of activities in which they feel able to participate without compromising their neutrality. They have not joined the United Nations, but they maintain an observer at UN headquarters, and they belong to most UN specialized agencies. In addition, they have adopted a principle of foreign policy—"solidarity and participation." They envisage solidarity as a moral obligation to undertake social, economic, and humanitarian activities that will constitute their contribution, as a neutral state, to the task of ensuring world peace and prosperity. Solidarity is manifested in technical and financial assistance to developing countries, readiness to extend good offices, humanitarian assistance, support for the extension of international law, and support for the UN specialized agencies of which Switzerland is a member.

Participation has been expressed by active Swiss membership in various international organizations and conferences. Since 1977, the government has adhered to a policy of working toward eventual UN membership. In 1984, both Houses of the Federal Assembly approved Swiss entry into the United Nations. During 1985, Swiss voters will have an opportunity to vote on UN membership in a referendum.

Switzerland maintains diplomatic relations with almost all independent states. Switzerland has no major prob-

lems in its bilateral relations with other countries.

Under a series of treaties concluded shortly after World War I, Switzerland assumed responsibility for the diplomatic and consular representation of Liechtenstein, the protection of its borders, and the regulation of its customs.

Switzerland is the headquarters for many international organizations, such as the International Labor Organization, the UN Economic and Social Council, the Bank of International Settlements, the Universal Postal Union, and the International Red Cross. (The flag of the International Red Cross is based upon the design of the Swiss flag, with colors reversed.)

U.S.-SWISS RELATIONS

Switzerland is a democratic country subscribing to many of the same ideals to which the United States is devoted. Communism has had virtually no success in appealing to the Swiss. Switzerland is stable politically with a healthy economy. It occupies an important strategic position and possesses a relatively strong military capability. All these factors contribute to the well-being of Western Europe.

U.S. policy toward Switzerland takes these factors into account and endeavors to cooperate with Switzerland to the extent consistent with Swiss neutrality. The first official U.S.-Swiss consular relations were established in the late 1820s; diplomatic relations were established in 1853.

The U.S. Consul General at Zurich is also accredited to the Principality of Liechtenstein.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—**Faith R. Whittlesey**
Deputy Chief of Mission—James W. Shinn
Political Officer—Frank Tumminia
Economic Counselor—Richard A. Dugstad
Financial Attache—James Wallar
Commercial Counselor—**Daniel Taher**
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Air Attache—Col. John Miki
Army Attache—Col. William Seechak
Consul General (Zurich)—Alfred Brainard
Consul (Geneva)—Kathleen M. Daly

The U.S. Embassy in Switzerland is located at 93/95 Jubilaeumsstrasse, 3005 Bern. The U.S. consulate general is at Zollikerstrasse 141, 8008 Zurich. There is also a U.S. Mission to the European offices of the United Nations and other international organizations at 11, route de Pregny, 1292 Chambesy. The chief of this mission is Ambassador Gerald P. Carmen. ■

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Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 8132
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SWISS FRANC (SFR) CONVERSION TABLE AT SFR 2.14 = U.S. $

(franc = 100 centimes)

FRANC TO U.S. DOLLARS		U.S. DOLLARS TO FRANC	
franc	U.S. $	U.S. $	franc
.25	0.12	.10	0.21
.50	0.23	.25	0.54
1.00	0.47	.50	1.07
1.50	0.70	.75	1.61
2.00	0.93	1.00	2.14
5.00	2.34	3.00	6.42
10.00	4.67	5.00	10.70
25.00	11.68	10.00	21.40
50.00	23.36	20.00	42.80
100.00	46.73	50.00	107.00
500.00	233.64	100.00	214.00
750.00	350.47	300.00	642.00
1,000.00	467.29	500.00	1,070.00

NOTE: ALL U.S. DOLLAR VALUES ARE ROUNDED TO NEAREST U.S. CENT. VALUE OF SWISS FRANC FLUCTUATES DAILY ACCORDING TO CURRENCY MARKET CONDITIONS.

November 4, 1985

SITE INFORMATION - GENEVA

CITY OF GENEVA - Geneva is the third largest city in Switzerland, whose charm lies in its "arms length" size and whose centers of interest have a rich historical, cultural and artistic past. More than 2000 years ago, Geneva made its entrance into history with the arrival of Julius Caesar and his troops, who came to contain the exodus of the Helvetians. Geneva, "the smallest of big capitals," is also known as the Rome of Protestantism, world capital of watchmaking, garden city, cultural city and renowned gastronomical center. The International Automobile show takes place annually in the new Exhibition and Conference Center near the ultramodern airport of Cointrin north of the city. Geneva stretches along both sides of the Rhone River, where it emerges from Lake Geneva in southwest Switzerland. To the east rise the Alps, and the lower Jura Range stretches northward. On the west lies France, and to the northwest, a broad plateau gives access to Germany.

THE SOVIET MISSION - The Soviet Mission to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva is located on Avenue de la Paix in the immediate vicinity of the headquarters of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Labor Organization. It is a short walk from the Hotel Intercontinental. The Mission is a multi-building complex of mostly recent construction. One exception is the classical mansion, the "Villa Rosa," which was situated on the property before it became a diplomatic establishment.

VILLA FLEUR D'EAU - Louis August Brun of Rolle, Switzerland, was a painter of animal life at the end of the 18th Century. His works of art were displayed at Versailles under Queen Marie-Antoinette. On his return to Switzerland, he became Mayor of Versoix and in that capacity created the domain of Fleur D'Eau. Around 1860-1865, French Protestant bankers constructed simultaneously the Villa Fleur D'Eau and the Villa Mirabeau (the latter now belongs to the City of Geneva). Around 1900 the owners sold the property to the Darrier family, also bankers, who made some architectural changes. In 1947, the Salmanovitch family acquired the Fleur D'Eau property, apparently by inheritance. In 1982, the property was purchased by Mr. A.B.D. Ohayon, owner of an architectural firm in Geneva. A part of the property was sold recently to the firm Portex S.A. and will be developed in part into multi-unit dwellings.

LA MAISON DE SAUSSURE - Built between 1723 and 1730, this French classical styled mansion faces Lake Geneva at Creux De Genthod in the countryside a few miles from the city of Geneva but still in the Canton of Geneva. The mansion was originally called the Maison Lullin after its builder, a wealthy Geneva clergyman and collector of books and objects d'art, Ami Lullin. The architect he chose was a Frenchman, Francois Blondel, designer of a number of buildings, including what is now the stock exchange in his native Rouen, as well as some of the ancillary buildings of the Palace of Versailles. The house takes its present name from Horace Benedict DeSaussure, Geneva natural scientist famous for his pioneer ascent (he was the second) of Mont Blanc in 1785. His wife was a granddaughter of Ami Lullin. During DeSaussure's residence the mansion was a rendezvous for Europe's leading scientists and intellectuals.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower stayed at the Maison DeSaussure in 1955 when he met in Geneva with UK Prime Minister Anthony Eden, French Premier Edgar Faure and Soviet leader Nikolai Bulganin.

The present owners are Dr. and Mrs. Daniel Pometta. The mansion is currently occupied by Prince Karim Aga Khan and his wife, Princess Salima Aga Khan and their three children. The Prince is the Imam of the 15-20 million Ismaeli Muslims throughout the world and manages several foundations and other activities dealing with rural and social development.

LE REPOSOIR - Le Reposoir ("The Place of Rest") is located along the Lake Road in Chambesy, a part of the Canton of Geneva. The site, about 8 hectares, has been in the Pictet family since 1648. The house is an example of patrician Geneva architecture of the late 18th Century. It was built in 1735 by Jacques Pictet DePregny, a general in the Sardinian Royal Family's army. It was enlarged in 1789. The French garden and the other houses on the estate date from the end of the 19th century. From 1945 until 1949, the villa was occupied by the Belgian Royal Family of King Leopold, who was in exile. This included the present King of Belgium, Baudouin, who then was attending school in Geneva. In 1954, Anthony Eden, then British Foreign Secretary, stayed at Le Reposoir for about a week during the Indochina Conference. King Oalf of Norway greeted Norwegian well-wishers at Le Reposoir during his 1964 visit to Geneva, and in 1983, Vice President George Bush called on the then-President (now Foreign Minister) of the Swiss Confederation, Pierre Aubert, at Le Reposoir. Le Reposoir now belongs to and is occupied by the two Pictet brothers, Hubert and Jean-Michel and their wives.

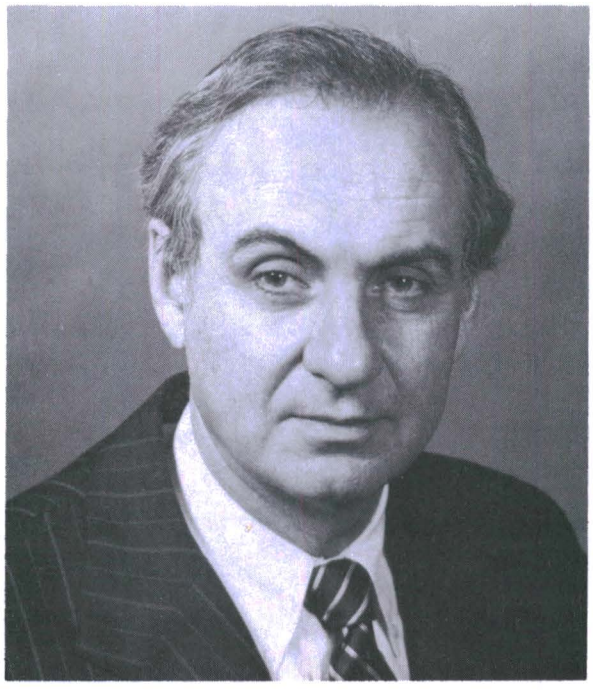
LA GANDOLE - This estate, at Genthod, is the property of Mr. and Mrs. Laurent Dominice. The property was purchased by Mr. Dominice's great-great-grandmother, Mme. Denis Dominice, in 1844 from the Russian Princess Galitzin. On her death in 1878, the estate was divided, and her son Adolphe, an Army officer, built the villa on his half. The name of the villa, La Gandole, was the name of the field where the estate is located but, as far as is now know, has no other meaning. Since the 1950's the house has been rented to various nobilities. It was for 18 years the Japanese Ambassador's residence and Emperor Hirohito visited in 1972. It was occupied by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia for two months in 1961 during the Asian Conference. In the late 1970's Mr. and Mrs. Laurent Dominice bought out various family members' shares in the property and moved there from Geneva's old town.

Faith R. Whittlesey
Ambassador to Switzerland

Faith R. Whittlesey was appointed Ambassador to Switzerland in April 1985, succeeding Ambassador John Davis Lodge. She served as Ambassador to Switzerland in 1981–83, and from 1983 to April 1985 she was Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

Mrs. Whittlesey was a substitute teacher in the Philadelphia School District of Pennsylvania in 1962–64. She was with the Pennsylvania Department of Justice as Special Assistant Attorney General (1964–65) and as Special Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Public Welfare (1967–70). In 1965 she was law clerk to the Honorable Francis L. Van Dusen of the United States District Court (Eastern District of Pennsylvania). From 1972 to 1976 Mrs. Whittlesey was a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, serving on the committees of Judiciary, Consumer Protection, Education, Health and Welfare, and Urban Affairs. She was a member of the Delaware County Council in Media, Pennsylvania in 1980–81, having been elected as chairperson and vice chairperson (1976–81). She was an attorney in the law firm of Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen of Philadelphia (1980–81).

Mrs. Whittlesey was born February 21, 1939 in Jersey City, New Jersey. She graduated *cum laude* (B.A.) in 1960 from Wells College and received her J.D. in 1963 from the University of Pennsylvania Law School. In 1962 she attended the Academy of International Law at The Hague, Netherlands.



Gerald P. Carmen
Ambassador to the United Nations, Geneva

Gerald P. Carmen was appointed U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland on March 6, 1984.

From 1944-1959, Ambassador Carmen was with Carmen Automotive, Inc. in Manchester, New Hampshire. From 1959–1980, he was a consultant and businessman attaining statewide recognition as a successful businessman and civic leader. In 1980, Ambassador Carmen served as the Transition-Team Leader at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He was appointed Administrator of the General Services Administration in 1981 and continued in that capacity until his appointment as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations. He has been a member of the Cabinet Council for Management and Administration, the White House Property Review Board, and the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities.

Mr. Carmen was born in Quincey, Massachusetts on July 8, 1930. He graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1952.

