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23 November 1979

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 8/79)



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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR POLICIES, ACTIVITIES IN THIRD WORLD DISCUSSED

East Berlin ASIEN, AFRIKA, LATEINAMERIKA in German Vol 7 No 4, 1979  
signed to press 25 May 79 pp 569-577

[Article by Dr Klaus Willerding, deputy minister for foreign affairs: "The Foreign Policy of the GDR and the Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America." For a translation of an article by Willerding on GDR policy in Africa, along with references to other related information on GDR involvement in the Third World, see JPRS 74168, 12 Sep 79, EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS No 1715, pp 19-33. A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Otto Reinhold, cited in footnote 8 below, is published under the heading, "Socialist Versus Bourgeois Democracy Analyzed," in JPRS 73253, 18 Apr 79, No 1670 of the above-named series, pp 24-33]

[Text] Thirty years' German Democratic Republic--that means at the same time 30 years of anti-imperialist solidarity. The political foundations of the antifascist-democratic system, which after World War II emerged in East Germany, and of the first German state of workers and farmers also include the radical break with the colonial policy of German imperialism. The founders of the new socialist foreign policy resumed in 1949 the anti-colonialist struggle of the revolutionary German workers' movement. They also protected and further developed the bourgeois, democratic and humanistic heritage which they encountered in the relations with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus there emerged a foreign policy that puts the liberation of nations in place of their suppression, that replaces racism and the hatred of peoples with friendship and national equality, that pits internationalist solidarity against bourgeois nationalism and that counters colonialist exploitation with economic relations based on equality. Through this policy based on principle and through its consistent implementation, the GDR has won close friends in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The cooperation with them has always been an important factor in the complex struggle which the GDR--side by side with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community--has been waging for the consolidation of world peace and for national liberation and social progress. The friendly relations with numerous countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America likewise played an

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important role in the struggle against the diplomatic blockade--organized by imperialism against the GDR--and for international recognition of the first German workers' and farmers' state. During the past decade, the relations between the GDR and the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America developed by leaps and bounds. In 1969, the GDR maintained diplomatic relations with six states of this area; by 1979, relations had been established with 86 countries.<sup>1</sup> The relations are characterized above all by qualitative enrichment. They have become more varied and substantial. The countries with which the GDR maintains relations differ in terms of their economic level of development, the stage reached in their struggle for national liberation, and their political orientation. The increasing diversity of the relations is reflected in the fact that just in the last 18 months<sup>2</sup> 150 treaties, agreements and ministerial arrangements were concluded with states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The exchange of delegates and experience has been considerably expanded on all levels. Indicative of the greater political substance are the agreements concerning cooperation and friendship which were concluded between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. These are the first friendship agreements concluded by the GDR with countries outside the socialist community of states. The declaration concerning the principles of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and Socialist Ethiopia (1978) and the joint declarations and statements issued with the heads of state of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (1976), the People's Republic of the Congo (1977), the Syrian Arab Republic and the Socialist Libyan Arab People's Yamahiriya (1978), the Republic of India, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Cape Verde (1979) testify to the great advances that are characteristic of the relations between the GDR and the states of the Afro-Asian area. High points of the foreign policy of the GDR and especially of its relations with the nationally liberated states were the visits by GDR party and state delegations headed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the Philippines, India and several African states.

As do all socialist states, the GDR bases its policy vis-a-vis the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin American on the fundamental, objectively grounded position that these formerly colonially suppressed countries, which even today are economically dependent on imperialism and exploited by the monopolies, are part of the global liberation movement. As a socialist state, the GDR orients its foreign policy as well toward the objective requirements of the history of mankind, which call for the elimination of that old system of exploitation of man by man. Since the Great Socialist October Revolution, this political objective has been an international concern as well. At present, the principal objective is to establish worldwide cooperation among all the forces taking an active interest in the process of historical progress. This is by no means a tactical problem. Of great actuality is Lenin's statement that the solution of the "complex and difficult problems" which the participation of the "peoples of the East" in the international revolutionary struggle will entail "will form the basis of overall success, since here the majority of the population has started for the first time to act independently and is becoming an active factor in the struggle for the overthrow of world

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imperialism."<sup>3</sup> The peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America have presently become an active force, one of the elements determining the fate of all of mankind. Their influence on international events is increasing. Most of them take an active part in the anti-imperialist struggle and help to change the international situation in favor of the cause of peace and democracy.

