

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS THE THIRD WORLD

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AUTHOR:

Cooper, William H.

Research Assistant, Office of Senior Specialists

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The Third World currently occupies an important place in Soviet foreign policy, as illustrated by the recent Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and other countries of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Soviet Third World policy has grown over the decades with stops and starts, but there is no doubt that it has become a permanent and increasingly important part of Soviet foreign policy. The U.S.S.R.'s continuing participation in the affairs of Third World countries is also an issue facing American officials in both the legislative and executive branches of the Government. As America becomes more dependent on raw materials from the Third World, Soviet activities could extend to areas vital to American national interests.

BACKGROUND AND POLICY ANALYSIS

In this study, the term "Third World" is used to refer to the non-communist, less developed countries, specifically Africa (except the Republic of South Africa), East Asia (except Japan and China), Latin America (except Cuba), the Middle East (except Israel), and Southeast Asia (except Cambodia, Laos, North Korea, and Vietnam). "Third World" will be used interchangeably with "less developed countries" and "developing countries".

Basic goals of Soviet Third World Policy

In its Third World policy, the U.S.S.R. has sought to: (1) extend its political, military, and economic influence far beyond its own borders; (2) reduce Western access to the developing nations; and (3) promote the spread of Marxism-Leninism. Priority among these goals varies with time and circumstances.

Brief History of Soviet Third World Policy

Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, provided the ideological underpinning for Soviet Third World policy. He believed that the developing nations, most of which were still part of European colonial empires, were the "weakest link" in the capitalist empires and that revolutions among these nations would undermine the military and economic power of the West. In 1920, he called on all Communist parties to support these revolutions, but Soviet Russia at that time was involved in its own civil war and too weak to make many inroads in the Third World.

Although the Soviet Union under Stalin had greater strength and potential for influence among the developing nations, Stalin took a more pessimistic view of the Third World than did Lenin. He considered the world to be divided politically and economically into two camps, the socialist and the capitalist, and considered the developing nations -- even the ones which had won their independence from Europe -- to be capitalist. Instead of treating them as potential friends, he looked on them as enemies and thus failed to pursue opportunities to make inroads among certain increasingly influential leaders of the underdeveloped world, e.g., Nehru of India.

Later, Khrushchev rejected Stalin's two-camp thesis and redefined the

global political structure into three camps: the socialist and the capitalist camps and the camp which encompassed the newly independent, neutral nations of the Third World. In helping these nations to decrease their dependence on capitalist countries, Khrushchev saw a way of gaining political advantage over the West. He pursued this effort through formal programs of aid, trade, and education and through more covert support of selected political movements within the new nations. Some of these ventures were on a grandiose scale, e.g., the Aswan Dam in Egypt.

Through investments in the Third World and the growth of Soviet military power, Khrushchev succeeded in projecting Soviet influence, surpassing previous Soviet rulers. But in formulating his policies, he failed to take into consideration the economic and political conditions in these countries. Consequently, Soviet-sponsored projects which were primarily geared to heavy industry were ill-suited for the agriculturally based economies of the Third World. In addition, some Third World leaders who had been helped by the Soviet Union proved to be too weak politically to remain in power, and Soviet investment in their futures was wasted. When Khrushchev was removed from power in October 1964, one of the criticisms directed at him was of his adventurist policies in the Third World. Thus, the change in Soviet leadership opened the way for changes in Soviet foreign policy towards the nations of the developing world.

Brezhnev has upheld Khrushchev's basic commitment to enhancing Soviet prestige in the Third World, but he has changed the methodology to accord better with the political and economic realities of the nations involved; furthermore, projects would not only benefit the developing countries, but would guarantee a return to the U.S.S.R. on its investment. Brezhnev thus instituted what have been called "businesslike" relations with the Third World.

Instruments of Soviet Third World Policy

Through the years the Soviet Union has employed a variety of strategies and devices in its relations with the developing nations. The U.S.S.R. has used some traditional instruments of great power diplomacy, but has also relied on other tools which have grown from its revolutionary and Communist background.

Economic Aid

The Soviet program of economic aid to the non-Communist states of the Third World was started in 1954 as part of Khrushchev's foreign policy. It has been characterized by the concentration of grants-in-aid to a few select countries deemed important to Soviet strategic interests (in the past, these countries have been those bordering the Soviet Union in South Asia and the Near East); the allocation of funds principally to the highly visible heavy industrial sector; and the tying of aid grants to purchases of Soviet equipment by the recipient countries. Recently the U.S.S.R. has used framework agreements by which aid plans are outlined in general with specific amounts and projects worked out later. This tactic has given the Soviets a modicum of flexibility in its aid programs. The amount of aid has fluctuated from year to year. In 1977 the Soviets signed \$400 million in new grants to approximately 10 countries.

Military Aid

Military aid has historically been the most important element of the general Soviet aid program. The U.S.S.R. is now second only to the United States as a supplier of arms to the less developed nations. As with economic aid, Soviet military aid has been generally focused in key areas of importance to Soviet national interests, i.e., the Middle East and countries bordering the U.S.S.R. However, recent large supplies of military equipment to Ethiopia symbolize the increased importance the Soviet Union places on sub-Saharan Africa. The Soviet Union now often dispatches Soviet advisers to countries receiving arms in order to train local personnel in the operation of the new equipment or trains them at facilities in the Soviet Union itself. In 1977, the U.S.S.R., together with Eastern Europe, had 10,250 military advisers in various less developed nations. In addition, as of that year, 41,875 military personnel from the less developed countries had been trained in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Navy

The Soviet navy has expanded in recent years under the aegis of Admiral Gorshkov, particularly in the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It has been used to demonstrate a military and diplomatic presence in Third World regions and to ship military supplies to some of these countries. In other words, it has been used to challenge the image of the West as masters of the seas.

Party-to-Party Contacts

Delegations from Communist and other left-wing parties of Third World countries visit Moscow to meet with officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), especially of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department which handles such contacts. CPSU officials also visit these countries on party matters. Presumably the CPSU also provides aid to some of these parties.

State-to-State Relations

The Soviet Union also carries on the more traditional state-to-state relationships with most Third World nations through the exchange of ambassadors and the establishment of embassies. High Soviet officials also pay state visits to those Third World nations deemed important enough to warrant such attention. In addition, the Soviet Union has signed friendship and cooperation agreements with Ethiopia, India, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Angola, Iraq, and South Yemen.

Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural agreements have also proved to be an important tool in Soviet Third World diplomacy, although not as important as military and economic aid. Under these agreements, the U.S.S.R. sets up so-called "friendship societies," literature exchanges, visits by Soviet fine arts groups, and training arrangements for Third World students to study in the Soviet Union.

Support of National Liberation Movements

Basic to Soviet policy towards the Third World is support for what Soviet policymakers call "national liberation movements." General Secretary Brezhnev described Soviet policy in this regard in his speech before the 25th CPSU Congress in February 1976. National liberation movements he described as "forces of progress, democracy and national independence" and Brezhnev said,

"... we treat (the national liberation movements) ... as comrades-in-arms. Our party is rendering and will render support to peoples who are fighting for their freedom." What distinguishes national liberation movements from other revolutionaries, according to Soviet policy, is the degree to which they follow Leninist principles of foreign policy as interpreted by the CPSU. This policy has been used to justify Soviet support for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), for the Vietcong, for the fledgling Ethiopian Marxist government, and for others, and will be used as justification for other such steps in the future.

The Role of Cuba and Eastern Europe in Soviet Third World Policy

The Soviet Union's Cuban and Eastern European allies have been playing an increasing important part in Soviet activities in the Third World.

Soviet-Cuban cooperation in the Third World is an outgrowth of the tightly knit political, economic, and military relationship between the two countries. The Cuban military, for example, is closely patterned after that of the U.S.S.R. in tactics, strategy, and organization. Soviet military personnel are known to train Cubans. In addition, in the last two decades, Moscow has provided Cuba with a total of \$1.6 billion in military aid, most of which has been in the form of military hardware given at no cost.

A second important element of the Soviet-Cuban relationship is the non-military economic aid provided to Cuba by the U.S.S.R., mostly in the form of economic subsidies. The Soviet Union pays higher-than-world market prices for Cuban sugar and nickel, and Cuba is able to pay lower-than-world market prices for Soviet oil.

From these ties has emerged a competent fighting force which, according to Defense Intelligence Agency analysts, has been deployed to take advantage of opportunities which arise. Cuban troops were known to have made a decisive contribution to the victory of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) faction during the Angolan civil war in 1975 and to the defeat of Somali-backed rebels in the Ogaden by Ethiopian government forces in 1978. According to DIA, there are currently 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola, 11,000 to 12,000 in Ethiopia, and others in Mozambique. Cuban troops reportedly train members of southern African rebel factions such as the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU), and the Zimbabwe Africa People's Union (ZAPU).