Swiss
Chief of State and Cabinet Members

Kurt Furgler, President
Alphons Egli, Vice President
Otto Stich, Chief, Dept. of Finance
Pierre Aubert, Chief, Dept. of Foreign Affairs
Alphons Egli, Chief, Dept. of the Interior
Elisabeth Kopp, Chief, Dept. of Justice & Police
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Key U.S. Officials in Switzerland

Bern (Embassy)

AMB: Faith R. Whittlesey
DCM: James W. Shinn
POL: Frank Tumminia
ECO: Richard A. Dugstad
COM: Daniel Taher
CON: Annette L. Veler
ADM: Jeffrey S. White
AGR: Mattie R. Sharpless
FIN: James Wallar
PAO: James H. Kirk
ODA: Col William E. Serchak USA

Geneva (Embassy Branch Office)

CON: Kathleen M. Daly

Geneva (U.S. Mission to the European Office of the UN and Other International Organizations)

CM: Gerald P. Carmen
DCM: Ronald D. Flack
ECO: Bernard Engel
REFUGEE/MIGRATION AFF: Beauveau B. Nalle
LEGAL AFF: Thomas A. Johnson
ADM: Francis A. Forgione
LAB: Charles R. Hare
SPEC. AGENCY AFF: Gilbert H. Sheinbaum
HUMAN RIGHTS: Robert M. Perito
RSO: William K. Larson
PAO: Christopher M. Henze
IRM: Theodore E. Strickler

SOVIET UNION

background notes

U.S.S.R.

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

October 1985

The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Official Name: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PROFILE

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Soviet(s). **Population** (1984): 273.8 million. **Annual growth rate:** 0.9%. **Density:** 12 per sq. km. (31/sq. mi.). **Ethnic groups** (1979): 52% Russian, 16% Ukrainian, 5% Uzbek, 4% Belorussian. **Religions** (reliable statistics unavailable): Russian Orthodox, Muslim (major); Georgian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Protestant, Jewish. **Languages:** Russian (lingua franca); more than 100 spoken, 18 by groups of more than 1 million each. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—11. *Attendance*—over 90%. *Literacy*—99.8% (between 9-49 yrs., 1979). **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—30/1,000 (by Soviet definition); 34/1,000 (by US definition). *Life expectancy* (1982)—62 yrs. (males); 73 yrs. (females). **Work force** (129.1 million, 1983): *Agriculture*—19%. *Industry*—29%. *Transportation and communications*—10%. *Services*—26%. *Government*—2%.

Geography

Area: 22,402,076 sq. km. (8.65 million sq. mi.), about 2½ times the size of the US. **Cities:** *Capital*—Moscow (pop. 8.5 million). *Other cities*—Leningrad (4.8 million), Kiev (2.4 million), Tashkent (2 million). **Terrain:** Varied; low mountains, prairies, tundra. **Climate:** Varied; generally long, cold winters and short summers.

Government

Type: One-party state in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union controls the state apparatus. Federal Union (est. December 30, 1922).

State Organs: USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Supreme Soviet (750-member Council of the Union, 749-member Council of Nationalities), Supreme Court of the USSR.

Administrative subdivisions: 15 union republics, 20 autonomous republics, 6 krays, 120 oblasts, 8 autonomous oblasts.

Central government budget (1984): 365.7 billion rubles.

Defense (1980): 12%-14% of GNP.

Flag: Red with a yellow hammer and sickle below a yellow star in the upper left corner.

Economy

GNP (1984): $2.04 trillion. **Annual growth rate:** 2.8% (1982-83); 1.9% (1979-83). **Per capita GNP** (1984): $7,400. **Annual avg. growth rate:** 1.9% (1982-83); 1.0% (1979-83).

Natural resources: Fossil fuels, waterpower, timber, manganese, lead, zinc, nickel, mercury, potash, phosphate.

Agriculture (14% of GNP, 1983): *Products*—wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, sugar beets, linseed, sunflower seed, cotton and flax, cattle, pigs, sheep. *Land*—27%.

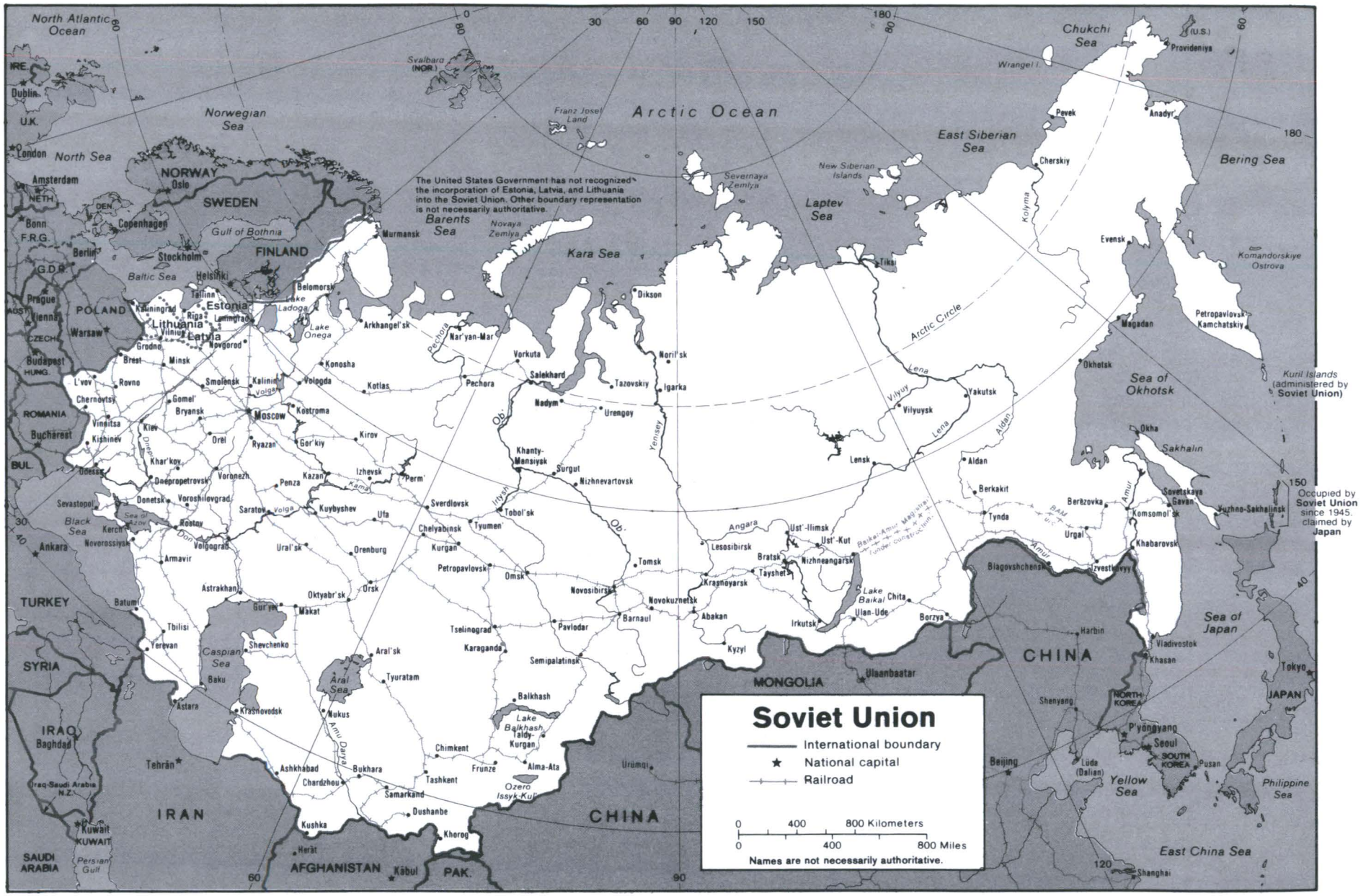
Industry (37% of GNP, 1983): *Types*—mining, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, fuels and power, building materials, chemicals, machine building.

Trade (1983): *Exports*—$91.7 billion: fossil fuels, raw materials, machinery and equipment, semifinished products. *Imports*—$80.4 billion: machinery and equipment, foodstuffs, raw materials. *Partners*—GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, FRG, Cuba, Finland, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, Romania, Japan, US, India, UK.

Official exchange rate (August 1985): .8145 rubles = US$1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and several of its specialized and related agencies (IAEA, ICAO, ILO, IMCO, ITU, UNESCO, UPU, WHO, WMO), Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), Geneva Disarmament Conference, Seabeds Committee, Warsaw Pact, Universal Copyright Convention.


Soviet Union
International boundary
National capital
Railroad
0 400 800 Kilometers
0 400 800 Miles
Names are not necessarily authoritative.
The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.
Occupied by Soviet Union since 1945, claimed by Japan
Kuril Islands (administered by Soviet Union)
Arctic Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
Norwegian Sea
North Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Chukchi Sea
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Sea of Japan
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
Philippine Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Sea of Azov
Persian Gulf
Lake Baikal
Lake Balkhash
Ozero Issyk-Kul'
Arctic Circle
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Estonia
Lithuania
Latvia
POLAND
ROMANIA
BUL.
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
SAUDI ARABIA
KUWAIT
AFGHANISTAN
PAK.
MONGOLIA
CHINA
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
JAPAN
Moscow
Leningrad
Murmansk
Arkhangel'sk
Nar'yan-Mar
Dikson
Tiksi
Pevek
Anadyr'
Provideniya
Magadan
Yakutsk
Vilyuysk
Lensk
Aldan
Okhotsk
Sakhalin
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
Khasan
Berezovka
Komsomol'sk
Urgal
Tynda
Berkakit
Chita
Ulan-Ude
Irkutsk
Bratsk
Nizhneangarsk
Ust'-Ilimsk
Ust'-Kut
Krasnoyarsk
Abakan
Kyzyl
Ulaanbaatar
Novosibirsk
Tomsk
Barnaul
Novokuznetsk
Omsk
Pavlodar
Semipalatinsk
Karaganda
Tselinograd
Petropavlovsk
Tyumen'
Chelyabinsk
Sverdlovsk
Tobol'sk
Surgut
Nizhnevartovsk
Khanty-Mansiysk
Urengoy
Salekhard
Vorkuta
Nadym
Noril'sk
Igarka
Tazovskiy
Pechora
Kotlas
Arkhangel'sk
Murmansk
Belomorsk
Petrozavodsk
Vologda
Kostroma
Kirov
Izhevsk
Perm'
Kazan'
Penza
Saratov
Volgograd
Astrakhan'
Ufa
Kuybyshev
Orenburg
Ural'sk
Oktyabr'sk
Makat
Gur'yev
Orsk
Aral'sk
Tyuratam
Nukus
Krasnovodsk
Balkhash
Taldy-Kurgan
Alma-Ata
Frunze
Chimkent
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bukhara
Ashkhabad
Chardzhou
Dushanbe
Khorog
Kushka
Herāt
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Baku
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Batumi
Ankara
Sevastopol'
Kerch'
Novorossiysk
Donetsk
Dnepropetrovsk
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Kishinev
Vinnitsa
Bucharest
Chernovtsy
L'vov
Rovno
Brest
Minsk
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Athens
Ankara
Tokyo
Seoul
P'yongyang
Pusan
Beijing
Shanghai
Shenyang
Harbin
Lüda (Dalian)
Ürümqi
Kyzyl
Ulaanbaatar
Irkutsk
Chita
Ulan-Ude
Yakutsk
Vilyuysk
Lena
Aldan
Amur
Kolyma
Yenisey
Ob'
Pechora
Volga
Don
Dnepr
Kama
Irtysh
Angara
Vilyuy
Amu Darya
Franz Josef Land
Severnaya Zemlya
Novaya Zemlya
New Siberian Islands
Wrangel I.
Svalbard (NOR.)
Komandorskiye Ostrova
Kuril Islands
Sakhalin
Baikal-Amur Mainline (under construction)
BAM
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Lake Balkhash
Ozero Issyk-Kul'
Persian Gulf
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Aral Sea
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
Philippine Sea
Sea of Japan
Bering Sea
Chukchi Sea
Laptev Sea
Kara Sea
Barents Sea
Norwegian Sea
North Sea
Arctic Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
0
30
60
90
120
150
180
80
40
20
(U.S.)
(NOR.)
IRE.
U.K.
NETH.
DEN.
F.R.G.
G.D.R.
AUST.
CZECH.
HUNG.
BUL.
ROMANIA
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
SAUDI ARABIA
KUWAIT
AFGHANISTAN
PAK.
MONGOLIA
CHINA
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
JAPAN

GEOGRAPHY

The U.S.S.R. is the largest country in the world. Its territory stretches from the Baltic Sea across the northern Eurasian landmass to the Bering Strait, where an island belonging to the Soviet Union lies only 4.8 kilometers (3 mi.) from one that is part of Alaska. Most of the U.S.S.R. is above 50 north latitude (Winnipeg, Canada lies on that latitude). The latitude of Moscow is the same as that of southern Alaska.