The GDR and the other socialist states support the truly world-historical process of the emergence of the millions of people of these nations as an active political force engaged in the liberation of mankind. In its relations with the nationally liberated states, the GDR takes this into consideration. In regard to their /political substance/ [words underlined], these relations are characterized by the fact that the principles of equal rights, of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, of noninterference in internal affairs, and mutually beneficial cooperation are combined with anti-imperialist solidarity. In the relations with socialist-oriented countries, elements of proletarian internationalism are becoming increasingly important. It is this substance that fundamentally distinguishes the relations of the socialist states from the relations the imperialist states maintain with the nationally liberated countries. It is due to this substance that these relations have become a reliable element of support in the struggle for consolidation of political and economic independence and for a position of equality in international life. In their struggle to attain these objectives, the non-aligned states obtain reliable, consistent support from the relations with the socialist countries. This is true in spite of the considerable differences--caused by the increasing differentiation between the nationally liberated states--in their economic, socioeconomic and political conceptions and goals. One need only compare the attitude of the socialist countries with that of the imperialist powers in regard to some of the current problems of our time such as the struggle against the remainders of colonialism, against racism, apartheid, neocolonialist exploitation, and for a new international economic system based on democracy and equal rights: In every instance, the socialist states--in accordance with the basic principles of international politics and in conformity with their national and international interests--advocate positions identical or close to those taken by most of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. No propaganda concerning an "equidistance to the blocs" can do away with this fact. During the visit of the party and state delegation, the president of the Republic of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, stated: "We value the historical contribution made by the GDR and the socialist countries in support of the liberation movements in their struggle against the oppressors."<sup>4</sup> Kaunda stated further: "We are appealing to the socialist countries to intensify their support for the Patriotic Front. Let us join forces in the struggle for the liberation of mankind."<sup>5</sup>

Like the political substance, /the position accorded the nationally liberated states in the international policy of the socialist countries/ [passage underlined] fundamentally differs from the position these states occupy in the international activities of the imperialist states. Although the imperialist states have been compelled greatly to modify and adjust to present conditions

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their international tactics vis-a-vis the developing countries, Lenin's statement that imperialism continues to regard the formerly colonial nations as an object of its international policy is still valid.<sup>6</sup> This is evidenced above all by the attempts of the imperialist powers and the multinational concerns to interfere in the internal affairs of nationally liberated states, to impose on them their will and to keep them in their economic and political sphere of influence. On the other hand, the states of the socialist community accord the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America the position of equal and friendly partners. This was reaffirmed by the Moscow Declaration of November 1978: "Now as before they will support the forces fighting for national liberation and the peoples of the liberated countries that in bitter struggles are defending their independence and freedom, including their right to free choice of the course of social development and to the guarantee of their countries' territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty."<sup>7</sup>

For the socialist states, the national liberation movements and the nationally liberated countries, the /significance of stable, reciprocal relations/ [passage underlined] lies in the fact that cooperation on the basic international problems of our time can gradually change the world situation in favor of peace and national liberation. In this way, they can jointly influence and improve the international conditions under which the struggle for social progress and for true national independence is being waged. The experience gained in the last few years shows that today the international distribution of forces is of increasing importance, both in regard to the liberation struggle in general and in regard to the revolutionary struggle in each individual country. This goes as well for the solution of the most important international problems--peace or war, detente, termination of the arms race, disarmament, the struggle against colonialism and racism, and democratic reorganization of international economic relations. The considerable positive changes in the international climate during the past decade largely resulted from the cooperation on these problems on the part of the socialist countries and the nonaligned states. The GDR and the other socialist states want the nationally liberated states' weight and influence on international relations and on world politics to continue to grow as a positive factor of peace and national independence. It is in this sense that the GDR attributes great importance to collaboration with the movement of nonaligned states. Although the increasing political differentiation between the nationally liberated states manifests itself in this movement as well and confronts it with complex problems, one must not overlook the fact that this movement gives expression to the desire of the nations no longer to serve as an object of imperialist policy, but to play an active role, to make a significant contribution to the solution of the basic problems of our time.