While there can be no doubt about the impact of Cuba in Soviet Third World policy, the nature of the Soviet-Cuban cooperation remains a point of debate. Some analysts argue that Cuba is merely a surrogate of Moscow and its ventures in Africa and elsewhere are the price for Soviet aid, support and protection. Others contend that Cuba and the Soviet Union are equal partners cooperating in executing common foreign policy plans.

Along with Cuba, the U.S.S.R.'s Eastern European allies are also playing a growing role in Soviet Third World policy, particularly in Africa. All of these countries have aid and trade relations with developing nations. Except for Romania, the policies of these countries toward the Third World are closely akin to those of the Soviet Union. Studies done by Radio Free Europe indicate a degree of "international division of labor" between the U.S.S.R. and some Eastern European countries in the Third World, especially in the distribution of military aid to Africa. Czechoslovakia, for example, has been a supplier of small arms and ammunition and some military advisers. In

fact, there were reports that Czechoslovakia supplied arms to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during the Angolan civil war and that Czechoslovak military personnel were in Angola to advise MPLA insurgents. East Germany has been training local Third World personnel in setting up police forces, for example, in South Yemen.

By sharing responsibilities with its allies, the U.S.S.R. has been able to expand its influence in the Third World using bloc resources rather than just its own, thus easing the burden on its own economy. In addition, a unified Soviet bloc policy towards the Third World has added a degree of cohesiveness to the alliance. Romania has been the one exception. Romanian President Ceausescu has followed a Third World policy independent of the U.S.S.R. and has called for the independence of the developing world from all power blocs.

Factors Working For and Against Soviet Third World Policy

The U.S.S.R. has had mixed results in its involvement in the Third World. Several factors can be cited as having led to Soviet successes in this area while others can be listed as contributing to the failures.

Positive factors: Many of the governments of the Third World are highly centralized, and thus, compatible with the authoritarian character of Soviet models and ideology. The Soviet Union has also been willing to use its growing economic, political, and military power to aid "national liberation" movements among the emerging nations. In addition, Moscow's anti-Western outlook has allowed it to identify with the anticolonial causes of the emerging nations. The Soviet interpretation of its detente relationship with the United States has permitted Soviet policymakers to justify their support of national liberation movements while pursuing improved relations with the United States.

Negative factors: In many cases, the Soviet economic and political model has failed to provide the solutions to problems faced by most Third World nations. Secondly, economic and military aid have been a drain on the Soviet economy; further Soviet exploits in the developing world might be constrained by this economic factor. The Soviet Union has also been faced with a growing nationalism among the Third World nations; for example, Moscow was essentially thrown out of Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia when the leaders of these nations determined that Soviet involvement was against their national interests. Most recently, the existence of the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan is threatened by a civil war with Moslem rebel forces which resent Soviet involvement in the affairs of their country.

Developing nations are now linking the Soviet Union with the West in the North-South dialogue and demanding that it take on a greater responsibility in aiding the development of Third World nations. Nowhere was this antagonism more evident than during the fourth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD IV) in Nairobi, Kenya, in May 1976, where Third World delegates criticized the Soviet Union as well as the West. This antagonism essentially has placed the U.S.S.R. on the same level as the United States, a position politically embarrassing to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has countered such arguments by claiming that the colonial and neo-colonial practices of the West have prevented the Third World countries from attaining development for which, Moscow said, it cannot be held responsible.

Chinese Competition in the Third World

Chinese relations with Third World nations is based on the notion of China as an underdeveloped nation and thus more qualified than the developed nations, e.g. the United States and the Soviet Union, to know the problems faced by other developing nations. The Chinese claim that Soviet intentions in the Third World are based entirely on their own national interests with little regard for the welfare of the developing countries.

The People's Republic of China has altered its policies towards the developing nations over the last two decades. Prior to the Cultural Revolution (1966-69), the P.R.C. concentrated its support on revolutionary movements dedicated to the overthrow of ruling governments deemed ideologically incompatible with the P.R.C. After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese trimmed their emphasis on ideology in favor of closer ties with ruling Third World states. Thus they began to utilize more traditional political, economic, and military instruments of foreign policy to win influence in the Third World. Several factors were responsible for the P.R.C. framework, not the least of which has been the perceived growing threat to China coming from the growth of influence of the U.S.S.R. in Africa and Asia. Consequently, in the last decade China has made moves to improve relations with Burma, Thailand, India, Bangladesh, and others in Asia in order to stop Soviet expansionism. It has also made inroads with such former Soviet clients as Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia in Africa.

The question of the degree of competition that China can offer the U.S.S.R. in the Third World is open to debate. While it is true that developing nations can identify more readily with China as a model, it is also true that China does not possess the economic and military base to render comparable amounts of aid to fledgling movements and states. This was clearly demonstrated when the Soviet-backed MPLA faction defeated the Chinese-supported (and later American-supported) FNLA and UNITA factions during the Angolan civil war.

Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy

Soviet involvement raises serious questions for American policymakers, both executive and legislative. Some of these concerns are, as follows:

(1) As the United States must compete with the Soviet Union in regions where previously only Western countries were involved, American foreign policymakers are forced to come to grips with the increasing importance of the Third World, to define more accurately the U.S. national interests with respect to those nations, and to determine what actions the United States is able and prepared to take to protect those interests.

(2) U.S. decisionmakers are compelled to gain a greater understanding of the nature of changes in the Third World to be able to ascertain when movements from the status quo -- in Iran, for example -- are due to Soviet intervention and when they are a result of internal pressures. They must then develop appropriate responses based on their understanding of the situation. (A misreading of events in the Third World could have serious consequences for American-Soviet relations and world affairs in general.)

(3) New areas of potential tension between the United States and the U.S.S.R. may be created, particularly if Soviet activities threaten regions strategically important to the United States, such as vital energy and raw

material supply lines.

(4) American allies and other nations in and outside the Third World sometimes judge U.S. world leadership by its responses to Soviet activities in the Third World.

General Issues for Congressional Consideration

Along with the issues raised for American policymakers in general, Soviet Third World activities bring forth issues that Congress may address, such as:

(1) Would it be in the best interests of the United States to link congressional approval of American agreements with the U.S.S.R., e.g., arms control and trade agreements, with Soviet curtailment of their ventures in the developing world or should these elements be considered as separate entities?

(2) Are there ways through grants in economic and military aid that the United States can dilute Soviet influence among the non-Communist states of the Third World?

(3) How best can Congress remain informed of the effects of Soviet Third World involvement on U.S. national interests?

Recent Developments

While the Brezhnev leadership has continued to maintain "businesslike" relations with some members of the Third World community, it has taken a more direct role in the affairs of others than it had since it came to power in 1964. This has been apparent in the Soviet Union's participation in the Angolan civil war and the Soviet direct involvement, and that of some of its allies, in the affairs of leftist regimes in Ethiopia, South Yemen, and, most recently, Afghanistan.

Developments in 1977

Africa. Soviet interest in southern Africa, which began with the Angolan civil war in 1974-75, continued in 1977, as symbolized by a visit of Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny to Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique in April of that year. The Soviet President was accompanied on his journey by Marshal S.L. Sokolov, a Soviet first deputy minister of defense, indicating that the Soviet officials had discussed military matters with at least some of their African hosts. Indeed, it was reported that the U.S.S.R. sent SAM-7 missiles, howitzers, rifles, and tanks to Mozambique shortly after Podgorny returned to Moscow in order to strengthen that country's defense against Rhodesia. In addition, Podgorny met with representatives of the rebel factions fighting the white-dominated government in Rhodesia.

Soviet influence spread to the African Horn in 1977. Soviet and Cuban advisers and military aid were sent to Ethiopia to help the Marxist government of Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu to put down a rebellion of insurgents in the province of Ogaden. But the U.S.S.R. had to pay a price for its influence in Ethiopia. The U.S.S.R. had also had good relations with Somalia and had access to naval facilities in Berbera. Rivalry between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ethiopian province of Ogaden placed the Soviet Union in an awkward position between the two neighbors. Moscow attempted to

ease the situation by proposing a federation composed of Somalia and Ethiopia plus South Yemen and the newly independent state of Djibouti. Somalia rejected the plan. Relations between the U.S.S.R. and Somalia reached bottom when the Soviet Union gave its support to Ethiopia in its war with the rebels in the Ogaden, who were backed by Somalia. Brezhnev criticized Somalia's support of the rebels while the Mogadiscio government ordered Soviet advisers stationed in the country out and terminated the Soviet-Somali Treaty of friendship and cooperation which came into force in 1974.