In the west, from the Pripet Marches near the Polish border to the Ural Mountains, Soviet territory stretches over a broad plain broken only by occasional low hills. Crossing this plain to the south are a number of rivers, the most important being the Dnieper, which empties into the Black Sea, and the Volga, which empties into the Caspian Sea. Between the Black and Caspian Seas lie the scenic Caucasian Mountains.

The Urals mark the traditional division between European and Asiatic Russia. To the east are the vast Siberian lowlands and the deserts of central Asia. Beyond are the barren Siberian highlands and the mountain ranges of the Soviet far east. Farther to the east lie the higher mountain ranges, including the Pamirs, Altai, and Tien Shan.

The climate of the Soviet Union, though varied, tends to be long, cold winters and brief summers. In parts of the eastern Siberian tundra, temperatures of −68°C (−90°F) have been recorded, and the January average is about −51°C (−60°F). South of the tundra is a large forest belt covering more than half the country.

South of the forests are the steppes (prairies), where the soil is rich and dark. In this zone are located the "black earth" or *chernozem* soils, some of the best in the world. However, this zone is hampered by its rainless climate and desiccating flows of hot, dry air, the famous Russian *sukhovey*, so that it is not as productive as some areas of the world with less fertile soils. The steppes make up 12% of the U.S.S.R.'s area and contain two-thirds of the arable land.

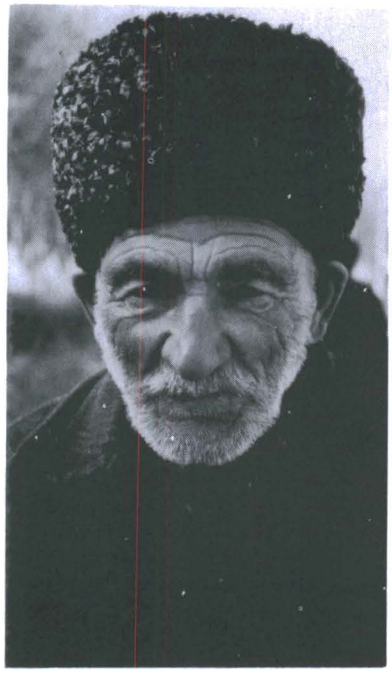
A small subtropical zone lies south of the steppes along the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas. To the southeast, in the deserts of central Asia, rainfall amounts in some places to only 10 centimeters (4 in.) per year.

St. Basil's Cathedral, Red Square.

PEOPLE

The Soviet Union ranks third in world population (after China and India). Moscow and Leningrad are its most populous cities; Kiev, Tashkent, Baku, Kharkov, Gorky, Novosibirsk, Kuibyshev, Sverdlovsk, Tbilisi, Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa, Chelyabinsk, Donetsk, Yerevan, and Omsk each have more than 1 million inhabitants.

More than 100 ethnic groups live in the U.S.S.R., but most are very small. Of the total population, 72% are Eastern Slavs. More than 70% of the Slavs (slightly more than one-half the total population) are Russians; the rest are Ukrainians and Belorussians, who live in the southwestern and western sectors of the European part of the U.S.S.R. The remainder of the population includes peoples belonging to Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Caucasian, other Indo-European,



(Courtesy United Nations/P. Teuscher)

An elderly resident of Bukhara, Uzbek Soviet Republic.

and less numerous ethnic groups, including Eskimos. Although each group has its own language, Russian is widely used and is promoted as a second language for all non-Russians.

School programs are governed by ministries of education in the various republics under the control and guidance of the national Ministry of Education, established in July 1966. The programs emphasize science, include the study of at least one foreign language (often English), and are permeated with political indoctrination. A limited number of elective subjects are being introduced in secondary schools on a trial basis for outstanding students. Otherwise, all students are expected to follow the same curriculum.

According to the provisions of a 1984 educational reform, Soviet children are to begin elementary school at age 6, following 1 or 2 (or more) years in state-operated nursery schools and kindergartens. The goal is to increase compulsory schooling to 11 years (from the previous 10) for all children between the ages of 6 and 17.

The Soviet Union also maintains an extensive network of vocational and professional schools, with classes lasting from 6 months to 2 years. These schools supply industry and agriculture with semiskilled and skilled labor. In most cases, students enter vocational schools after 7–8 years of general school; present policy envisions eventually providing all vocational students with a general secondary education as well. In addition, schools and institutions providing semiprofessional and professional training are available. These generally require complete secondary education for admission. Graduates of the 2–5-year program become "middle-grade specialists."

A small proportion of 11-year-school graduates may enroll in an institution of higher learning. Admission is highly competitive and is based on academic records; entrance examination scores; and, to some extent, on social, political, and ethnic background. A higher educational institution may be either a university (a center of general studies normally with a 5-year program) or a more specialized institute (where the course may last 4–6 years). In either case, the curriculum is only slightly less rigid than that of the general secondary schools, and political indoctrination courses are required. The costs of higher education are paid by the state, and students are given small monthly stipends.

Upon completion of a university or institute course of study, most students go to work in areas and jobs specified by national planning authorities. Eventually, a few may return to do postgraduate work in preparation for the advanced degrees of candidate of sciences or doctor of sciences.

HISTORY

Modern Russian history dates from March 1917, when, after pressuring Tsar Nicholas II into abdicating, representatives of the national legislature formed a provisional government. Like the Tsarist regime, the new government continued its participation in World War I, which led to widespread economic and social dislocation and popular discontent. On November 7, 1917, the government was overthrown by a revolutionary group known as the Bolshevik ("Majority") wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks, was named head of the first Soviet Government. The new regime concluded the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany and the other Central Powers on March 3, 1918, ending its participation in World War I. The Soviets declared all land the property of the state, and a rapid succession of decrees nationalized factories, banks, railroads, and other sectors of the economy. A bitter civil war ensued, lasting until 1922.

Lenin's death in 1924 intensified an intraparty struggle between groups led by Josef Stalin, General Secretary of the Party, and, most notably, Leon Trotsky, Grigoriy Zinovyev, and Nikolay Bukharin. Stalin defeated his rivals in the late 1920s and later had them executed or assassinated. Untold numbers of other Soviet political, military, economic, and cultural leaders were imprisoned,

The world-famous Bolshoi Theater, Moscow.

and many died in the purges of the 1930s. Over 11 million people died in an artificially induced famine from 1932–33 as part of Stalin's attempt to gain foreign exchange by selling grain. The Soviet regime also saw in the famine a means of subduing the rebellious Ukrainian peasantry. As many as 12 million others died during the period of the 1930s in labor camps. Party purges reached a climax in the late 1930s, and, virtually the entire Soviet leadership was purged in 1938. The effects on military preparedness were especially severe, since the Red army leadership was also caught up in the arrests. Throughout the 1930s, Stalin also enforced a program of extremely rapid industrialization, particularly in heavy industry.

In the interwar years, Soviet diplomacy was directed toward gaining acceptance by other European countries. It succeeded only partially, however, because the Soviet-led third Communist International (Comintern), founded in March 1919, attempted through local communist organizations to undermine West European governments. Soviet Russia was recognized by many European countries in 1924. The United States recognized the U.S.S.R. in 1933, but relations soon became strained.

World War II

In the spring of 1939, Stalin made overtures to Nazi Germany, and on August 23 of that year, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed. This 2-year nonaggression treaty included secret provisions for the division of Poland, Romania, and the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Nazi Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and the Soviets followed on September 17. The Soviet Government then abrogated its nonaggression pact with Finland and invaded in November 1939. Although there was strong and stubborn Finnish resistance, the Soviets prevailed by virtue of overwhelming numbers. Peace negotiations concluded on March 12, 1940, led to the cession of a large part of eastern Finland to the U.S.S.R. In June 1940, the independent nations of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. The United States has never recognized the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States. In July, the U.S.S.R. also forcibly annexed two eastern provinces of Romania—Bessarabia, and northern Bukovina.

Hitler turned on his newfound ally and invaded the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941. German troops advanced as far as the outskirts of Moscow before being driven back. Four years of fighting and heavy casualties left widespread devastation in the European part of the Soviet Union. Seven and one-half million Soviet soldiers and up to 20 million Soviet civilians perished in the conflict. However, the ultimate victory of the Allies found Soviet forces in a dominant position in Eastern Europe. Protection of this position and enforcing the division of Germany have been fundamental tenets of Soviet foreign policy since 1945.

To engender patriotic support for the war in an appeal to tradition and nationalism, Stalin permitted certain noncommunist elements of Russia's prerevolutionary past, such as the church, to play a larger role in society. Postwar reconstruction, however, brought a return to the oppressive policies of the 1930s.

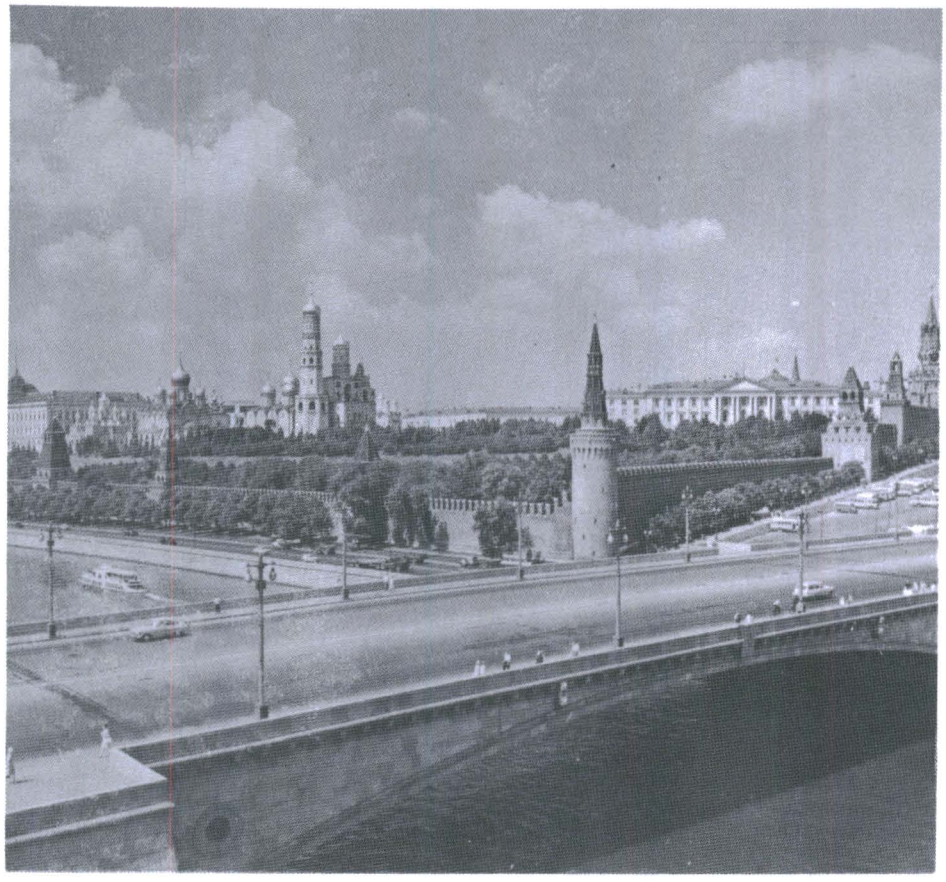
Postwar Period

Profound differences over the postwar order in Europe led almost immediately to a deep chill in relations between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. The United States responded with a policy of "containment" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, which in turn led to the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe, and the development of the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliance systems. The victory of communist forces in China in 1949, the Soviet explosion of an atomic bomb in September 1949, and the Soviet-sponsored invasion of South Korea by North Korea in June 1950 led to a further deterioration in East-West relations.

Stalin died on March 3, 1953. As his successors maneuvered for power, they modified some of the more repressive aspects of the regime but did not alter its totalitarian structure. Nikita S. Khrushchev, installed as First Secretary of the Communist Party in September 1953, consolidated his power when he defeated an attempt by G.M. Malenkov,

(Courtesy United Nations/P. Teuscher)

Tourists line up to view Lenin's tomb in Red Square.



The Kremlin, a 12th-century fortress built on the Moscow River, serves as the U.S.S.R.'s political and administrative center.

V.M. Molotov, and others to unseat him as party leader in June 1957.