The relations between the GDR and the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America and their political cooperation are based on the objective conformity of their interests in regard to a number of basic problems of our time. Apart from the desire for the development of bilateral relations, such identity of interests is found above all in the following areas: preservation and safeguarding of world peace; arms limitation and disarmament; the struggle against

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colonialism, racism and apartheid; the striving for democratic reorganization of the system of world economic relations and for termination of the exploitation of the nationally liberated states by imperialism; unrestricted exercise of the right to national, political and socioeconomic self-determination of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Although the developing countries attained their political independence and national sovereignty, there have remained--in spite of significant achievements in the development of industry and agriculture--tremendous economic and social problems that were created by colonialism and that have been reproduced by neocolonialism. This also applies to the position of these countries in international economic relations. The GDR--like the other socialist states--is very much concerned about the great problems confronting the young nation-states and it supports them in various ways. Undoubtedly, it is of crucial importance that these countries overcome their economic backwardness. However, this is not--and not even to any significant extent--a technological problem. This problem is capable of solution only in a broader social context. Practically, the objective is to eliminate the colonial remainders in the internal social structures of these countries and to change their position in international economic relations. Thus the comprehensive "decolonialization" of social relations in the developing countries not only necessitates an external struggle against the economic colonialism of the monopolies and imperialist states; it also is an internal problem of great dimensions. Only on this complex basis will it be possible to develop the productive forces in a way and at a rate sufficient for overcoming this serious backwardness. Thus there are on the agenda a great many diverse problems that essentially are concerned with democracy. It is only in the struggle against imperialism--especially against the multinational concerns, but also against the domestic reactionary forces--that these problems can be solved. Thus a process of gigantic dimensions has been initiated in a region inhabited by two-thirds of the world's population. The world-historical significance of this process is beyond all doubt. It is unfolding in a national and in an international framework. It is extremely intricate and complex and does not follow a straight course. The GDR and the other socialist countries consider it only natural to support the struggle waged in the nationally liberated states for the solution of these problems; after all, what is involved here is cooperation in the interest of historical progress in the world.

It is not in isolation from the general international situation that the realization of the common basic interests and the development of the relations between the GDR and the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are taking place. In this regard as well, one can observe how the clash of positive and negative forces affects the international development, how these two elements merge, confronting both the socialist and the nationally liberated states with new problems. On the one hand, more and more states--struggling to overcome socioeconomic backwardness--are following a socialist-oriented course as an alternative to capitalist exploitation. This is based on the growing realization that in most of the developing countries capitalist development failed to insure genuine national independence or to alleviate

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the social distress of the masses. As is illustrated by the example of Iran, this is also true of those developing countries which owing to the billions received from the export of petroleum have at their disposal huge financial reserves. Generally speaking, the bitter class struggle concerning the future course of social development is the key problem. The intensification of the social aspect of the struggle for national liberation is obvious. Africa in particular has become a "continent on the move." The fundamental revolutionary changes in Socialist Ethiopia, in the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola, the socialist-oriented development in Algeria and other countries of Africa are changing the face of this continent. The people's revolution in Afghanistan likewise shows interesting new characteristics. Generally speaking, we are witnessing a significant expansion of the anti-imperialist movement in Asia and Africa and of the struggle for democratic alternatives in Latin America. Typical phenomena are the general intensification of the struggle against imperialism and the increasing resistance to the aggression of neocolonialism. Thus the struggle for enforcement of the right to self-determination of the African peoples in the South has reached a crucial stage. This struggle will contribute to the further liberation of the entire continent from colonialist suppression and exploitation.