Middle East. Soviet relations with Egypt which had been on the decline for several years reached a point just short of complete termination as a result of President Sadat's peace initiative with Israel. In October 1977 the United States and the Soviet Union signed a declaration pledging both sides to reconvene the Geneva conference on peace in the Middle East to be co-chaired by the two superpowers. The U.S.S.R. had essentially been left out of the Middle East peace negotiating process during Secretary of State Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the Nixon and Ford administrations. The October declaration brought Moscow back into this process. But Sadat's unilateral move to make peace with Israel and the subsequent U.S. support of the initiative were seen by the Soviet leadership as a maneuver to lock it out of the Middle East once again. The Sadat trip to Jerusalem in November was condemned by the Soviet Union as an attempt on the part of Egypt and the United States to secure an agreement with Israel behind the backs of the Arab states and the PLO. President Sadat countered the Soviet criticism by closing some cultural centers and consulates of the U.S.S.R. and its European allies, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland. At the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union were once again on opposing sides on the question of the Middle East.

Developments in 1978

Africa. Having defeated the Somali-backed insurgents of the Ogaden with Cuban and Soviet aid, the Marxist government of Ethiopia moved to suppress the perennial rebellion in the province of Eritrea. Unconfirmed reports claimed that the U.S.S.R. and Cuba were providing military support to Ethiopia in this battle as well. During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the U.S.S.R. was a strong supporter of the Eritrean rebels. The U.S.S.R. had reportedly tried to get the Eritrean rebels to agree to join a federation with the Addis Ababa government, but this proposal was rejected by leaders of the insurgents. In November, the Soviet Union and Ethiopia signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation, which capped the movement towards closer relations by the two countries and signified Moscow's decision to back Ethiopia at the expense of good relations with Somalia.

Middle East. The Soviet Union continued to condemn the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations and the meeting held by U.S. President Carter at Camp David as an attempt by Sadat to negotiate a "separate deal behind the backs of the Arab states." The U.S.S.R. backed its condemnation of Egypt by supplying Syria with more arms as a result of a visit by Syrian President Assad to Moscow for meetings with Brezhnev.

South Yemen. For the past several years, relations between South Yemen and the Soviet Union were close. However, the Moscow-Aden relationship was destined to become tighter with the overthrow of President Salem Robaye Ali and his replacement by Ali Nasser Mohammed Hassani, an avowed pro-Moscow Marxist.

Development in 1979

Middle East. The Soviet Union continued to condemn the Egyptian-Israeli peace initiatives and particularly scored the United States for its direct role in the negotiating process. This condemnation carried over to the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement in Washington on March 26.

In February 1979, Moscow announced the recognition of the new government of Iran, which came to power after a revolution led to the ouster of Shah Mohammed Pahlavi and also the subsequent government of Prime Minister Bakhtiar. The Soviet Union had suffered economic losses as a result of the revolution when a strike by oil workers, beginning in October 1978, forced the shutdown of oil and gas supplies. The Soviet Union had been importing natural gas from Iran since 1970 with this gas going to the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia. The loss of gas from Iran forced industries in the republics to shut down and caused many people to go without heat in their homes during an especially cold winter. The fuel cutoff also severely hurt the countries of Eastern Europe, all of which had been receiving oil from Iran. Fuel flows resumed in April but have been far short of pre-revolutionary levels. While Moscow has tried to maintain good relations with the Khomeini-backed government in Tehran, the government of the Iranian Islamic Republic has condemned Soviet interference in Afghanistan.

South Yemen. In February, war broke out between North and South Yemen, resulting in the invasion of North Yemen by forces of the Marxist government in the south. Responding to what it perceived to be a buildup of Soviet influence on the Arabian peninsula, the Carter Administration dispatched a supply of American-made weapons to North Yemen, an ally of Saudi Arabia. A Kuwaiti newspaper reported that 2,700 Cuban troops and 300 Soviet advisers had been sent from Ethiopia to South Yemen to help it in its war with the north. The clash ended with agreement between the two states, setting a timetable for unification.

Latin America. With the obvious exception of Cuba, Soviet presence in Latin America is currently very limited. The U.S.S.R. has been conducting relatively good trade relations with some Latin American states, most notably Argentina, but Soviet attempts at creating strong political, economic, and military bonds in this region have met with little success. The U.S.S.R. was able to sell fighter aircraft to Peru.

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Implications for Soviet Third World Policy

The introduction of combat troops into Afghanistan in December 1979 was the first time the Soviet Union had taken such action against a developing nation since Khrushchev undertook to develop Soviet interests in the Third World in the mid-1950s. This action may well represent a turning point in Soviet Third World policy and is, therefore, given special attention here.

Russian/Soviet interest in Afghanistan is not a new phenomenon. In fact, throughout history the two countries have continually played important roles in each other's foreign affairs. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Afghanistan was a buffer state between an expanding British empire which was moving eastward from India and a likewise expanding Russian empire moving southward from Central Asia. Although the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 profoundly changed the nature of the Russian government, many traditional Russian foreign policy interests remained, including that in Afghanistan. In 1919 the Afghan government turned to the Soviets for help in its war of

independence from Great Britain. Soviet Russia was one of the first countries to recognize newly independent Afghanistan. In 1921 the two states signed a friendship and military assistance treaty, which was followed by a neutrality and nonaggression pact 10 years later.

Soviet-Afghan relations deteriorated in the 1930s, with the Soviet suppression of the Muslim population of Central Asia. However, when Khrushchev began to reorient Soviet foreign policy towards the Third World in the mid-1950s, Afghanistan was targeted as an area vital to the U.S.S.R. Afghanistan in 1955 was one of the first Third World states to receive Soviet economic and military aid. Since then it has become a favored customer, with the U.S.S.R. granting repayment terms more liberal than those granted to any other Third World nation. As of 1977 the Soviet Union had supplied Afghanistan with 95% of its military hardware -- fighter aircraft, tanks, surface-to-air missiles, etc. In addition, in 1977 there were 350 Soviet military technicians advising Afghan military personnel in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union had also become Kabul's single most important supplier of economic aid, having provided \$1.3 billion of such between 1954 and 1977. Included in the many Soviet-sponsored projects was the development of the Afghan oil and gas industries. A Soviet-built natural gas pipeline has been delivering Afghan natural gas to the Soviet pipeline network at an annual rate of 3 billion cubic meters. This gas has been supplied to Moscow in partial repayment for Soviet aid. In addition, by 1977 there were 1,300 Soviet economic advisers in Afghanistan. Over the years the Soviet Union has also become Afghanistan's primary trading partner.

There are a number of geopolitical and demographic factors which have determined Russian/Soviet interests in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union shares a 1,200-mile border with Afghanistan on its southern periphery and therefore has watched changes in the status quo in that country with great self-interest. Furthermore, Afghanistan occupies center stage in strategically important South Asia. It borders China, currently a bitter Soviet adversary, Pakistan, and Iran. South Asia has been viewed by some strategic analysts as a step in the direction of the warm waters of the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet Union shares among its population a number of ethnic groups -- Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, and Kirghiz -- with Afghanistan adding to the mutual interests of the two countries. There are currently 50 million Soviet Muslims. Recent growth rates indicate that the Soviet Muslim population is increasing at a faster pace than in the past, while the growth rate of the Great Russians is decreasing. In addition, the Soviet Muslims is one of the Soviet national groups most resistant to assimilation into the general Russian-dominated Soviet society. These factors could impact on Soviet relations with Muslim countries such as Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union saw the overthrow of the Afghan monarchy in July 1973 by Daud as a progressive step and quickly recognized the new government of the Republic of Afghanistan. In April 1978 the Daud regime was replaced by a coalition of the Khlaj and Parcham factions of the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party (PDP) during a bloody coup. It still is not clear what role, if any, Moscow played in Taraki's assumption of power. The U.S.S.R. enjoyed close relations with the Daud regime, but it soon became apparent that the PDP would bring Afghanistan closer into the Soviet orbit.

Moscow was one of the first states to recognize the Taraki regime and quickly took steps to fuse Soviet-Afghan relations. By the end of 1978 the contingent of Soviet economic and military advisers had risen from 1,500 to

3,000 and to some 5,000 in 1978, mainly to help the Afghan government in its war with Muslim insurgents who seriously threatened the survival of the new regime. In December 1978 the two governments further tightened their relationship with the signing of a friendship and cooperation treaty which included a provision for rendering military aid in the time of crisis.

As the stability of the Taraki regime became increasingly tenuous with the growing threat from the Muslim rebels, the Soviet commitment to its survival became greater. In April 1979, General Aleksey Yepishev, the Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, visited Afghanistan. He was followed by General Pavlovsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Ground Forces, in August 1979. These visits by high-ranking Soviet defense officials underscored the importance that Moscow had given to its commitment to the PDP regime. But as the Taraki government became apparently weaker vis-a-vis the Muslim rebels, Moscow reached a turning point in its policy towards Afghanistan, indeed in its policy towards the Third World as a whole: whether to continue to support the Taraki regime, to withdraw support and let "nature take its course," or to take a more direct combat role in the fighting to defeat the Muslims.