In a secret speech to the 20th Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev denounced Stalin as a despot who had sacrificed much of the party's best talents through misdirected purges and mistaken military tactics. "Destalinization" was accompanied by the introduction of certain reforms into the political system, and under Khrushchev's leadership, the principle of "peaceful coexistence" with the West was given greater emphasis. Party rule remained supreme, but some discussion and controversy within the party was permitted. Khrushchev was ousted in October 1964, although the Soviet news agency TASS announced that he had resigned because of poor health and advanced age. Aleksey Kosygin became Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Leonid Brezhnev was made First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Brezhnev's Leadership

Brezhnev emerged from the 24th Party Congress (March–April 1971) as first among equals in a collective leadership. The new leadership's desire to build a more solid, institutional consensus for policy decisions was shown in April 1973, when heads of the army, secret police, and foreign ministry were given full membership in the ruling Politburo. Official actions under this leadership reflected the sharing of power among leaders reluctant to permit significant changes in the internal or external political status quo. Although some attempt was made to repair the damage inflicted on Stalin's image during the Khrushchev era, there was no return to the mass terror of the Stalin period.

In the early 1970s, Soviet relations with Western countries improved, and trade with the West expanded. Several arms control agreements, the cornerstone of which was SALT I (1972), were concluded with the United States. For a brief period in the mid-1970s, it also appeared as if internal controls were easing. Dissidents emerged in large numbers; Brezhnev signed the Helsinki Final Act, which committed the Soviet Union to observe certain human rights standards; and emigration from the Soviet Union increased dramatically. As the decade progressed, however, the regime initiated a gradual internal tightening of controls, which coincided with a more aggressive Soviet arms buildup and foreign policy. Soviet and Soviet-proxy interference in Angola and the Horn of Africa, the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the suppression of the labor movement "Solidarity" in Poland, and a brutal crackdown on human rights in the late 1970s and early 1980s led to a renewed chilly period in East-West relations.

Following the death of Brezhnev in November 1982, Yuriy Andropov, former Chairman of the KGB, became General Secretary. Andropov initiated a campaign to eliminate corruption and began to chart a new program of economic reform. Seriously ill for most of his 15-month tenure, he did not live long enough to implement fully his new policies. East-West relations deteriorated further under his brief tenure with the Soviet suspension of the START [strategic arms reduction talks] and INF [intermediate-range nuclear forces] talks, the attack on Korean Air Lines Flight 007, and other developments. When Andropov died on February 9, 1984, the Politburo selected Konstantin Chernenko, 72, to succeed him as General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee. Chernenko also proved

Soviet
Chief of State and Cabinet Members

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Kuznetsov, First Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Antanas Stasevich Barkauskas, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Pavel Georgiyevich Gilashvili, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Ivan Petrovich Kalin, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Kurban Ali ogly Khalilov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Bayken Ashimovich Ashimov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Bally Yazkuliyevich Yazkuliyev, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Temirbek Khudaybergenovich Koshoyev, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Gaibnazar Pallayevich Pallayev, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Ivan Yevteyevich Polyakov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Babken Yesayevich Sarkisov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Arnold Fedorovich Ryuytel, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Yan Yanovich Vagris, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Akil Umurzakovich Salimov, Dep. Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet
Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Geydar Ali ogly Aliyev, First Dep. Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Ivan Vasil'yevich Arkhipov, First Dep. Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Nikolay Konstantinovich Baybakov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Veniamin Emmanuilovich Dymshits, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Nikolay Vladimirovich Talyzin,Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Nikolay Vasil'yevich Martynov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Aleksey Konstantinovich Antonov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Ziya Nuriyevich Nuriyev, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Leonid Vasil'yevich Smirnov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Boris Yevdokimovich Shcherbina, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Yakov Petrovich Ryabov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov, Minister of Defense
Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Principal Officials

Communist Party Politburo

Geydar A. Aliyev
Viktor M. Chebrikov
Mikhail S. Gorbachev
Viktor V. Grishin
Andrey A. Gromyko
Dinmukhamed A. Kunayev
Yegor K. Ligachev
Nikolay I. Ryzhkov
Vladimir V. Shcherbitskiy
Eduard A. Shevardnadze
Mikhail S. Solomentsev
Nikolay A. Tikhonov
Vitaliy I. Vorotnikov

Candidate Members

Peter N. Demichev
Vladimir I. Dolgikh
Vasiliy V. Kuznetsov
Boris N. Ponomarev
Sergey L. Sokolov

Communist Party Secretariat

Mikhail S. Gorbachev (General Secretary)
Vladimir I. Dolgikh
Ivan V. Kapitonov
Yegor K. Ligachev
Boris N. Ponomarev
Konstantin V. Rusakov
Nikolay I. Ryzhkov
Mikhail V. Zimyanin
Boris I. Yel'tsin
Lev N. Zaykov

Government Officials

Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—Andrey A. Gromyko
Chairman, Council of Ministers—Nikolay I. Ryzhkov
First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers—Geydar A. Aliyev, Ivan V. Arkhipov
Chairman, State Planning Committee—Nikolay K. Baybakov
Minister of Foreign Affairs—Eduard A. Shevardnadze
Minister of Defense—Sergey L. Sokolov

Ambassador to the United States—Anatoly E. Dobrynin
Ambassador to the United Nations—Oleg A. Troyanovskiy

The Soviet Union maintains an embassy in the United States at 1125 - 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20036 (tel. 202-628-8548). The embassy's consular office is at 1825 Phelps Place NW., Washington, D.C. 20008. A Soviet consulate general is at 2790 Green Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94123 (tel. 415-922-6642).

to be in poor health and died after barely a year in office. To succeed him, the Politburo promptly chose Mikhail Gorbachev, 54, thereby beginning the transfer of power to a new generation.

Present Leadership

Gorbachev's rise in the Soviet power structure was unusually swift: from a regional party leader to the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] General Secretary in only 6 years. After 8 years as head of the Stravropol region party apparatus, Gorbachev moved to Moscow in 1978 to become national party secretary supervising agriculture. A year later, he became a candidate Politburo member and in November 1980, a full member. He succeeded Chernenko as General Secretary on March 11, 1985.

In his first 6 months in office, Gorbachev moved rapidly to put his own people into positions of authority and to consolidate his control over the party and governmental apparatus. His principal rival for political power, Grigoriy Romanov, was ousted from the Politburo at a July 1985 plenum. The same plenum named Eduard Shevardnadze Foreign Minister to replace Andrey Gromyko, who was promoted to the largely ceremonial role of Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. On September 17, 1985, Nikolay Ryzhkov was named Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, or Premier.

Gorbachev's leadership style is activist and decisive. He has projected a new sense of purpose and is oriented to making the system work more effectively. He has stressed the need for greater discipline and efficiency in dealing with the Soviet economy, but it remains to be seen whether or not he will make the fundamental changes required to bring about sustained increases in Soviet economic performance. His domestic agenda may become clearer following the adoption of a new party program at the 27th Party Congress in February 1986.

GOVERNMENT

In the Soviet system, ultimate power is exercised by the leaders of the Communist Party. The party imposes its will through a government apparatus patterned after Western political democracies but with little real separation of powers. Government functions are dictated by the party, whose hegemony is explicitly acknowledged by the Constitution. The party makes state policy and supervises its implementation, and party influence and power pervade all phases of life.

One of the major tools at the party's disposal to maintain its hegemony is the KGB, or Committee for State Security. This organization not only conducts intelligence operations abroad but also, through networks of agents and informers, keeps careful check on the political reliability of Soviet citizens at home and abroad. The KGB has modified its role since the death of Stalin, but its presence is still felt by all Soviet citizens.

Since Stalin's death, many of the most infamous forced labor camps have been closed and the number of political prisoners reduced significantly. The camps continue to function, however, and since 1966, increased publicity has been given to political trials and the sentencing of prominent dissident intellectuals and representatives of national minority groups. Psychiatric abuse has partially replaced more traditional means of repression.

The Party

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has a membership of more than 18.4 million, or about 6% of the total population. Party membership is the main avenue to positions of real authority in the Soviet system. Bound by rigid discipline, party members are expected to carry out faithfully those policies set by party leaders.

The most powerful policymaking organ of the Communist Party is the Politburo of the party's Central Committee. The Politburo has 13 members and 5 candidate members. The 10-member Secretariat of the party's Central Committee provides day-to-day executive and administrative direction for the entire party machine. Together, the Politburo and Secretariat constitute the real seat of power in the Soviet Union. The General Secretary (head of the Secretariat) traditionally holds the top position in the Soviet Communist Party.

In theory, the Politburo and Secretariat are accountable to the party's Central Committee. In fact, however, the Central Committee is largely a forum for presenting party policy to the most important members. Normally, it gives party policies unanimous approval. It is not in a position to initiate policy, although on rare occasions the Central Committee has been called on to mediate a serious deadlock which has developed within the Politburo.

According to party statutes, the Central Committee should meet twice yearly. It met rarely in Stalin's time but more frequently under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, and now under Gorbachev. The membership includes approximately 305 full members and approximately 139 candidates.

The Party Congress is, theoretically, the highest authority of the party. Party statutes call for a congress to be held every 5 years. The 26th Congress met in February and March 1981; the 27th is expected to convene in February 1986. Like the role of the Central Committee, the real role of the Party Congress is to give approval to policies set by the party leaders and to provide these policies with an aura of legitimacy. The Party Congress is also a forum for listing past achievements and describing future tasks.

Government Apparatus

The party operates through a government apparatus which has little independent authority. The legislative organ is the Supreme Soviet, theoretically the highest state authority in the Soviet Union. It has two equal houses—the Council of the Union, with 750 members elected on the basis of population, and the Council of Nationalities, with 749 members elected on the basis of territorial units. Elections are called for every 5 years. Only one deputy, approved by the party, runs from each constituency.

Between the semiannual sessions of the Supreme Soviet, which last approximately 4 days, formal power is vested in the 41-member Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Its chairman, Andrey A. Gromyko, is chief of state. The Supreme Soviet formally names the Council of Ministers, the highest executive organ and most important part of the government structure. Under party direction, it supervises the work of the ministries and other governmental bodies.

Soviet Republics

Party and government organizations in each of the 15 constituent union republics are patterned after the central party and government organizations and are subject to direction from Moscow. The constituent union republics are: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Moldavia, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The United States does not recognize the forcible incorporation of the latter three into the U.S.S.R., and it maintains diplomatic relations with representatives of the free governments of these three Baltic States.

ECONOMY

The Soviet Union has the world's second largest industrial base. Western observers estimate Soviet gross national product (GNP) for 1984 at about $2.04 trillion and per capita GNP at about $7,400.

Once an underdeveloped peasant society, the U.S.S.R. has made considerable economic progress since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, largely by forcing the pace of basic industrialization. However, the high priority given heavy industrialization has meant a serious neglect of the consumer sectors of the economy.

The Soviet economy is largely self-sufficient with a broad industrial base. Except in such top priority sectors as defense and space, Soviet technology lags well behind the West. The Soviet economic system historically has been resistant to technological innovation, largely because of the emphasis on large-scale industrial expansion. The system places a premium on high quotas and the quantity of production, generally at the expense of quality. Similarly, in contrast to a competitive market economy with its strong incentive to innovate and develop new technologies, the bureaucratically mired and overcentralized Soviet system tends to stifle innovation.

Despite a relatively low rate of technological progress, the Soviet economy maintained high growth rates until the mid-1970s. Economic growth has been one of the leadership's top priorities and has been maintained largely by high rates of capital investment in industry, coupled with ever-growing numbers of industrial workers. Much of this expanding labor force has come from workers leaving rural and agricultural areas. The share of production and profits devoted to reinvestment has always been high, thus fostering rapid expansion in the number of plants and equipment. Capital investment consistently has risen faster than GNP as a whole; as a percentage of GNP in 1984 it was 34%, compared to 24% in 1960.

Although still reasonably fast by Western standards, Soviet economic growth has decelerated. The average annual rate of GNP increase was about 6% in the 1950s, slipped to about 5% in the 1960s, fell below 4% in the 1970s, and has remained between 2 and 3% in the 1980s. Declining growth rates are partially attributable to declining growth in industry, which in turn has resulted from a drop in the productivity of capital and falling growth rates in labor productivity. Evidence is strong that worker alienation, as evidenced by widespread alcoholism, is a major factor in poor labor productivity.