All these processes are extremely dynamic; they include--to an extent unparalleled on this continent--broad segments of the population and various social strata in the political struggle. Promotion of these processes necessitates still closer cooperation and coordination among all the forces fighting imperialism--i.e. the forces of real socialism, of the international workers' movement and of the national liberation movement. It is especially in regard to the key problems of international development that forms of international solidarity must be developed that are adequate to the dimensions of both the current and the long-range tasks.

On the other hand, imperialism opposes through intensified counterattacks the developing countries' attempts to attain economic independence and true autonomy. In regard to all issues of the struggle for political and socio-economic independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, imperialism proceeds from positions fundamentally opposed to the interests of the peoples of this region. The aggressive approach of the imperialist powers and the seemingly generous development aid are intended to prevent the countries of this region from breaking away from the capitalist global economic system and to keep them in subordinate and dependent positions within the framework of this system. There is yet another reason why the resistance of the old social order is increasing: In the 1970's, the general crisis of capitalism has been intensifying due to the fact that the cyclical crises are bound up with a grave shock experienced by the entire imperialist system.<sup>8</sup> Thus the intensifying struggle of the African peoples has a pronounced effect on this crisis. Their struggle for a new international economic system and--even more so--the socialist orientation of several African states endanger the exploitation and profit mechanism of the monopolies. Viewed in terms of long-range prospects, they have the potential further to unsettle the capitalist social system. The restriction of the opportunities of imperialism to exploit Africa--a

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strategically significant continent rich in raw materials--further increases the economic instability in the developed capitalist countries. The same imperialist forces that campaign against the peace-oriented policy of socialism deduce from this the "justification" to place their strategic interests above the interests of the peoples in Africa or in the Near and Middle East and to enforce these interests by military means. However, the dependence on raw materials does not entitle anybody to control the natural resources of sovereign states or to employ rockets and ships toward this objective. In order to counter the expansion of the democratic and revolutionary movements in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, imperialism is directing its main thrust against the cooperation between the forces of the national and social liberation movements and real socialism. At the beginning of 1979, the security advisor of the American president, Brzezinski, stated: "The most serious problem is the possibility that these two trends may cross: The increase of Soviet power and the disintegration of the political structure in some regions of the world that are of importance to us."<sup>9</sup>

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, imperialism has likewise been directing its main thrust against the peace-oriented policy of the USSR and of the other socialist countries. Its disruptive measures are primarily intended to prevent the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America from joining forces in the struggle for the consolidation of world peace, for disarmament and international security--those key problems of international politics.

It is especially the most aggressive circles of NATO that are trying to revive a policy of force and direct confrontation. This is evidenced by the formation of a fifth American fleet and of mobile air and ground forces to be deployed in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf; by the attempt to extend to Africa NATO's sphere of influence and to replace the disintegrated CENTO by a new "more effective" pact system in the Near and Middle East, a pact system directed not only against the socialist countries, but also against the progressive forces in the Arab countries and in Africa; and finally, by the intensive efforts toward formation of a South Atlantic pact and toward the coordinated employment of multinational forces from NATO states and African countries. All this testifies to the fact that imperialist circles still allow for the possibility of recourse to the gunboat diplomacy practiced in the past century. More and more frequently, imperialism fans regional conflicts in order to destabilize progressive, anti-imperialist regimes. The GDR is very much concerned about this practice and regards it as a serious threat to international security. There is no doubt that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are justified in fighting by all means at their disposal for their inalienable national rights.