It is clear that the U.S.S.R. chose the last course in December 1979 when it introduced its own combat divisions into Afghanistan. It is also apparent that the Soviet Union took a direct role in replacement of President Hafizullah Amin by Babrak Karmal. Amin had himself overthrown Taraki in Sept. 1979, and it was believed by many Western analysts at the time that Amin had had Moscow's blessing. Recent reports have indicated that, to the contrary, Taraki was to have had Amin replaced as Prime Minister at Moscow's suggestion, but his move backfired.

A complete description of the Soviet action in Afghanistan will not be given here. [For more detailed events leading to the Soviet action in Afghanistan and of the invasion itself, see the CHRONOLOGY at the end of this issue brief.] Suffice it to say that the Soviet Union had for the first time used its combat forces to install a government in a Third World nation.

A number of reasons have been offered for the Soviet action in Afghanistan, some or all of which may have entered into the Soviet decisionmaking process. The Soviet government has claimed that its action was in response to an invitation from the Afghan government to aid it in repelling threats from external forces (namely China and Afghanistan). The Soviets have contended that such action was appropriate under the December 1978 Soviet-Afghan treaty and under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. As many official and private analysts have indicated, it is doubtful that a government would have invited foreign forces in to liquidate it. But the Soviets were probably concerned about the potential growth of Chinese influence in the area. However, reports in the press indicate that Amin may have actually resisted the influx of Soviet combat troops; hence, the rationale for his removal from power and execution by the Soviets.

Some Western analysts believe that Soviet leaders viewed the growth of the Muslim insurgency, and the failure of the Taraki and Amin governments to quell that insurgency, as a direct threat to Soviet security. The establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan would have meant that there would be three Muslim-dominated states on or very near the Soviet border, the other two countries being Iran and Pakistan. It can be assumed that the Soviets would be sensitive to the potential long-term effects of such governments on their own Muslims, particularly in light of the evangelistic nature of, say, the movement of the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran.

The Soviet incursion into Afghanistan has also been seen by some Western analysts as an opportunistic move. According to such thinking, the recent revolution and subsequent turmoil in Iran has left the one-time "policeman of the Persian Gulf" paralyzed to project a major military influence outside its borders. This factor taken together with American preoccupation with the seizure of the American Embassy in Teheran by Iranian "students," it is believed, provided the Soviet Union with an opportunity to take military action in Afghanistan with impunity. In addition, it is possible that the Soviets viewed the questionable state of Soviet-American relations as represented by, inter alia, the potential rejection of the SALT II treaty as giving them the opportunity of gaining a foothold in South Asia at a small price.

Whatever the reasons beyond the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, it is clear that this action has far-reaching implications for Soviet Third World policy. Since the mid-1950s, Soviet involvement among the developing countries has progressed from indirect action in the form of military and economic aid to more direct action through the use of Cuban combat troops in Angola and Ethiopia. The use of Soviet combat troops in Afghanistan can be seen as yet another stage in this process.

The case of Afghanistan is the first time the Soviet Union has used the friendship and cooperation treaty as an alibi to take direct military action in a Third World country. Besides Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has such treaties with the following nonaligned states: Angola, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mozambique, and South Yemen. Soviet action in Afghanistan could affect its relations with these countries as well. (It should be recalled that the U.S.S.R. also has such a treaty with socialist Vietnam, but failed to take direct military action in its behalf when it was invaded by the P.R.C. in early 1979.)

The Soviet action in Afghanistan has also affected the attitudes of many other developing countries toward Moscow. On Jan. 15 the Third World-dominated developing countries toward Moscow. On Jan. 15 the Third World-dominated U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution (104-18) implicitly condemning the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. Among the majority were Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman and Saudi Arabia signifying the opposition in the Islamic World to Moscow's action. In addition, Algeria, Libya, and Syria, all perennial supporters of the Soviet Union, did not vote with Moscow on the resolution but either abstained or were absent at the time of the vote, presumably demonstrating their reluctance to side with the U.S.S.R. on this issue. If such a negative attitude towards the U.S.S.R. persists in the Third World, it could tarnish Moscow's credibility and cripple its ability to extend its influence among these nations.

The Soviet invasion also presents a challenge to the United States, not only in its relations with the U.S.S.R., but with the Third World as well. It forces U.S. policymakers to decide what America's role will be in this region of the globe.

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Articles include: "Soviet aid to the third world" by Orah Cooper, p. 189-196, and "Soviet military aid to the Middle East -- an economic balance sheet" by Gur Ofer, p. 216-239.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

03/19/80 -- Officials of the CPSU and members of the delegation from the Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua signed documents in Moscow on establishing links between the Sandinista Liberation Front and the CPSU. Trade agreements and an agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and

Nicaragua were also signed, according to Moscow radio.

- 03/17/80 -- According to Tass, a delegation of the Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua arrived in Moscow for talks with Soviet Communist Party officials. Among those whom the delegation met were Soviet Party leaders Kirilenko and Ponomarev.
- 03/12/80 -- A Soviet commentator suggested that fear of Chinese power seeping into Afghanistan was a major factor in the Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan. Anthony Austin of the New York Times reported the commentary of Igor Belyaev from Moscow.
- 03/11/80 -- The Chief of the U.S.S.R. General Staff and First Deputy Minister of Defense Marshal Ogarkov met with the chairman of the joint command of the Peruvian Armed Forces and chief of the Main Staff of the Ground Forces Maj.Gen. R. Hoyas Rubio in Moscow, according to the Soviet army newspaper Red Star.
- 02/28/80 -- The weekly news magazine Vendredi, Samedi, Dimanche reported that the U.S.S.R. is willing to supply modern Mig-21 and Mig-23 attack-bombers to Argentina in exchange for grain. The magazine also said that U.S.S.R. Defense Minister Ustinov would make an official visit to Argentina shortly.
- 02/26/80 -- The Associated Press reported from Kabul that the government of Babrak Karmal was virtually paralyzed in the wake of demonstrations by the populace against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The report indicated that an unspecified Soviet military commander had taken over control of the government.
- 02/23/80 -- An Afghan foreign affairs official, sent to the United Nations to defend his government at a special meeting of the nonaligned nations, instead denounced the Soviet invasion of his country and defected on the spot.
- Soviet President Brezhnev rejected President Carter's demand that the Soviet Union withdraw from Afghanistan, but instead issued his own demand for an international "guarantee" by the United States and other countries to cease alleged subversion of the Marxist Kabul government before a pullout can begin.
- Afghanistan's Soviet-installed government declared martial law amid the eruption of large anti-Soviet demonstrations and recurrent shooting, according to William Branigan of the Washington Post. Accounts have painted a picture of mounting popular resistance in Kabul to the Soviet military occupation and to the Soviet-backed government. The demonstrations were believed to be the first major public protests since Afghan communists first took power in April 1978.

- 02/22/80 — William Branigan of the Washington Post wrote that Syria has become increasingly isolated in the Arab world and has reluctantly moved closer to the Soviet Union despite its grave reservations over Moscow's intervention in Afghanistan. According to Branigan, the strengthening of Syria's ties to Moscow has been accompanied by a deterioration in relations with the United States, the delivery of about 100 modern Soviet-built T72 tanks, and Soviet plans to supply Syria with advanced MIG-25 fighter planes. The increase in military hardware could be followed by an influx in the number of Soviet advisers in Syria.
- 02/13/80 — The Egyptian Minister of Defense reported that Muslim rebels from Afghanistan were receiving military training in Egypt and would be returning to their homeland to fight against the Soviet-backed government.
- Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko was in India apparently to win India's endorsement of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. All indications were that Gromyko failed in his attempt.
- 02/02/80 — The Soviet Union supplied Kuwait, a pro-Western Arab state, with sophisticated surface-to-surface missiles, according to the Kuwaiti Defense Ministry. The Kuwaiti Defense Minister said that Kuwait was preparing to defend its territory against any "foreign aggression" and to take part in "liberating occupied Arab lands."
- 02/07/80 -- Saudi Oil Minister Sheik Yamani stated that potential oil shortages prompted Moscow to invade Afghanistan as a way to approach the Middle East oil fields.
- Zambia has bought more than \$90 million worth of arms from the Soviet Union including 16 MIG-21 fighter planes. The Times of Zambia quoted a government spokesman. President Kaunda said last year that he was turning to Moscow after the West, namely the United States and France, has refused to provide advanced weapons.
- 02/05/80 -- U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said that the United States "faced an important and troubling situation" because of signs of growing Soviet influence in North Yemen. Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Vance said that a special envoy had been sent to Yemen for talks with President Ali-Abdullah Saleh. Vance said that Soviet arms deliveries to North Yemen, along with the presence of Soviet advisers there and talks between North and South Yemen on political unification, had led to new fears of Soviets gaining influence in the oil-producing Arabian Peninsula.
- 02/04/80 — Edward Girardet reported in the Christian Science Monitor that on Apr. 2, 1979, Soviet advisers took part in the massacre of virtually the entire male population of the Afghan village of Kerala. According to the report, Afghan government soldiers had accused the Kerala

townspeople of collaborating with anti-government Muslim "mujadheen" fighters. The execution of the 1,170 men was said to have been done at the orders of a dark-blond, green-eyed Russian officer who wore an Afghan uniform without rank insignia. The massacre had taken place under the regime of President Taraki and Prime Minister Amin prior to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. On Feb. 5, 1980, Tass news agency denied the report of the massacre.