Shortages of skilled labor are another growing problem for Soviet industry. Increasing shortages in the European U.S.S.R. contrast greatly with the abundant labor pool in the Central Asian region. Not only will natural growth in the labor force drop from about 2 million persons per year in the 1970s to about 400,000 by the mid-1980s, but nearly all of the 400,000 will come from the less-skilled and less-mobile populations of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. This will compound the problem further for industry concentrated in the European U.S.S.R. of imported technology. Efficiency can best be enhanced by the solution of other problems endemic to the Soviet system. These include "storming" (irregular production schedules with a last-minute rush to fill quotas), hoarding of inventories (because of unreliable delivery), pricing of goods that does not properly reflect real costs, inflexible plans and quotas, and political interference in enterprise management and decision-making.

To a considerable degree, the inefficiencies of the Soviet economy are a result of the U.S.S.R.'s highly centralized, bureaucratic planning and administration. The Communist Party leadership makes basic economic decisions that are incorporated into the annual plan and the 5-year plan. Although it has expanded at a faster rate than GNP as a whole, growth in capital investment has been declining since the 1960s. The 1981–85 plans intended for

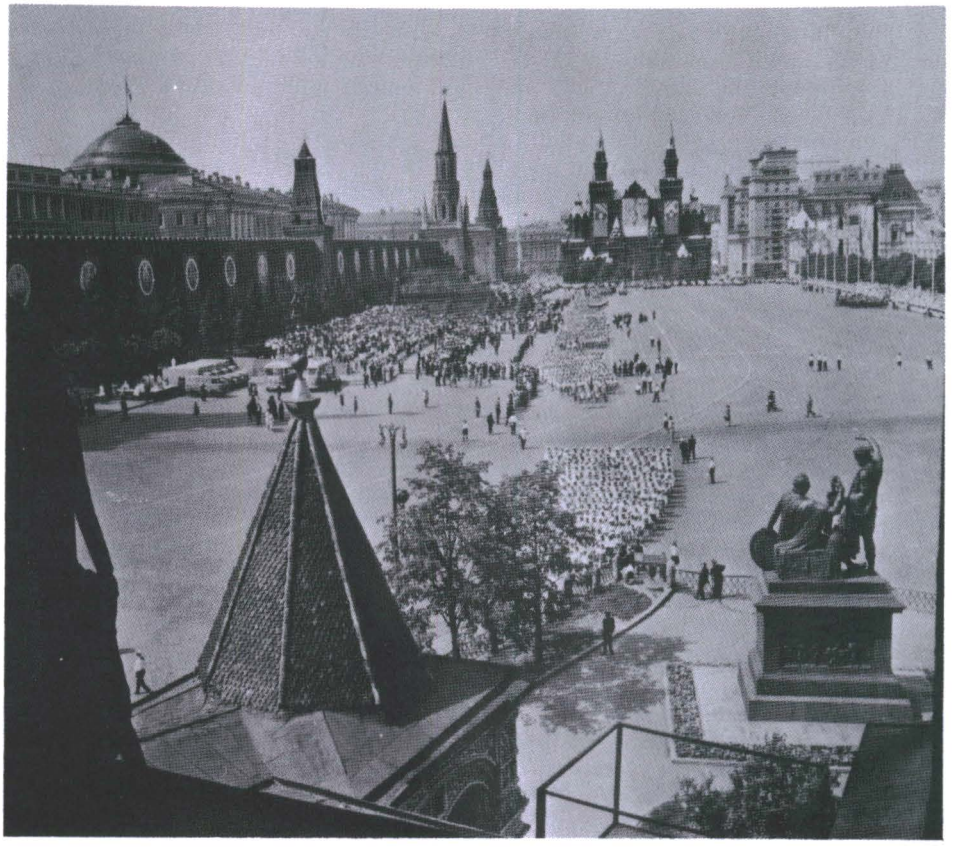
capital investment to increase no faster than GNP as a whole.

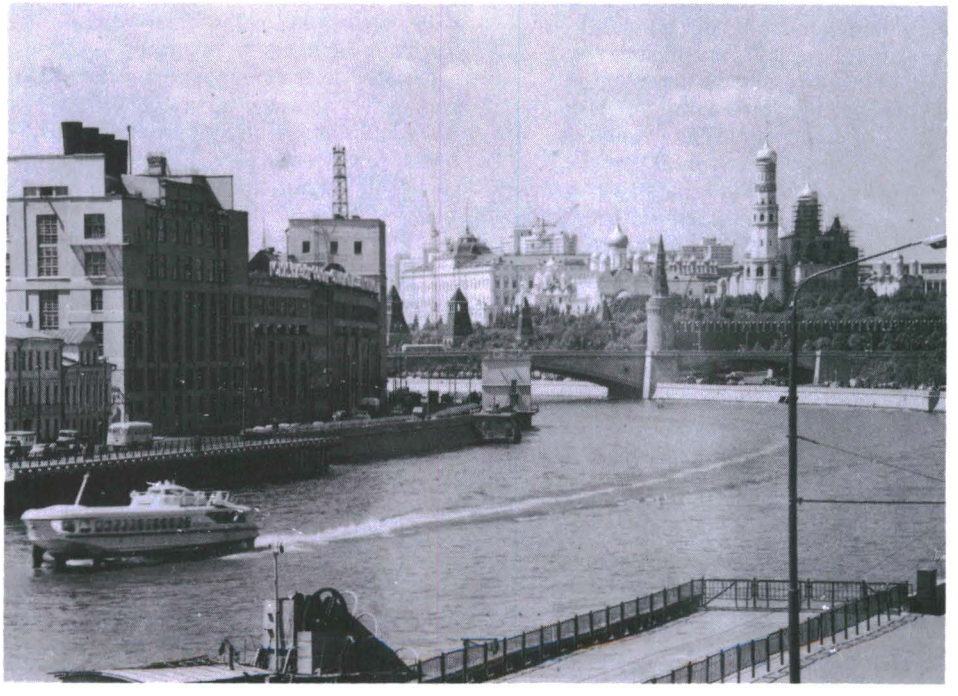
The expansion of Soviet trade with the West over the past decade and a half has stemmed largely from hopes of achieving technological progress through large-scale imports of Western technology. However, increased imports from the West alone cannot bring about the modernization and increased efficiency that the Soviets seek. A longstanding resistance to innovation in the Soviet system impairs the efficient adoption into plans covering virtually every aspect of the economy. Though the much-heralded 5-year plans set general outlines for development, the annual plans are considerably more significant for the actual operation of the economy. Much of the planner's control is executed through the allocation of resources.

Industrial and commercial enterprises are state-owned and -operated. Government control of the economic system is reinforced by financial and accounting controls. The state controls the budget, the banks, and accounting and statistical systems. The largest sources of state revenue are the taxation of enterprise profits and the "turnover tax," a sales tax levied on all transactions of consumer goods and services. Direct income taxes provide less than 10% of the governnment revenue.

While most of Stalin's rule saw an overwhelming orientation toward heavy industry, the years following his death in 1953 saw a significant econonmic reorientation. Khrushchev did not abandon the priority given heavy industry, but he put more emphasis on improving living standards. The Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko regimes continued this trend; agricultural investment, consumer goods, and housing development have all been expanded in an attempt to improve the lives of Soviet citizens.

The results of the tenth 5-year plan (1976–80) were a disappointment to the Soviet leadership. Though supposedly more realistic and moderate than earlier plans, several of the plan's major goals were not reached. Transportation problems and inadequate supplies of raw materials and intermediate goods impeded growth. Shortfalls in the production of key industrial commodities—especially steel, oil, coal, construction materials, and chemicals—were particularly serious. Although production shortfalls are common in the Soviet economy, the 1979–80 problems were unusually severe and reflected the Soviet economy's endemic problems. In addition, bad weather contributed to





Top: The Kremlin's cathedrals, palaces, and museums attract visitors from all over the world to Red Square.

Bottom: A hydrofoil tour on the Moscow River.

poor harvests in 1979 and 1980, leaving the agricultural sector in disarray and dashing consumers' hopes of a significant improvement in diet.

The planned 4% annual growth rate of the current eleventh 5-year plan (1981–85) has proved unattainable. In 1981 and 1982, the GNP increased by 2.1% and 2.6%, respectively. Due to improved weather conditions, increased labor discipline, and additions to production capacity, the growth rate reached 3% in 1983.

The plan places the greatest emphasis on developing heavy industry and agriculture, with the highest growth targeted for military-related branches of industry. Although the directives contain much rhetoric on the need to boost living standards, few gains in consumption are likely in the near future. Whatever anxiety the leadership feels about the Soviet consumer's plight has not been enough to cause a significant reallocation of resources in the consumer's favor.

The guidelines of the present 5-year plan contain nearly 50% less statistical data than previous plans, suggesting delays, uncertainties, and possible conflicts among Soviet decisionmakers.

To meet their ambitious targets, Soviet leaders are calling for stricter discipline and increased efficiency for workers and managers. Science and technology are also to be given an expanded role in boosting the productivity of labor and other resources. Without an acceleration in growth of productivity to offset the slower growth in the skilled labor force, Soviet economic growth will continue to fall.

Resources

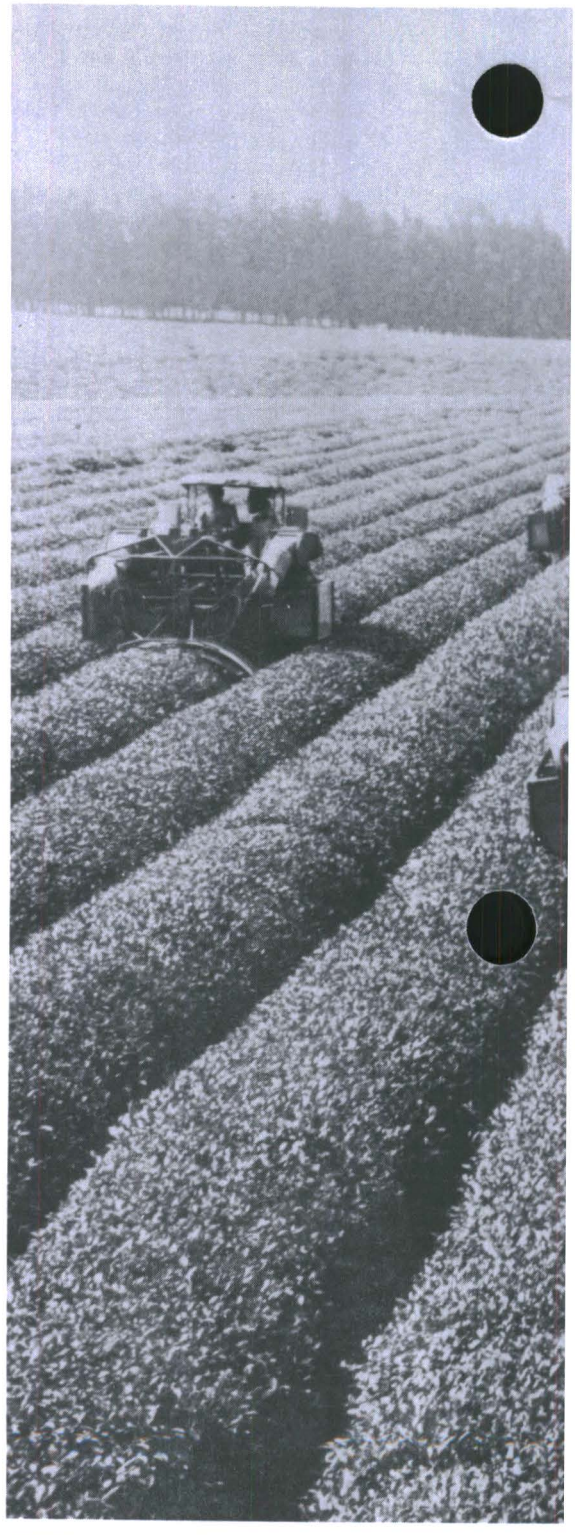
Within its vast expanse of territory, the U.S.S.R. has a generous endowment of most natural resources. Energy resources, fuel, and hydroelectric power are estimated to be at least 25% of the world's total, but their extraction and utilization is hampered by difficult terrain and inhospitable weather. Because the most easily accessible energy resources are becoming exhausted, the Soviets are turning increasingly to Siberian minerals and energy deposits, which are difficult and costly to exploit. Although oil and coal production have peaked, natural gas and nuclear energy have significant growth potential in the near future. Soviet timber and manganese resources are the largest in the world. The U.S.S.R. also has ample supplies of lead, zinc, nickel, mercury, potash, and phosphate. It lacks a large domestic reserve of only two major minerals—tin and uranium. Despite the wealth of energy resources, energy conservation is becoming increasingly important due to high energy prices and tightening supplies of oil and coal.