Interference in the internal affairs of other countries is one of the key weapons employed by imperialism against the nationally liberated states. The GDR and the other socialist countries oppose this by advocating--in league with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America--strict observance of the norms of peaceful coexistence. The international development confirms that

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peaceful coexistence and the struggle for liberation are linked in a positive interrelationship. The attempt of imperialism to uphold its predominance and to perpetuate exploitation and dependence--these are the causes underlying the crises and regional conflicts. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stated: "It is not the revolutionary struggle of the nations that endangers international peace, but the attempt of imperialism to export the counterrevolution."<sup>10</sup>

Imperialism and the reactionary forces allied with it increasingly resort to ideological warfare and agitation against the national and democratic forces in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They frequently take advantage of the unsolved national problems left behind by colonialism, in order to provoke conflicts between individual segments of the anti-imperialist movement. Particularly perfidious are the attempts by the reactionary forces to undermine the internationalist alliance of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces by ideological diversion. The preferred divisive methods include anticommunism and antisovietism, which are frequently intensified through nationalism. However, the nationally liberated states are increasingly becoming aware of the danger of these divisive tactics. Thus the Joint Communiqué of 24 February 1979 stated: "The GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique condemn the defamatory campaign and the ideological aggression that are being unleashed against the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties and the national and social liberation."<sup>11</sup> The danger inherent in the policy pursued by imperialism is further increased by the alliance with the Chinese leaders. The rapprochement between China and the United States, the intensification of antisovietism, the aggression against Vietnam, and the increasing economic, political and military support given by Beijing to the most reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America undoubtedly are new factors in international politics. It should be emphasized that the imperialist powers and monopolies are presently using such methods--the specific approach toward the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America notwithstanding--against real socialism and against the national liberation movements and the nationally liberated states. The key problems of international politics are becoming increasingly interconnected. Today the central, essential problems concerning the national liberation struggle--and even important regional problems--are capable of solution only through the fusion of the national and the international struggles.

One of the most crucial problems in regard to the international policy of the socialist countries and of the national liberation movements is to find the most suitable ways of establishing a broad anti-imperialist alliance and also to select the most appropriate fighting methods. Although there is an increasing need for concerted internationalist action, the objective identity of interests in regard to basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle does not automatically lead to joint operations. Among and in the formerly colonially suppressed countries, an increasingly socioeconomic and political process of differentiation is taking place. The spectrum of developmental trends ranges from states characterized by the disintegration of feudalism and the emergence of capitalist conditions to socialist-oriented states.

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Equally diverse are the political conceptions of the respective ruling forces. At the same time, in spite of the as yet considerable economic backwardness characteristic of most of these states, the rapid economic and social development has undermined the old social structures and has created the rudiments of new classes. In these countries, the class struggle is increasingly becoming the key factor of politics. Its character is largely determined by the conflict concerning the course of social development. This is another element that shapes the ruling forces' political attitude in regard to the international problems. Finally, the political attitude is influenced by the developmental disparities between the developing countries. In addition, there is the pressure exerted by the imperialist forces and the Chinese leaders, and other factors. All this serves to produce inconsistencies and conflicts between the developing countries, conflicts that make themselves felt on the international level as well.

The national, antiimperialist and anticolonial trend is the determining factor--vacillations and inconsistencies notwithstanding. Of great importance in this connection is L.I. Brezhnev's statement that one must regard as progressive a policy "that decisively rebuffs neocolonialism, that supports the struggle for consolidation of the sovereignty and dependence [sic! Should read independence] of the young states, for their economic liberation from imperialism, and that backs the struggle for peace, social progress and for the consolidation of solidarity with all progressive forces of our time, above all with the countries of socialism."<sup>12</sup>

The GDR is doing its utmost for close cooperation with the nationally liberated states in regard to the key problems of international politics. The GDR proceeds from the assumption that more than ever the problems concerning the attainment of the strategic objective--namely to guarantee lasting peace--are bound up with those of the national and social liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It goes without saying that once a lasting peace is established it is not only socialism's superiority in all important fields that will become still more apparent. An international atmosphere based on strict observance of the norms of peaceful coexistence will at the same time improve the external conditions under which the peoples of these continents can attain their national objectives.