- Ayatollah Khomeini condemned for the first time the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and pledged "unconditional support" for the Muslim insurgents fighting the Soviet-backed government.
- 02/03/80 — Algerian Air Force Commander Lt.Col. B. Mussuni arrived in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, Soviet Air Force Commander-in-Chief and Deputy Minister of Defense.
- 02/02/80 — Marshal N.V. Ogarkov, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, arrived in Kabul. Analysts speculated that the visit by one of the Soviet Union's top military men was prompted by the poor situation of the Soviet military in Afghanistan, including an estimated 2,000 Soviet casualties, wounded and killed, in the first month of fighting.
- U.S. Administration specialists on Soviet affairs said that they had concluded that the death in December 1979 of a Soviet police official, Lt.Gen. Viktor Paputin, was linked to the deposing of President Amin in Afghanistan. The American officials said that although evidence on the exact circumstances of Gen. Paputin's death were inconclusive, it was clear that he was involved in the removal of Mr. Amin.
- 01/30/80 — Speaking on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said, "What happened in Afghanistan is an internal matter of that country." Gandhi meted out blame to both superpowers, but seemed more concerned about Washington's proposed rearming of Pakistan than by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- 01/29/80 — Islamic foreign ministers meeting in Islamabad condemned Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan as a "flagrant violation" of international law. The ministers of 34 Muslim nations also suspended Afghanistan from the Islamic Conference. The resolution demanded "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationed in Afghan territories...."
- 01/28/80 — Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat during his visit to Syria, according to Tass.
- 01/27/80 — Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko began a 3-day visit to Damascus, Syria, in an apparent attempt to bolster

Arab support for Soviet policies in light of Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan. It was expected that the U.S.S.R. would agree to supply Syria with more arms as part of this campaign.

- 01/25/80 -- An estimated 4,000 Soviet civilian advisers have been flown into Afghanistan and another 100 are arriving daily to run Afghanistan's government, according to a report by Anthony Mascaren in the Washington Post. Mascaren reported that the new arrivals speak fluent Persian, know the local customs, and are highly trained to step into jobs formerly held by Afghans.
- 01/24/80 -- The United States, in a major policy shift related to the Afghanistan crisis, announced that it was willing to sell military equipment to China for the first time. The equipment, however, was not to include weapons. In addition, both the Senate and the House approved most-favored-nation status for China.
- Soviet news agency Tass dismissed as an "absurdity" President Carter's warning that the United States regarded the Persian Gulf region as one of the vital interests of the United States and would use force, if necessary, to repel an outside threat.
- "It is common knowledge," Tass said, "that the United States is the outside force that has concentrated the biggest armada ever of naval forces in the area."
- Tass reported also on a speech by Andrei Gromyko in which the Soviet foreign minister stated, "The wave of shameless slander and falsehood about the events in Afghanistan is only a means of diverting attention from U.S. subversive aggressive activities in the Middle East and South Asia."
- The Soviet foreign minister also criticized "some people in Iran" for expressing concern about the threat posed by Soviet forces in Afghanistan.
- 01/17/80 -- Concerned over the upheaval in Iran and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Iraq was reported to be consulting with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait on ways to keep the Persian Gulf area free of foreign intervention from both East and West. Marvine Howe reported in the New York Times that Iraqi officials were deeply concerned over what they saw as the danger of a confrontation in the region between the Soviet Union and the United States.
- With Soviet troops in Afghanistan outnumbering Afghan government soldiers approximately 2-to-1, Western diplomats and military experts in Kabul are still puzzled over Moscow's ultimate aim, wrote James P. Sterba in the New York Times. Soviet troops in Afghanistan have been estimated to be between 80,000 and 85,000, consisting of advisory groups in command of the Afghan army, helicopter and jet pilots, an airborne division, and five motorized rifle

divisions.

- Iranian Finance Minister and Presidential candidate Bani Sadr accused Moscow of trying to split up Iran and then push on to the Indian Ocean in light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- The Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan ordered all American correspondents to leave the country, accusing them of biased reporting and "interference in [Afghanistan's] affairs."
- 01/15/80 — The U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution (104-18) which called for the Soviet withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Only 30 nations declined to be counted at the Assembly's emergency session. The size of the vote against Moscow was a reflection of the dismay among the Third World countries to the Soviet action.
- 01/14/80 — "Afghanistan's new leader, Babrak Karmal, has little to worry about as long as Soviet troops are here to protect him," wrote James Dorsey for the Christian Science Monitor in Kabul. Dorsey stated that diplomats in Kabul have estimated Karmal's support among the Afghan population to be no more than 5%. The people question his legitimacy and view him as an atheist who sold himself to the Soviet Union.
- Former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress-I party won over two-thirds of the seats in the Indian parliament elections. The election of Gandhi as prime minister came at a tense time for South Asia and the rest of the Third World in light of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Under Gandhi's previous regime, the Soviet Union enjoyed close relations with India.
- 01/08/80 — A military delegation from the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) headed by Lt.Col. M. Dayfallah, commander of the YAR Air Force, arrived in the U.S.S.R. on a visit. The delegation was met by Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, commander-in-chief, Soviet Air Force.
- 01/06/80 — In a speech given during the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Iraqi army, President Hussein called Soviet intervention in Afghanistan "an enormous and unjustified act that creates anxiety for all freedom and independence-loving people."
- 01/07/80 — The Soviet Union vetoed a Security Council resolution demanding that the U.S.S.R. withdraw its troops at once from Afghanistan. The vote in favor of the resolution was 13-2, but the Soviet Union, as one of the five permanent Council members, was entitled to exercise a veto. Only East Germany joined the Soviet Union in voting against the measure. The majority included all

seven Third World members of the Council.

- 01/06/80 — Egyptian President Sadat decided to order a reduction in the Soviet Union's personnel in Egypt and to offer the people of Afghanistan military aid to drive Soviet troops out of their country.
- 01/05/80 — The Soviet Union bitterly denounced President Carter's responses to the invasion of Afghanistan, saying they were "borrowed from the Cold War arsenal, a flagrant violation of commitments" to the Soviets. These comments were in response to Carter's decision to curtail grain shipments to the U.S.S.R. and to carry out other restrictions against Moscow.
- President Carter won backing of key members of Congress for emergency legislation to lift a ban on military aid to Pakistan in the aftermath of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.
- Islamic leaders in Turkey, Sudan, India, Indonesia, and Iran led protests against Moscow action in Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia urged Arab and Moslem countries to protest the Soviet action.
- 01/03/80 — Kevin Klose reported Soviet leaders evidently have considered Afghanistan an integral part of the Soviet Union's military zone on its southern borders, and foresee a virtual state of occupation there for many years to come. Klose's views resulted from interviews with Soviet and Western sources in Moscow and were reported in a Washington Post article.
- 01/02/80 — President Carter recalled U.S. ambassador to Moscow Thomas Watson for consultations in relation to the Afghan crisis.
- Thousands of Afghans and their Iranian supporters stormed the Soviet embassy in Teheran and ripped down the hammer-and-sickle before Iranian police drove them away. The demonstration was a protest of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In addition, the Saudi-based Islamic World League condemned the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a bid to wipe out Muslim influence in that Islamic nation and transform it into a "communist base."
- 01/01/80 — The new government of Afghanistan said today that it had invited Soviet troops into the country "in view of the present aggressive actions of the enemies of Afghanistan."
- India expressed deep concern over both the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and reports that the United States would step up delivery of arms and military equipment to Pakistan.
- President Carter sharply rebuked the Soviet Union for the coup in Afghanistan, accusing President Brezhnev

of providing a "completely inadequate and completely misleading" response to U.S. protests. In an ABC news interview, Carter said Brezhnev "claimed that he had been invited by the Afghan government to come in and protect Afghanistan from some outside third-nation threat. This was obviously false."