Trade

Total Soviet foreign trade amounted to $172 billion in 1983—$91.7 billion in exports and $80.4 billion in imports. Of this $172 billion, 56% was with other communist countries, mainly with the six East European members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA)—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The Soviet Union exports primarily fuels and raw materials. Soviet imports are primarily machinery, industrial equipment, and manufactured consumer goods. The Soviets are pressuring CEMA partners to increase exports to the U.S.S.R. to reduce the Soviet trade surplus with them. Higher oil prices accounted for a large part of the increase in value of Soviet exports to CEMA countries in 1983. Soviet trade with China doubled in 1983 to reach $650 million, the highest level of Sino-Soviet trade since 1960.

In 1983, 14% of Soviet trade was conducted with noncommunist developing countries. Trade with these countries consists typically of exports of Soviet machinery and equipment, often associated with economic aid projects, in return for agricultural raw materials, foodstuffs, and some light manufactured goods. In recent years, half or more of Soviet deliveries to these countries have been military goods.

The remaining 30% of 1983 Soviet trade was with the developed Western countries. This percentage was down from 32.6% in 1981 and largely reflected a 25% cut in purchases from the United States and Japan in 1983. Imports from the United States fell because of a decline in agricultural purchases as the U.S.S.R. enjoyed an improved grain harvest that year. The drop in imports from Japan reflected reduced purchases of steel pipe and machinery. In contrast, Soviet trade with Western Europe continued to rise with machinery imports increasing by 15% as the U.S.S.R. continued to purchase Western technology needed to modernize its economy. The Federal Republic of Germany remains the U.S.S.R.'s leading Western trading partner, with Finland, Italy, and France following closely behind. U.S.S.R. imports from the United States, exceeding $2 billion in 1983, consisted primarily of wheat, corn, and phosphoric acid, which is used primarily for the production of fertilizer. U.S.S.R. exports



Mechanized tea-picking on a collective farm in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.
(Courtesy United Nations)

to the United States in 1983 totaled $445 million and included gold, platinum, ammonia, and oil.

The Soviet hard-currency trade deficit for 1983 was down to $1.3 billion. Oil exports, which currently account for 60% of Soviet hard-currency exports, increased in volume by 15% in 1983. In addition, better harvests in 1983 helped the Soviets cut back on grain imports.

The Soviets have been able to finance their hard-currency trade deficits through borrowing, gold sales, and earnings from other components of the balance of payments. However, in order to preserve its credit rating, the U.S.S.R. will probably exercise some restraint with respect to nongrain imports. In the short term, the Soviets will be under great pressure to maintain oil production, which will become increasingly difficult and expensive, in order to keep up hard-currency earnings. Any significant drop in oil production would confront the Soviets with the hard options of reducing hard-currency exports to the West, lowering deliveries to Eastern Europe, or squeezing domestic consumption. Over the longer term, the Soviets plan to increase exports of natural gas as a hard-currency earner, which should compensate for the anticipated decline in oil exports.

Agriculture

Despite increased investment and a rise in farming incomes, agriculture remains the Soviet Union's greatest economic problem. Harsh and unpredictable weather has added to the U.S.S.R.'s major shortcoming, namely, the failure to introduce efficient management practices and technologies needed to stimulate and boost production. The U.S.S.R. has about 60 million square kilometers (2.3 million sq. mi.) of arable land and pasture. However, much of this land is poor by Western standards. Sown crops occupy only 10% of the total land area.

Agriculture is organized into about 28,000 collective farms (average area is 64 sq. km. or 25 sq. mi.) and 18,000 state farms (average area is 194 sq. km. or 75 sq. mi.). State farms operate as "agricultural factories" on which farm workers are paid wages. Theoretically, collective farms function like cooperatives, although decisionmaking is more centralized. On state and collective farms, workers and peasants are permitted the use of small, private plots. Although they account for only 3% of the total sown area, these plots produce 33% of the country's meat, milk, eggs, and vegetables, and 66% of its potatoes.

However, in the production of livestock products, the small private sector depends heavily on state and collective feed supplies. When shortfalls have occurred, as in 1972, 1975, 1979, and 1980, the government has shown greater tolerance toward private agriculture.

In 1983, investment in agriculture accounted for 27% of total investment. In particular, investment in fertilizer facilities, storage and refrigeration facilities, and farm machinery increased as part of a plan to increase investment in industries that directly support agriculture. In 1983, gross agricultural output rose by 5%, reaching a new all-time high. The livestock sector performed particularly well as a result of strong emphasis given by the leadership to the building of herds. Meat and milk output reached new records as well.

A recent Soviet agricultural goal has been to increase meat supply to improve the diet and standard of living of the Soviet population. However, their targets have not been reached. In 1983, meat supply increased only slightly to 51.7 kg. per capita. To meet the Soviet goal of 85 kg. per capita in 1990 will require large, stable, domestic grain production in addition to imports, as well as increased use of feed proteins. Given the continued inability of the farm sector to produce sufficient amounts of grain to support the ambitious goals of the meat program, demand for imported grain is likely to remain high.

Economic Future

The overall outlook for the Soviet economy for the remainder of the 1980s is for continued growth, although probably at increasingly modest rates. Labor shortages will place a premium on increased productivity; however, ingrained worker attitudes and probable continued reluctance by the leadership to risk the uncertainties of meaningful economic reform will make productivity breakthroughs unlikely. The export of oil and, increasingly, natural gas should continue to be the chief earner of hard currency for the Soviets, while Soviet manufactures, with the exception of chemicals, are likely to remain noncompetitive in Western markets. If energy sales falter, it would not be surprising to see the Soviets step up borrowing in Western Europe in order to help meet hard-currency needs. Bilateral trade between the United States and the Soviet Union is likely to continue to be a modest proportion of both countries' overall foreign trade. If, as it appears, large-scale U.S. grain sales continue, U.S. exports to the Soviet Union should exceed imports from the U.S.S.R. sizably.

Since taking office in the spring of 1985, Gorbachev has made a determined effort to improve output through the imposition of a discipline campaign—including a crackdown on alcoholism—and high-level personnel changes. Economic experiments, such as broader managerial rights, labor brigades, and wages based on final output, which have been underway in several industrial ministries, are to be expanded; investment in the renovation of existing industrial facilities—as opposed to the construction of new ones—is to be stressed; the decisionmaking power of individual enterprises will apparently be broadened; and greater efforts will be made to promote closer cooperation between the Soviet scientific establishment and production facilities. It is not clear, however, how far the leadership is prepared to go with reforms that might mean greater reliance upon the market

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: The climate of the USSR is as varied as that of the US, although it tends to be cooler. Winter travelers to European areas of the USSR should bring their warmest clothes, boots, and hats. Public buildings, hotels, and homes are well-heated, however. Hot weather generally occurs from June through August; Moscow summer temperatures often get up to the 30sC (90sF), and lightweight clothing is suitable. Spring and early fall are unpredictable; snow flurries and temperatures in the mid-20sC (80sF) are both possible in May and September.

Customs and visas: A valid Soviet entry/exit visa is required of all US travelers to the USSR. Tourists, business people, and persons attending conferences or conventions in the USSR should arrange their travel through one of the many US or European travel agencies accredited by Intourist, the official Soviet travel agency. In addition to arranging all travel and hotel accommodations (which must be paid for in advance), the travel agent makes arrangements for visas.

A customs declaration must be completed on arrival, and baggage and personal effects are often examined closely by customs inspectors. No Soviet currency may be brought into or taken out of the USSR, and all other currency and valuables must be declared. The declaration, stamped by Soviet customs authorities, must be retained by the traveler and presented upon departure. Understating or not declaring currency or valuables—including commonplace items such as wedding rings—can lead to confiscation. Currency exchange may only be carried out by official Soviet Government agencies, and all receipts should be kept by the traveler. All offers to exchange money on the street or to buy personal clothing or other items should be refused; this violates Soviet law.

Soviet customs authorities often confiscate religious objects or publications, particularly if the traveler has more than one or two such items. Sexually oriented material and publications considered "anti-Soviet" may also be confiscated. Soviet authorities are extremely sensitive to attempts to bring in marijuana or narcotic drugs or to take out correspondence or other items for Soviet citizens.

Health: Adequate medical care is available in the larger cities, although some common medications are not. Methods of treatment and facilities often differ from those to which Americans are accustomed. Travelers needing medical care should ask their hotel service bureau or their Intourist guide to direct them to the proper facility. Medical treatment is provided to foreigners without charge under most circumstances. No immunizations beyond those normally kept current in the US are required of travelers to the USSR.

The US Public Health Service has noticed that many US visitors to the USSR, and particularly to Leningrad, have returned to the US infected with the intestinal parasite *giardia lamblia*. The infection is probably contracted by consuming tapwater, or ice or drinks made from tapwater. It might also be transmitted by cold foods, such as salads. Bottled water presumably is free from infection.

Telecommunications: International telephone and telegraph service is theoretically available throughout the USSR, although travelers may encounter difficulty in placing international telephone calls. Direct-dial telephone service between the Soviet Union and many countries was suspended by Soviet authorities in September 1982, and has been only partially reinstituted under restricted conditions. For most of the year, Moscow is eight time zones ahead of Washington, DC.

Transportation: Daily international flights are available from Moscow, Leningrad, and other major Soviet cities to major cities in Europe. Aeroflot landing privileges were suspended by the US Government in September 1983 following the Soviet attack on Korean Air Lines Flight 007.

Internal intercity transport is usually by plane (the Soviet Government airline, Aeroflot) or train. Most trains are comfortable and clean. The major Soviet cities—Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, and others—have subways and bus transportation. Taxis can sometimes be difficult to obtain, and taxi drivers generally do not understand foreign languages.

to set prices and a willingness to shut down inefficient enterprises. Unless major reforms are undertaken, it is difficult to see how the Soviets can overcome the inefficiencies built into their economic system and significantly improve economic performance in the upcoming (1986–1990) twelfth 5-year plan.

DEFENSE

The Soviet Union maintains large and growing military forces. It is estimated that the Soviets spend between 12% and 15% of their GNP on defense, compared to 5% by the United States.

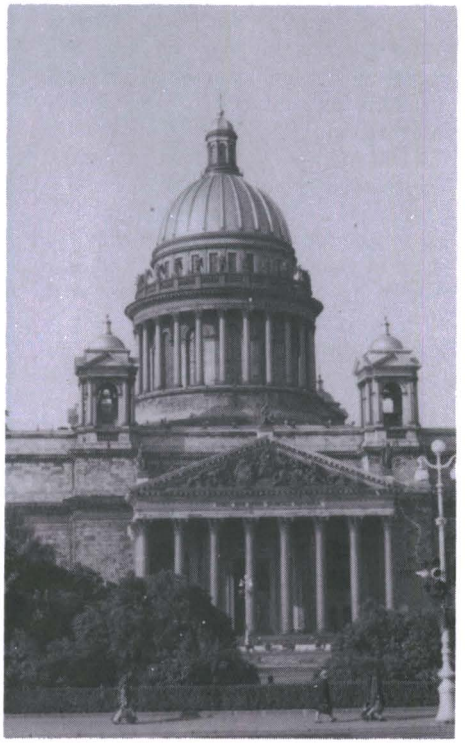
The armed forces of the U.S.S.R. number more than 4.4 million members. Men are legally required to serve, although deferments and exemptions may be granted in special cases. Modern mechanized ground forces are well equipped with tanks. The Soviet Navy is the largest in the world, and the Soviets possess a vast arsenal of strategic missiles.

The Soviet Union dominates the Warsaw Pact, established in 1955. The alliance joins the U.S.S.R. and its East European allies—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. A Soviet officer heads the pact's joint command.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Three broad interrelated areas of Soviet foreign policy concern are the industrialized democracies, the developing nations, and the communist world.

Soviet theoreticians point to the Leninist concept of "peaceful coexistence" as the central feature of Soviet foreign policy. This concept is "a specific form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the international arena . . . the basically antagonistic conflict between the two opposing socioeconomic systems is transferred from the level of military clashes to that of economic competition, comparison of political systems and ways of life, and ideological struggle." In practical terms, the U.S.S.R. has sought to avoid direct conflict with the industrialized democracies while promoting communism in developing nations. The U.S.S.R. is the first among equals in the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance among East European communist states (Yugoslavia excepted). The U.S.S.R. places a high priority on maintaining communist rule in the "fraternal socialist" states, by military force if necessary, as in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968). Recent years, however, have seen the rise of the "Solidarity" labor movement in Poland, a movement which was suppressed only after the declaration of martial law under pressure from the U.S.S.R. in 1983.



St. Issac's Cathedral is also a museum.

Afghanistan

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, installing the puppet regime of Babrak Karmal. Opposition to the Soviets and the Karmal regime has grown and spread throughout the country, and the Afghan resistance fighters (*mujahidin*) have held the Soviet invader to a military standoff. The number of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan has risen to over 115,000, with 30,000–40,000 additional troops serving in support roles across the Soviet border. Soviet tactics against the *mujahidin* and Afghan civilians have been usually brutal, including the use of chemical and toxin weapons and antipersonnel mines disguised as toys. Close to 3 million refugees are estimated to have fled to Pakistan, with another 1.5 million Afghans in Iran, half of whom are refugees. The UN General Assembly has condemned the Soviet invasion in six resolutions, and in 1984, the vote of 119 to 20 with 14 abstentions was the largest ever. The United States fully supports the UN indirect negotiating process on Afghanistan, which is based on four elements:

- The complete withdrawal of all foreign troops;
- The restoration of the independent and nonaligned status of Afghanistan;
- Self-determination for the Afghan people; and
- Return of the refugees with safety and honor.

Eastern Europe

In the years immediately following World War II, the Soviet Union installed communist regimes in East European countries occupied by the Red army. Czechoslovakia fell to the communists after a Soviet-inspired coup d'etat in February 1948. Yugoslavia, liberated from the Nazis by indigenous forces, resisted Moscow's control, maintained its independence, and has been separate from the Soviet bloc since 1948. In addition to its failure to integrate Yugoslavia into the Soviet bloc, the Kremlin has been confronted with a series of upheavals and rebellions against Soviet authority in Eastern Europe including:

- The Berlin uprising of June 17, 1953, suppressed by Soviet troops;
- The 1956 Hungarian revolution, suppressed by Soviet troops;
- Albania's defection from the Warsaw Pact in 1960–61;
- Romania's assertion of foreign policy and national independence from 1962 onward;
- The Czechoslovakian "Prague Spring" uprising of 1968, suppressed by Soviet troops;
- The Polish "workers' revolt" of December 1970—Polish popular disturbances over food price increases in June 1976; and
- Strikes by Polish workers in August 1980, leading to the establishment of the independent "Solidarity" trade and farm unions (suppressed by a December 1980 declaration of martial law).

The record shows that the Soviets have not hesitated to use armed force, when practicable, to contain what they

regard as dangerous manifestations of independence in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has two principal concerns in the preservation of subservient regimes in Eastern Europe: the security of the approaches to Soviet western borders and the ideological necessity of demonstrating that communism is the wave of the future.

Berlin

After World War II, Berlin was made a separate area under four-power (United States, United Kingdom, France, and U.S.S.R.) control. It is still under this quadripartite responsibility. Soviet claims to have turned over responsibility for their sector to the German Democratic Republic have never been recognized as legal by the other governing powers.

Berlin was a constant focus of East-West crises because of Soviet attempts to isolate the city, located more than 160 kilometers (100 mi.) inside the communist-controlled portion of Germany. By the late 1960s, both sides were ready to attempt to end these confrontations. In mid-1969, the three Western powers, with the Federal Republic of Germany's (F.R.G.) support, approached the Soviet Government with a proposal for negotiations.

Begun in March 1970, the negotiations resulted in September 1971, in the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, which was brought into effect in June 1972. This agreement embodied Soviet commitments to permit unhindered access to Berlin, to provide for improved movement and communications within the city, and to acknowledge F.R.G. ties with West Berlin and the F.R.G.'s right to represent West Berlin abroad.

Although implementation of the Berlin agreement has not been without difficulties and disagreements, it has, to date, resulted in amelioration of the Berlin situation.

CSCE

Progress in East-West relations, particularly the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and the 1970 treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G., opened the way to the convening in 1973 of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Final Act was signed in Helsinki by the heads of all European countries except Albania, as well as by the United States and Canada, on August 1, 1975. The accord covered principles of state conduct; "confidence-building measures" with respect to military maneuvers; cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical, and environmental areas; and freer human contacts and exchanges of information.

Differences between Soviet and Western compliance with the Final Act, particularly on human rights issues, have become an increasingly important issue in East-West relations and were a focal point of East-West clashes at the 1978 Belgrade CSCE Review Conference and the 1981 Madrid Conference.

Cuba

Cuba has played a special role in U.S.-Soviet relations. The surreptitious installation in 1962 of medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba represented an attempt to gain a quick, major improvement in Moscow's strategic position vis-a-vis the United States. This confrontation was resolved when, at President Kennedy's insistence and under a U.S. threat to blockade the island, the Soviets withdrew all offensive weapons from Cuba and pledged not to reintroduce them.

Later in the decade, Moscow's ties with Cuba grew stronger as the Soviets subsidized the failing Cuban economy and provided substantial amounts of military assistance. Current Soviet support for Cuba is estimated to be more than $10 million per day. Especially since 1975, Cuba's growing military capabilities and certain aspects of Soviet military activities in and around Cuba have been of concern to the United States and the subject of diplomatic exchanges with Moscow. The United States closely monitors all aspects of Soviet-Cuban military cooperation to ensure that U.S. interests are not threatened.

Politically, Cuban activity in other countries is periodically an issue in U.S.-Soviet relations. Cuban activities in Latin America in the 1960s and in Africa in the 1970s have been irritants in U.S. relations with Havana and, to the extent such activities are encouraged or supported by Moscow, with the Soviet Union as well.

The Developing Nations

In the Stalin era, the "two-camp" philosophy of foreign affairs prevailed, in which most of the nonindustrialized nations tended to be lumped with the "imperialist" powers of the West as targets of communist struggle. Stalin's successors soon altered this approach and chose the developing world as an area where the U.S.S.R. could change the global "correlation of forces" to the U.S.S.R.'s favor.

The 20th Party Congress (1956) set the theoretical justification for this policy. Moscow perceived the developing nations as a "zone of peace" and the political leaders there as potential "progressives" deserving Soviet support, especially in encouraging radical, anti-Western sentiment. In the years since that Party Congress, Moscow has usually supported anticolonialist and liberation movements as well as communist parties in the developing world, providing propaganda support, training, and in certain cases, substantial amounts of economic and military assistance. Article 28 of the Soviet Constitution adopted in 1977 commits the U.S.S.R. to "supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress." Soviet aid to developing nations is overwhelmingly military, rather than economic. Cumulative Soviet economic aid dispersed to developing nations from 1954 to 1984 amounted to about $14 billion; military aid totaled $75 billion.

Soviet support for African liberation movements gave Moscow important political influence in southern Africa, following the Portugese revolution of 1974. In Mozambique and Angola, longstanding Soviet support for liberation movements led to enhanced Soviet influence following independence. Soviet and Cuban military aid was vital to the new rulers of those countries in their efforts to consolidate their rule and defeat their opponents. Similarly, the Soviet Union played a crucial role following the Ethiopian revolution of 1974, coming to the aid of the new military government of Lt. Col. Mengistu and later providing assistance in the Ogaden War with Somalia.

Soviet-Asian Affairs

The People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). Moscow hailed the advent of the Chinese communists to power in October 1949 as a major accretion of the strength of international communism and moved quickly to cement relations with the new regime in Beijing with the conclusion on February 14, 1950, of a 30-year treaty of alliance and friendship. The Beijing regime was troubled by destalinization and the foreign policies of

Stalin's successors, however, and differences between the two communist giants began to surface in the late 1950s.

In 1960, these differences of both doctrine and national interest became public when the Chinese made a thinly-veiled theoretical attack on Khrushchev's strategy for the international communist movement. There were several desultory efforts to patch up relations but, for all intents and purposes, the breach was final. For the rest of the decade, Moscow and Beijing competed for influence with communist-ruled countries, national communist parties, and throughout the world. After the Chinese exploded a nuclear device in 1964, the Soviets began to view the problem in military, as well as political terms. During the next 20 years, they dramatically increased military forces along the border, and in 1969, relations reached a nadir when the two countries had an armed clash over an island in the Ussuri River. Since then, both sides have periodically engaged in negotiations over the demarcation of the 6,760-kilometer (4,200-mile) border. These talks have not resolved the dispute.

By the 1970s, the Sino-Soviet split had become an accepted part of the geopolitical landscape. Relations between Moscow and Beijing began to reflect Soviet concern about China's steadily improving relations with the highly industrialized nations of Western Europe and Japan, especially after President Nixon's 1972 visit to the P.R.C.

At the end of the 1970s, a combination of the Soviet military buildup in Asia, the invasion of Afghanistan, and support for Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, complicated the prospects for a rapprochement. Beijing has said that these three issues pose "obstacles" to the normalization of relations. Over the past few years, however, both Moscow and Beijing have been working to improve their relations. The Soviets and Chinese have held several rounds of political consultations, but have, so far, been unable to make much progress on the three "obstacles." Greater progress has been made in the area of economics and cultural relations, where the two sides have been able to reach some agreements on expanding trade and academic ties. Gorbachev, on his accession to power, said that improved relations with the P.R.C. was high on his foreign affairs agenda. While progress continues to be limited by the serious geopolitical differences which divide them, Moscow and Beijing have agreed to reciprocal visits by their respective foreign ministers.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam (S.R.V.). Vietnam has emerged as one of the Soviet Union's most important client states. Soviet ties to the S.R.V. provide a strategic lever on China's southern flank and have also allowed a dramatic expansion of Soviet naval and air power in the South China Sea through the use of the former U.S. facilities at Cam Ranh Bay. It is largely Soviet economic and military aid to Vietnam which allows Hanoi to maintain the occupation of Cambodia which it launched in 1978. Continued Soviet support for the S.R.V. has damaged relations with the countries making up the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as well as with the P.R.C. Despite the economic and political costs which this relationship has imposed on

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the Soviets, they appear to believe that the geostrategic benefits they derive from their ties with Hanoi are more important.

Japan. Soviet relations with Japan have been strained in the postwar years, in part because of failure to conclude a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty after World War II. The Soviet Union claims that the 1945 Yalta accords give the U.S.S.R. sovereignty over the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan, and the Habomai Islands. Japan, however, considers these islands to be the Japanese "Northern Territories." The Soviets have refused to acknowledge that there is any territorial issue to be resolved with Japan. The buildup of Soviet military forces in the region and revelations of KGB defector Stanislav Levchenko of Soviet espionage activities in Japan have further strained the relationship.

The Middle East

The Middle East is a region of major political, economic, and strategic importance to Moscow because it lies close to the U.S.S.R.'s southern border, flanks NATO countries, and has the world's largest proven oil reserves.

The Arab-Israeli conflict provided the opportunity for Soviet entry into the area. Moscow took advantage of this opening in the mid-1950s by inaugurating a military and economic assistance program in Egypt. Exploitation of this regional conflict remained the key element in Moscow's growing presence and influence in the area throughout the three Arab-Israeli wars (1956, 1967, 1973). Heavy-handed Soviet involvement in Egypt's internal affairs led to their expulsion in 1972, but Moscow continued to be the major supplier of arms and economic assistance to the rejectionist Arab belligerents, as well as the other states in the area, and has, when necessary, ignored the anticommunist sentiments of many Arab governments there. Arms supply has been the principal means of Soviet entry into the region, and the Soviets continually probe to exploit new markets.

Today, Syria is the linchpin of Soviet policy in the Middle East, although the Soviets have limited control over Syrian policies. After the defeat of Syria and other Soviet-supported parties by Israel in the 1982 Lebanon war, the Soviets massively resupplied Syria with military equipment that was more advanced than that which had been lost in the fighting. Some of this equipment was being shipped outside the Soviet bloc for the first time. The Soviets are also the principal arms supplier to Iraq.

In the summer of 1984, the Soviet Union put forward a plan calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East. This Soviet initiative represented a modification of a proposal made by Brezhnev several years earlier. It calls for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, perhaps in confederation with another state. The plan has received *pro forma* endorsement from Arab states but is opposed by Israel and the United States because it is not based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, which is the only internationally agreed basis for peace, and it does not call for direct negotiations between the parties at issue, which would give them a stake in the settlement.

Libyan-Soviet relations remain cooperative, centering on massive Soviet arms sales to the Mu'ammar Qadhafi regime. It is estimated that as of 1983, the U.S.S.R. and its allies have provided $28 billion worth of weaponry to Qadhafi, an inventory far in excess of Libya's legitimate national defense needs and even beyond its capacity to man. Although Soviet sales have not been constrained by the Libyan regime's revolutionary Islamic objectives and use of terrorism, Qadhafi's erratic behavior gives Moscow pause in defining its long-term relationship. A long-promised treaty of friendship and assistance remains unsigned.