- 12/31/79 — U.S. officials reported that the Soviet Union was mobilizing at least two more motorized infantry divisions and gathering a large force of fighters and bombers in the area near the Soviet-Afghan border. Official sources estimated strength of Soviet forces in Afghanistan at between 30,000 and 40,000 combat troops.
- The Soviet Union said that it had sent a "limited contingent" into Afghanistan to help repel aggression from abroad and that the troops would be withdrawn when they were no longer needed.
- 12/30/79 — Stuart Auerbach of the Washington Post reported that Soviet troops were in firm control of all strategic crossroads and important government buildings in Kabul.
- 12/29/79 — White House Press Secretary Powell estimated the strength of the Soviet invasion force in Afghanistan at 30,000 combat troops.
- Afghan Muslim guerilla leaders vowed to continue their war against the new Afghan government, installed in a Moscow-engineered coup. The rebel leaders rejected conciliatory statements by the new Kabul government, branding its leader, Babrak Karmal, a "puppet" of the Kremlin.
- The Soviet Union confirmed that its troops were operating in Afghanistan in support of the new Kabul government. The official Tass news agency asserted in a dispatch from Kabul that the Afghan government sought Soviet military and technical aid to defend itself against "interference and provocations of external enemies" under the terms of the Soviet-Afghan pact of Dec. 5, 1978. Tass also quoted a telegram from Brezhnev to Karmal wishing him "great successes" in the task of leading the country.
- Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh called the Soviet action "...a hostile measure, not only against the people of (Afghanistan) but against all the Moslems of the world." The chief of staff of the Iranian navy, Adm. Madani, said Iran and Pakistan were consulting on the changes in Kabul.
- 12/28/79 — President Carter sharply condemned the Soviet Union for its military intervention in Afghanistan, calling it a "blatant violation of accepted international rules of behavior." He dispatched Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Europe for urgent consultation on

the Soviet move with U.S. allies.

- 12/27/79 — Afghan President Hafizullah Amin was ousted and replaced by Babrak Karmal. Soviet news agency Tass distributed a speech made by the new Afghan leader in which he denounced his predecessor as the head of a "bloody dynasty" and an agent of "United States imperialism." Western analysts took the Soviet transmission of the speech as an indication that its previously reported airlift of troops was designed to help replace Amin with Karmal. Karmal, a member of the Parcham faction of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), had been ousted by the Khalq faction of the party led by Taraki and Amin. He was made ambassador to Czechoslovakia. When charges of subversion were brought against Karmal by the Khalq-dominated government, he remained in exile in Prague until the removal of Amin. The Parcham faction of the PDP has been considered to be more in line with Moscow's way of thinking than has the Khalq faction.
- 12/26/79 — The State Department reported that the Soviet Union had carried out a 150-plane airlift of an estimated 4,000 troops and field equipment into Afghanistan during the last two days. The introduction of combat forces into Afghanistan represented the first time since World War II that the U.S.S.R. has deployed such troops outside the Soviet bloc. The State Department also reported a continuing buildup of Soviet combat forces in Soviet areas adjacent to Afghanistan. Department officials estimated the strength of the buildup to be equivalent to five divisions.
- 12/19/79 — The State Department reported that the more than 1,000 Soviet personnel who recently arrived in Afghanistan are equipped for combat. According to Washington Post staff writer Don Oberdorfer, some American officials have speculated that the Soviets may be preparing to shift from an essentially advisory role in the Kabul government's war against rebelling Moslem tribesmen to direct involvement in ground combat.
- The Soviet Union may have to pull out of a fishing depot off western Africa that it has leased since 1973, according to Tom Burns of the Washington Post. The pull-out would follow a turn towards the West by the present military junta which took power from Marxist leader Francisco Macias Nguema. According to Burns, the depot was used as a staging ground for Cuban troops during the Angola civil war and had served as a Soviet communications base.
- 12/01/79 — U.S.S.R. Defense Minister Ustinov met with Mozambique Minister of National Defense Chipande in the Soviet Union.
- 11/29/79 — According to Daniel Southerland of the Christian

Science Monitor, the Soviet Union has been quietly shipping new fighter planes, tanks, and a variety of other modern military equipment to North Yemen. Earlier in the year, President Carter had waived arms control restrictions for North Yemen in order to ship them American weapons to aid that country in a clash with South Yemen.

- 11/15/79 - 11/19/79 -- German Democratic Republic leader Erich Honecker was in Aden, South Yemen, on an official visit.
- 11/12/79 - 11/15/79 -- GDR and Communist party leader Honecker was in Ethiopia at the invitation of Ethiopian leader Mengistu. During his visit, Honecker signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Ethiopia on behalf of his country.
- 11/12/79 - 11/14/79 -- PLO leader Yasir Arafat was in Moscow on a "friendly visit" according to a communique published by Pravda. During his visit, Arafat met with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Communist Party official Boris Ponomarev.
- 10/25/79 -- Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with South Yemen leader Isma'il in Moscow. Included in the document was a statement which said that the two sides "... would continue to develop cooperation in the military field on the basis of the relevant agreements concluded between them in the interests of strengthening their defense capacity."
- 10/22/79 -- According to the Soviet news agency Tass, an Iranian delegation held successful talks with Soviet representatives on questions of further economic cooperation between the two countries. The Iranian energy minister said, on his return from the Soviet Union, that it was decided at the talks in Moscow to start the construction of a power station in Isfahan. This power station would be constructed with Soviet assistance.
- 10/18/79 -- The chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Skachkov signed a number of documents with the Syrian State Minister for Planning Huraniyah, including a protocol on economic and technical cooperation.
- 10/15/79 - 10/18/79 -- President Assad of Syria was provided sophisticated Soviet weapons during his visit to the U.S.S.R. The visit marked a significant improvement in Soviet-Syrian relations, according to press reports. Moscow had provided increased shipments of arms to Syria in 1978, but apparently refused to supply Syria with the sophisticated weapons sought by Damascus. According to reports, Assad was hoping to obtain M-1 and M-25 supersonic jet fighters and T-72 tanks. The U.S.S.R. also reportedly cancelled Syria's

\$500 million debt.

- 10/15/79 -- In a speech at a dinner honoring Syrian President Assad, Soviet Premier Kosygin addressed the issue of peace in the Middle East. Kosygin said, ... "all the Arab territories occupied by Israel must be liberated; Palestinian Arabs must really be guaranteed the right of self-determination and to create their own state; all states of the region must be guaranteed an independent and secure existence." Assad was in Moscow on a state visit.
- 10/13/79 -- Marshal N.V. Ogarkov, Soviet General Staff Chief, received Col. S. Farjani, commander of the Libyan Air Force, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit, according to the Soviet army newspaper, Red Star.
- 10/04/79 -- Youssef M. Ibrahim reported in the New York Times that senior Saudi Arabian officials have vowed to intensify efforts to stabilize the Persian Gulf region and to persuade the United States to take a "more forceful stand" against what they see as Soviet ambitions to encircle the major oil-producing area. An unidentified member of the Saudi royal family was quoted as saying that the military presence of Russians in the gulf and Horn of Africa was a serious threat to Western security.
- 09/16/79 -- Associated Press reported from New Delhi that Afghanistan President Taraki had resigned the presidency and the leadership of the ruling party and was to be replaced by Hafizullah Amin in both of those posts. According to this report, Amin is considered to be more of a hard-line Communist than his predecessor.
- 09/11/79 -- TASS reported that Angolan President Agostinho Neto died in Moscow after having undergone surgery.
- Moscow radio reported that U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Kosygin held talks in Addis Ababa with Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam. The Soviet leader was in Ethiopia with a delegation which included Soviet air force Commander-in-Chief Pavel Kutakhov and the chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic relations Semen Skachkov.
- 09/10/79 -- CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev met with Afghan President Taraki who was in Moscow en route home from the non-aligned conference in Havana. Taraki left Moscow on Sept. 11.
- 09/08/79 -- Washington Post correspondent Kevin Klose reported from Moscow that the Soviet government newspaper Izvestia had labelled the Ayatolloah Khomeini's rule a disaster for Iran. This statement represented a dramatic change in Soviet policy towards the government which had overthrown the Shah of Iran and also represented

the culmination of tensions between the two countries brought on by differences over Soviet policy in Afghanistan and Khomeini's treatment of Iranian leftists.