International Communism

Moscow's repeated efforts at tightening organizational and ideological unity in the international communist movement have met increasing resistance. When the European Communist Party Conference met in Berlin in 1976, it gave a boost to pluralism within the communist community by acknowledging each party's independence and its right to deviate from the Soviet model by taking national characteristics into consideration. This was in contrast to the world communist meetings convened in 1960 and 1965. Moscow, concerned with the problem of ideological orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, stresses the need for unity in the communist movement, while the Spanish, French, and Italian Communist Parties—the "Eurocommunists"—continue to assert their independence.

Arms Control

Multilateral Agreements and Negotiations. The Soviet Union and the United States have entered into a variety of agreements on arms control. Major multilateral agreements include the following:

- The 1961 Antarctic Treaty, providing for the peaceful use and nonmilitarization of that continent;
- The 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, prohibiting nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater;
- The 1967 Outer Space Treaty, prohibiting placement of weapons of mass destruction in outer space and required peaceful use of celestial bodies;
- The 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty; and
- The 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.

The Soviet Union is currently engaged with other nations in a variety of multilateral negotiations.

- The Vienna talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) began in 1973. The goal is to improve stability in central Europe by a reduction in forces and establishment of parity at lower levels in the form of a common ceiling on each side's military manpower in a designated "zone of reductions." The main impasse has centered on two issues: calculation of Eastern force levels, which the United States estimate are significantly higher than the figures tabled by the East; and on the consequent reductions necessary to bring about equality at lower levels of forces.
- The Stockholm talks on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) opened in January 1984, as mandated by the 1983 Madrid CSCE Review Conference. The CDE was directed to negotiate a set of mutually complementary confidence-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe. In the CDE forum, measures are being discussed which would promote greater openness and predictability in military activities, in order to reduce tensions, diminish the danger of miscalculation, and limit the likelihood of suprise attack in Europe.
- The U.S.S.R. is a participant in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD), a body which addresses an array of arms control topics, including chemical weapons and nuclear nonproliferation. It was in this body, on

April 18, 1984, that Vice President George Bush presented a U.S. draft treaty to ban chemical weapons.

Bilateral Agreements and Negotiations. The first strategic arms limitation talks (SALT I) resulted in the signing of two agreements on May 26, 1972: a treaty limiting antiballistic missile systems (ABM) and an interim agreement limiting certain strategic offensive arms for a 5-year period. These agreements set the stage for the second round of SALT, which culminated in the signature of the SALT II Treaty in June 1979. The treaty was withdrawn from Senate consideration in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; it has not been resubmitted. The United States pledged in 1982, however, that it would not undercut the provisions of SALT II, provided the U.S.S.R. exercised equal restraint. U.S. policy was affirmed by President Reagan on June 10, 1985, when he called on the Soviets to correct their noncompliance with existing agreements and to join in establishing a regime of truly mutual restraint while negotiations continue.

By 1972, when SALT I was signed, the Soviet Union had equaled the United States in several measures of strategic capability, and had taken the lead in the number of strategic ballistic missiles. The United States did not respond to what appeared to be Soviet efforts to attain strategic equality, believing that such parity could provide the basis for a more stable East-West relationship. The Soviet Union continued its military buildup, however, and today equals or surpasses the United States in most quantitative measures of strategic capability. (For a comprehensive look at Soviet forces, see the Department of Defense publication, *Soviet Military Power.*)

The question of intermediate-range nuclear arms has proved to be an important facet of the arms control issue. In 1977, the Soviet Union began deployment of the SS-20, an advanced, three-warhead intermediate-range missile in addition to considerable quantities of earlier generation INF [intermediate-range nuclear forces] missiles. In response to these deployments, the NATO alliance, in December 1979, reached its "two-track" decision: to press for elimination of the Soviet missiles through U.S.-Soviet negotiations, or in the absence of an agreement, proceed with deployment of U.S. Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles. The United States and the U.S.S.R. initiated talks on INF in 1982, with the United States proposing a complete ban on U.S. and Soviet INF missiles, or failing that, equality at the lowest possible levels. The U.S.S.R. responded negatively, advancing counterproposals unacceptable to the United States and NATO. In the absence of an agreement, U.S. missile deployments proceeded on schedule, with the first in December 1983, whereupon the Soviet Union broke off negotiations.

(White House photo by Dave Valdez)

U.S.-Soviet delegation on arms control. From top left: Ambassador Aleksei A. Obukhov; Ambassador Viktor P. Karpov; Aleksandr Bratchikov, interpreter; and Ambassador Yuli A. Kvitsinskiy. From top right: Ambassador Ronald F. Lehman; Ambassador John Tower; Demitri Arensburger, interpreter; Vice President George Bush; Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; and Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman.

Moscow and Washington initiated strategic arms reduction talks (START) in June 1982. The United States sought in these negotiations to reach an agreement that would enhance stability and achieve major reductions in the level of strategic weaponry on both sides. The U.S. approach to START reflected the judgment that the approach taken in SALT had failed to ensure real reductions in strategic forces or to redress dangerous asymmetries in forces. Thus, the U.S. START approach proposed a broader set of limitations including direct constraints on the number of ballistic missile warheads (i.e. a one-third cut to a level of 5,000 for each side), along with efforts to reduce the destructive potential of U.S. and Soviet strategic forces. In contrast, the Soviet approach centered on capping existing levels of weaponry. After five rounds of businesslike but inconclusive discussions, the U.S.S.R. refused to set a date for resumption of talks, following the deployment in Europe of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in December 1983.

Current Bilateral Negotiations. The Soviet walkout from arms control talks ended on January 8, 1985, when Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko agreed in Geneva to enter into new negotiations on "the complex of questions concerning space and nuclear arms—both strategic and intermediate-range—with all these questions considered and resolved in their interrelationship." Talks began in Geneva on March 12, 1985. Each delegation is divided into three groups to negotiate strategic, intermediate-range, and defense and space arms.

Until the beginning of the third round, the talks made little progress

because the Soviets refused to enter into serious negotiations on offensive reductions. The Soviet delegation insisted that no progress could be made until the United States agreed to a ban on research and development of so-called "space strike arms," in which they included President's Strategic Defense Initiative. The United States rejected such preconditions and repeatedly called on the Soviet Union to begin serious bargaining on deep reductions in offensive weapons. The U.S. delegation stressed that numerous U.S. arms control proposals in both strategic and intermediate-range weapons remained on the negotiating table and that the U.S. delegation had been given unprecedented flexibility to negotiate significant reductions.

On September 30, and October 1, 1985, the Soviet delegation in Geneva presented a formal counterproposal which included concrete suggestions on reducing offensive arms for the first time. Although encouraged that the Soviets had finally put forward specific ideas, the United States was disappointed that the proposal was lopsided in the Soviet's favor. Senior U.S. officials stressed that the United States intended to hear out the full Soviet proposal and closely examine it to see where there might be common ground on which to move forward.

An early product of U.S.-Soviet bilateral cooperation in reducing the risk of war was the "hotline" agreement of 1963, which established a direct communications link between the U.S. and Soviet Governments. This link not only continues in operation today, but agreement was reached on July 17, 1984, in Washington to upgrade the hotline by adding facsimile capability. A series of technical discussions on implementing that agreement have been held in 1985, with the expectation that the system will be fully operational in the near future.

Soviet Noncompliance With Arms Control Agreements. Soviet noncompliance with existing arms control agreements has called into question the important security benefits of arms control and undermined the confidence essential to an effective arms control process in the future. In Presidential reports to the Congress in January 1984 and February 1985, the United States determined that the U.S.S.R. has committed violations and probable violations of arms control agreements including the following: the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the 1925 Geneva protocol; the 1972 SALT I Interim Agreement and the ABM Treaty; the 1979 SALT II accord; the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty; the 1976 Threshold Test Ban Treaty; and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

(White House photo by Pete Souza)

President Reagan with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during the latter's September 1985 visit to the United States.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the U.S.-Soviet relationship has evolved through several phases, including a period of minimal contact, a wartime alliance, "containment," and an intense cold war rivalry. In recent years, the high hopes of the 1970s for detente have given way to reassessment of this fundamentally adversarial relationship.

The adversarial nature of U.S.-Soviet relations stems from several factors:

- Competing strategic interests;
- The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Soviet regime, with its messianic, expansionist implications; and
- The absence of political freedoms in the U.S.S.R., which permits the Soviet leadership to conduct foreign policy without the domestic constraints known to democratic states.

There are, however, strong incentives for U.S.-Soviet cooperation, foremost among which is the need to avoid nuclear war. The United States has therefore sought to engage the Soviet Government in constructive dialogue at all levels on the full range of issues which affect both nations. The November 19–20, 1985, meeting in Geneva between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev is an important part of that effort.

Because of the U.S. military deterrent, the U.S.S.R. has avoided direct aggression against the United States and its allies. Nonetheless, the United States has been concerned by certain Soviet actions in recent years, including:

- A continuing quest for military superiority;
- The occupation of Afghanistan by 115,000 Soviet troops;
- The unrelenting effort to impose an alien Soviet "model" on nominally independent Soviet clients and allies, particularly Poland;
- Harsh suppression of human rights within the Soviet Union; and
- Violation of certain treaties and agreements and "stretching" the letter of others.

To manage relations with the Soviet Union, the United States has constructed a policy based on three principles: realism, strength, and dialogue. U.S. dealings with the U.S.S.R. must be grounded in a realistic appraisal of the following Soviet strengths and objectives.

- The United States must not overstate the Soviet challenge, but neither can it overlook the potential dangers.
- If the United States intends to counter Soviet objectives, it must have the necessary strength—military, economic, and social—to do so.
- The United States strongly prefers resolution of differences through negotiation, however; and it has conducted a broad dialogue designed to develop peaceful solutions to its problems, and to encourage the U.S.S.R. to live up to its international obligations.

The United States is committed to maintain the military balance against the U.S.S.R. through its own and allied defense programs and, where possible, through mutual and verifiable arms reductions. To counter the Soviet use of force and the threat of force in its foreign policy, the United States has

made clear that it will resist encroachment on its vital interests and those of its allies and friends. In Europe, the allies remain united on the need to counter Soviet missile deployments; deployments of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles have proceeded on schedule. The United States also is continuing its efforts to upgrade NATO's conventional forces. To deter threats to vital interests outside Europe, the United States is developing the ability, with allied support, to move forces rapidly to key areas of potential instability such as Southwest Asia. In the Western Hemisphere, the determination of the United States and its friends to resist destabilization of democratic countries in Central America remains firm. The United States is also working to restrict Soviet expansion by responding positively to the problems of developing nations and by working to strengthen democratic institutions worldwide.

The United States desires an improved relationship with the Soviet superpower. Prime U.S. goals vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. include:

- Respect for the human rights of Soviet citizens;
- Verifiable reductions in nuclear arms;
- Cessation of Soviet interference in the affairs of sovereign states; and
- Improvement in people-to-people, economic and other bilateral relations based on reciprocity and mutual interest.

The United States does not threaten the Soviet Union. The United States does not accept difficult U.S.-Soviet relations as an unchangeable state of affairs and is working to build cooperation, not confrontation, with the U.S.S.R. While the United States is keenly aware that important differences will persist and that the relationship will continue to be adversarial, it also believes that cooperation is possible in a number of areas. The United States continues to hope that the Soviet Government will join in a vigorous effort to achieve concrete results in areas of constructive cooperation.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Arthur A. Hartman
Deputy Chief of Mission—Richard E. Combs
Counselor for Political Affairs—Mark Ramee
Counselor for Economic and Commercial Affairs—Robert F. Ober, Jr.
Counselor for Administration—David R. Beall
Counselor for Cultural Affairs—Raymond E. Benson
Head of Consular Section—Eugene C. Zajac
Science Officer—John C. Zimmerman
Director, Commercial Office—Robert S. Krause
Defense Attache—Rear Adm. Ronald J. Kurth
Army Attache—Col. Richard M. Naab
Navy Attache—Capt. Thomas T. Holme, Jr.
Air Attache—Col. Robert E. Berls, Jr.
Agricultural Counselor—Weyland Beeghly
Counsel General, Leningrad—Charles T. Magee
Deputy Principal Officer, Leningrad—James F. Schumaker

The U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union is at Ulitsa Chaikovskogo, 19/21/23, Moscow (tel. 252-2451-59). The Consulate General in Leningrad is at Ulitsa Petra-Lavrova 15 (tel. 274-8235). ■

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