- 09/03/79 - 09/07/79 — A conference of nations of the nonaligned movement was held in Havana, Cuba. Cuban president Castro presided. Some observers believed that Castro was using his position as chairman of the conference to draw members of the movement toward a position more favorable to the Soviet Union. One crucial issue faced by the membership was on the question of who should represent Cambodia -- the Vietnamese-installed government of Heng Samrin or the deposed regime of Pol Pot. The conference decided to table the issue until 1981 and leave the Cambodian seat vacant.
- 09/05/79 — The Chief of staff of the Indian air force, Air Chief Marshal Latif, arrived on an official visit to Moscow at the invitation of Chief Marshal of Aviation Kutakhov, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Air Force.
- 08/28/79 — According to a Reuters report, Pentagon officials had stated that the Soviet Union had provided Syria with 50 to 70 of its most modern tanks, the T-72. Although this number of tanks would not have a profound military impact, the officials were concerned that the delivery of these weapons would continue. The T-72 had not been deployed outside the Warsaw Pact up to this time.
- 08/22/79 — Richard Burt of the New York Times reported that Defense Department officials disclosed that Nigeria had recently ordered the Soviet Union to cut its contingent of military advisers in the country from 40 to 5. The officials said that the Nigerian action had been prompted by inefficient performance and "condescending attitudes" on the part of Soviet advisers, who train Nigerials to fly Soviet MIG-21 fighters.
- 08/13/79 — The New York Times reported that Nicaragua's Interior Minister Tomas Borge stated that his country would avoid buying arms from Communist nations in order to avoid the "pretext to feelings that we are aligning ourselves with them politically."
- 06/14/79 — The Soviet Union had asked India to intercede with Pakistan to stop assisting the Afghan rebels, it was reported, during U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Kosygin's visit to New Delhi. Indian Prime Minister Desai was reported to have countered by telling Kosygin that the Afghan government "should try to acquire credibility among the Afghan people" instead of blaming "Pakistani influence" for their problems.
- 06/12/79 — Iranian religious leader the Ayatollah Khomeini accused the Soviet Union of assisting Afghanistan in suppressing the Islamic rebellion in that country.

- 06/11/79 -- A Western diplomat in Moscow said that Soviet presence in Afghanistan had increased to about 3,000 civilian advisers and 1,000 military advisers. "The situation is critical from the Soviet viewpoint," the diplomat said.
- 05/23/79 -- East German Defense Minister Heinze Hoffman had acknowledged that East Germany gave military aid to Africa. Hoffman was in Zambia on a 2-day visit.
- 04/29/79 -- In a sudden change in policy, the U.S.S.R. issued an official denunciation of former Ugandan President Idi Amin Dada in a Pravda article.
- 04/11/79 -- A spokesman for Afghan rebels claimed that Soviet advisers in Afghanistan had taken on expanded roles. He said that the Soviet advisers had "total control" of the Afghan air force and were also extensively involved in military activities on the ground.
- 03/26/79 -- Following a 3-day visit to Damascus, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko joined Syrian President Assad in denouncing the Israeli-Egyptian agreement.
- 03/24/79 -- Pro-Khomeini demonstrators in Iran assailed the Soviet Union for its role in Afghanistan. A representative of the Afghanistan Islamic Party charged that Soviet pilots were flying MIG's against Afghan rebels.
- 03/18/79 -- Pravda was quoted as having accused the United States, Pakistan, and a number of unidentified Arab countries of helping the Afghan dissidents.
- 03/14/79 -- The Soviet Union denounced U.S. claims that Soviet and Cuban advisers were helping South Yemen in its war against North Yemen.
- India and the Soviet Union agreed to trade and scientific and technological cooperation. Agreements covering the arrangements were signed in New Delhi by Prime Minister Desai and U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Kosygin.
- 03/08/79 -- A Kuwait newspaper reported that nearly 3,000 Cuban soldiers and Soviet military advisers had been rushed to South Yemen from Ethiopia in the last three days.
- 03/02/79 -- A spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front said that 2,000 Soviet advisers and technicians remained in Eritrea.
- 02/28/79 -- The U.S. State Department disclosed that the United States had raised the matter of the Yemen border fighting with the Soviet Union which had 1,000 advisers in South Yemen. Cuba had 500-700 advisers while East Germany had more than 100 advisers located in South Yemen.
- 02/24/79 -- The Ayatollah Khomeini summoned the Soviet ambassador to Iran to his headquarters to warn the envoy against

outside interference in Iran's internal affairs.

- 02/20/79 — In a speech delivered at Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta, President Carter, indirectly referring to the Soviet Union, warned against interference in Iran. "If others interfere directly or indirectly, they are on notice that this will have serious consequences and will affect our broader relations with them."
- 02/16/79 — The United States lodged three separate protests with the U.S.S.R. over Soviet anti-American broadcasts to Iran.
- A KNUFUS delegation led by General Secretary Ros Samay arrived in Moscow and was received in the Central Committee by Zimyanin and Ulyanovsky, according to Pravda.
- 02/12/79 -- The U.S.S.R. extended formal recognition of Khomeini's government in Iran.
- 02/08/79 -- U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown said that the United States had to "find a way" to help countries fight off Soviet surrogates, like the Cuban troops.
- 02/05/79 -- A Soviet government delegation consisting of Deputy Premier Ivan Arkhipov and seven other officials arrived in Vientiane.
- 01/23/79 -- The strike by Iranian oil field workers has cut off deliveries of Iranian natural gas to the Soviet republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia according to reports.
- 01/21/79 — Somalia President Barre held out the prospect of improved relations with the U.S.S.R. in a speech in the Somali capital of Mogadiscio. Barre did not oppose renewed cooperation between the two countries, although he criticized Moscow's "selfish interest" in the Horn of Africa.
- A Tass dispatch from Washington on recent television and press conference pronouncements by President Carter on foreign policy said that Carter had again returned to the well-worn theme of Soviet and Cuban "interference" in the affairs of the developing countries. "It is scarcely necessary again to refute this utterly false thesis. If one is to speak of genuine and not imagined interference, then it is what the United States itself is carrying on in Iran, where, despite official denials, U.S. special services carry on interference."
- 02/10/79 — Angolan President Neto received U.S.S.R. Deputy Foreign Minister L.F. Il'ichev. Il'ichev also met Sam Nujoma of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO).
- 02/06/79 — Il'ichev was in Maputo, Mozambique, for talks with

President Machel.

- 02/05/79 — A delegation led by U.S.S.R. Deputy Premier Arkhipov was in Hanoi for the fifth session of the U.S.S.R.-Vietnam joint commission for scientific and technical cooperation.
- 02/04/79 — Reporting the Washington announcement of Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's forthcoming Middle East tour, Tass said that, according to informed observers, the purpose of the tour was "to try to knock together a new anti-Communist alliance in the Middle East, which will assume the function of the sentinel imperialist interests in this oil-rich region after the USA's loss of Iran."
- 02/02/79 — Il'ichev was received by President Kaunda on his arrival in Zambia.
- At a ceremony in Brazzaville, Congo, the national Party school built with Soviet aid was opened by the Congolese minister of information, according to Pravda.
- 01/29/79 — Il'ichev was in Tanzania.
- 01/22/79 — India and the U.S.S.R. signed a new agreement on cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy, which covered additional areas of cooperation to those under a 1961 agreement.
- 01/11/79 — The Paris Arabic newspaper Al-Watan al-Arabi, according to Amman radio, said that Syrian Defense Minister Talas's visit to Moscow was successful, and Moscow decided to fulfill the arms orders of both Syria and (following the Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement) Iraq.
- 01/04/79 — According to Tass, Syrian Defense Minister Talas was received by Ustinov and had talks with him. Also taking part in the discussions were Foreign Economic Relations Committee Chairman Skachkov and Col.-Gen. Kozlov First Deputy Chief, Soviet General Staff.
- 01/01/79 — In a message to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on its 14th anniversary, the CPSU Central Committee said that the Soviet people noted with deep satisfaction how the Afghan people's revolutionary struggle had culminated in the April 1978 revolution as a result of which their country embarked on building a socialist society.
- 12/20/78 - 12/22/78 — A visit by French President Giscard d'Estaing was seen as an indication of Guinea's improvement of relations with the West. The government had launched a radical socialist program on achieving independence in 1958 and had drawn closer to the U.S.S.R. However, Guinea has reportedly grown dissatisfied with Soviet economic aid and Soviet trading practices.

- 12/13/78 — In a meeting with Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.), Angolan President Neto asserted, "it is necessary at all times to defend the independence of the country." His unexpected stress on independence was interpreted by observers as an indirect attack on the U.S.S.R. and Cuba, the principal supporters of the Angolan government.
- 12/05/78 — Soviet President Brezhnev and Afghan President Taraki signed a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation after two days of discussions in Moscow.
- 11/20/78 — Ethiopia and the U.S.S.R. signed a 20-year pact of friendship and cooperation that included a pledge for military consultations. The treaty capped the two-year improvement in Soviet-Ethiopian relations that led to substantial Soviet involvement in Ethiopia's war against secessionists in Eritrea and Ogaden.
- 11/19/78 — In an "interview" for Pravda Brezhnev warned against interference in the internal affairs of Iran.
- 11/02/78 — The U.S.S.R. recognized the government of Dominica immediately upon its gaining independence.
- 10/21/78 — North Yemen Foreign Minister Abdallah Asnaj linked the Soviet Union to the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the North Yemen government on October 15.
- 10/06/78 — The Soviet Union pledged more arms to Syria following discussions in Moscow between President Assad and President Brezhnev.
- 10/04/78 — The U.S.S.R. reached an agreement with Libya on providing it with a nuclear power complex that would include a 300,000-kilowatt reactor, research center, and laboratories.
- 09/22/78 — Brezhnev said that the United States, Egypt, and Israel had come up at Camp David with an agreement that "was a deal worked out behind the backs of the Arabs."
- 09/08/78 — The government of Ghana had expelled five Soviet bloc diplomats for engaging in subversive activities, according to a report from Accra.
- 09/06/78 — The Soviet Union denounced the Camp David conference as an American "trick" to increase its influence in the Middle East rather than as an effort to bring peace to the region.
- 08/07/78 — President Rene of the Seychelles denied a report that the Soviet Union had been given permission to use his country as a submarine base.
- 07/18/78 — At the opening session of the Organization of African Unity, Sudanese President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri called upon African states to reject the use of foreign troops. Nigerian leader Obasanjo echoed Numayri

in a July 19 speech, when he said that the U.S.S.R. and Cuba "should not overstay their welcome in Africa."

- 07/08/78 -- A Beirut newspaper had quoted East European sources as saying that the Soviet Union had assured Syria that "it would not stand idly by" if Israel, with American support, attempted to attack Syria.
- 06/26/78 -- Secretary of State Cyrus Vance stated that there was no "linkage" between Soviet African policy and SALT. The Soviet-Cuban interest in Africa was of serious concern, he said, but U.S. policy was "based upon an affirmative and constructive approach to African issues."
- A pro-Soviet "people's" militia led by Abd al-Fattah Ismail killed President Salem Rubay'i Ali after a day of heavy fighting in Aden, South Yemen.
- 06/25/78 -- In a joint communique following the visit of Turkish Premier Exevit to the Soviet Union, the Soviet government changed its position on the Cyprus dispute to conform with that of Turkey. The U.S.S.R. statement said that the two communities on the island should resolve their differences through direct talks. The U.S.S.R. had previously called for an international conference to settle the Cyprus conflict.
- 06/22/78 -- In a Tass report, the Soviet government denied that Soviet and Cuban aid to Angola and Ethiopia "creates a threat to peace and stability on the continent and undermines the process" of detente.
- Diplomatic sources reported that the Eritrean Liberation Front leader Ahmed Nasser had visited the U.S.S.R. and had taken part in a series of talks with Soviet leaders. It was thought that Moscow had tried to persuade Nasser to seek a negotiations with the Ethiopian government. The Soviet Union favored a confederation of Eritrea and Ethiopia, which the guerillas rejected in favor of independence.
- 06/21/78 -- Soviet jet fighters shot down an Iranian army helicopter that strayed across the U.S.S.R. border.
- 06/20/78 -- Regarding Soviet involvement in Africa, Secretary of State Vance declared that U.S. "African policy had not changed; it will not be our policy to mirror Soviet and Cuban policies in Africa."
- 05/28/78 -- Presidential National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, in a television interview, criticized "the short-sighted Soviet conduct in the last 2 or so years" including its efforts to "encircle and penetrate the Middle East."
- 05/27/78 -- Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko denied a charge from President Carter that Moscow had been involved in

the invasion of Shaba province in Zaire.

- 05/25/78 — President Carter stated, at a news conference, that it was a joke to call Cuba nonaligned, and that Cuba was a surrogate of the U.S.S.R.
- The Soviet news agency, TASS, charged that French and Belgian troops had carried out the slaughter of whites in Kolwezi "and other towns of Shaba so as to blame the rebels for the mass murder of whites."
- A Kuwait newspaper reported that Iraq had threatened to sever diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. if it provided military assistance to Ethiopia in its drive against Eritrean rebels that were supported by Iraq.
- 05/19/78 — Iran and Pakistan were reportedly concerned about what they regarded to be the pro-Soviet and pro-Communist leanings of the new government in Afghanistan, according to reports from Tehran and Islamabad. There were reports that Iran had information that the Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan was holding daily meetings with Afghan Premier Taraki to advise him on what policies to follow.
- A spokesman for the State Department said that the United States had evidence that the rebels who invaded Shaba province in Zaire had been trained by Cuba in Angola and were carrying Soviet-made weapons.
- 05/07/78 — The Soviet Union denounced as "slanderous" reports from the West that the U.S.S.R. had inspired the April 1978 Afghan coup.
- 05/06/78 — In a news conference, Afghan leader Taraki denied that Afghanistan was moving closer to the Soviet Union.
- 05/05/78 — President Carter spoke out at a town meeting against Soviet intervention in Africa. He said such intervention "was a danger to Russian-American relations" and he had so informed Soviet leaders.
- 04/09/78 — The chairman of the Peruvian joint chiefs of staffs returned from Moscow and reported that Moscow had agreed to reschedule Peru's payment for arms purchases. Peru had purchased \$250 million worth of fighter planes.
- 04/04/78 — Angolan government troops and Cuban forces had recently begun a massive offensive against guerillas of UNITA. A UNITA spokesman said that 5,000 Cubans involved in the offensive were backed by Soviet jet fighters and other Soviet military hardware.
- 03/29/78 — The Arab League condemned Cuba and the Soviet Union without specifically mentioning their names for their "aggressive" intervention in the Horn of Africa.

- 03/21/78 -- Nigeria and the Soviet Union signed a trade agreement providing for the establishment of trade missions in each country and the exchange of various goods.
- 03/07/78 -- Yugoslav President Tito and American President Carter, during talks, agreed that Soviet and Cuban aid should be withdrawn from Ethiopia as soon as a settlement between Ethiopia and Somalia was reached.
- 03/02/78 -- President Carter, during a press conference, strongly deplored the Soviet Union's increasing role in the Horn of Africa and warned that it was jeopardizing chances for congressional approval of any U.S.-Soviet arms limitation agreement.
- 03/01/78 -- National Security Adviser Brzezinski warned that Soviet intervention in the Horn of Africa might have an adverse effect on the outcome of SALT II.
- 02/21/78 - 02/22/78 -- Syrian President Assad visited Moscow in an apparently successful effort to obtain additional Soviet arms. At a dinner honoring Assad, Brezhnev assailed the United States for supporting direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel. Brezhnev said that his government still favored a general Middle East conference under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union as outlined in the October 1, 1977, U.S.-Soviet declaration.
- 02/02/78 -- According to a Reuters report, an Ethiopian soldier who defected to the Eritrean rebels was quoted as saying that the Soviet Union has provided active military assistance to Ethiopian troops fighting secessionists in Eritrea.
- 01/31/78 -- The U.S.S.R. and Morocco has concluded a long-term pact for the construction of a phosphate mine. The \$2-billion deal was believed to be the largest Soviet investment in the Third World.
- 01/25/78 -- President Carter told Soviet Party official, Boris Ponomarev, who had been leading a Soviet parliamentarian delegation to the United States, that U.S.-Soviet relations could suffer if the Soviet Union established its military role in the Horn of Africa.
- 01/18/79 -- In a news conference, Maj. Birhanu Baje, a member of Ethiopia's ruling military council, denied that Soviet and Cuban personnel were fighting with the Ethiopian army or serving as advisers.
- 01/12/78 -- In a news conference, President Carter called Soviet involvement in the Somali-Ethiopian fighting "unwarranted". He said that the Soviet Union had sold "excessive" quantities of weapons to both sides, "and they're also dispatching Cubans into Ethiopia who are, perhaps, to become combatants themselves."

- 01/11/78 -- Syria and the Soviet Union has signed a "new agreement" under which Damascus is to be provided with more Soviet arms and aid, according to the State Department. Moscow is said to have decided on the expanded military assistance after Egypt launched its peace dialogue with Israel.
- 01/05/78 -- U.S. officials said that the U.S.S.R. has suspended the massive airlift of weapons and material to Ethiopia. The Soviet Union has been providing Ethiopia with small arms, tanks, and planes to repel an invasion of Somali-backed separatist guerillas in the Ogaden region.
- 12/25/77 -- Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda said that Moscow would not attend a Geneva conference to ratify an agreement resulting from the Ismaila talks. The paper charged that such a meeting would be "a screen covering separate deals to the destruction of a general Middle East peace settlement."
- 12/06/77 -- The American Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young charged that that the Soviet Union and Cuba were "contributing to the escalation of death and destruction in Africa." Young said that the two countries should assist in the task of nation-building instead.
- 12/05/77 -- Egypt severed diplomatic relations with Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, and South Yemen in retaliation for their attempts to disrupt President Sadat's peace overtures to Israel. The Soviet Union's support of the five Arab hardline states prompted Cairo to order the closing in Egypt of the cultural centers and some consulates of the Soviet Union and four of its East European allies -- Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany and Poland.

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