Conversely, the attempts of imperialism to gain a military advantage over the socialist community of states are also intended to ensure stronger opposition to the nations' struggle for national and social liberation. Thus the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces are confronted with the task of staving off the attempts of the reactionary forces to undo the advances made in regard to detente and to establish an alliance against the righteous struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national and social liberation. The conclusion drawn by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee--namely that "our party regards peace and anti-imperialist solidarity as interrelated objectives of our foreign policy"<sup>13</sup>--is of fundamental significance. The GDR--in advocating in its relations with

the nationally liberated states close cooperation among all peace-loving forces in the struggle for detente, disarmament, international security, national liberation and guarantee of the right of all nations to self-determination--opposes "that imperialist policy which runs counter to the objective requirements of the development of mankind."<sup>14</sup> As is shown by the talks and encounters during the state visits to African countries and India, this peace policy is welcomed and supported. Thus the president of India, N.S. Reddy, stated during the visit of the GDR state delegation: "We have found a lot of common ground in regard to our views on key international problems. And we have agreed to cooperate in trying to bring about detente, a just international economic system based on equality, and world peace."<sup>15</sup>

The democratization of economic relations on a global scale is an objective requirement, since these relations are at variance with present realities and with the entire international situation. They are still determined by remains of the old such as exploitation and colonial structures, discrimination, trade barriers, protectionism, inequality, and striving for unilateral advantage. In its international policy, the GDR therefore advocates a democratic reorganization of international economic relations. The GDR and the other socialist states combine this with support for the struggle waged by the developing countries for economic liberation from imperialism. As was formulated by the Moscow Declaration, this struggle is essentially nothing but a "direct continuation of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."<sup>16</sup> In this struggle, one of the primary concerns is the unmasking of the activities of the multinational concerns. It is becoming more and more apparent that the multinational concerns play a leading role in the imperialist strategy aimed at perpetuating the economic exploitation and dependence of the developing countries. As early as 1974, a report published by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) stated that in the "Third World" the multinational concerns do not contribute to its economic independence and autonomy.<sup>17</sup> Since then it has become obvious that in regard to national autonomy and economic independence the multinational concerns have become a threat even to the developed capitalist countries. The threat to the developing countries is disproportionately greater.

Undoubtedly, it is only through a long and complex struggle that the developing countries will be able to attain economic independence. It is essentially a struggle for completion of the anticolonial liberation, for decolonialization of the international economic relations. In this regard, the struggle for a "new international economic system" is characterized by a democratic, anti-monopolistic and antiimperialist thrust. Toward this end, there has been formed a broad international alliance. Just as the alliance between the national liberation movement and socialism was a precondition for the collapse of the classic colonial system maintained by imperialism, there will be no other way in regard to successfully clinching the issue concerning the international economic relations.

Through their bilateral relations with the nationally liberated states, the GDR and the other socialist states are making an important contribution toward

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attainment of economic independence by these countries. Their economic ties are based on the fundamental principle of sovereign equality, equal rights, nondiscrimination and mutual benefit, coupled with antiimperialist solidarity. In GDR foreign trade, the goods exchange with the developing countries shows the highest rate of growth. In 1978 alone, the growth rate increased 32 percent over that of the preceding year. The GDR is primarily interested in diversifying the relations, in avoiding any restriction to a mere exchange of goods. In contrast to the objectives of imperialism and of the international monopolies, the GDR is developing its economic, technical, scientific and cultural relations so as to contribute to the development of the productive forces and to the elimination of the internal colonial structures in the developing countries. In accordance with these objectives, the GDR is promoting the processing of raw materials in the country of origin; the enterprises established have passed into national ownership, and--as is to be expected--there has been no transfer of profits. The GDR attributes great importance to the training of national cadres in the developing countries, since it considers employment of such cadres a crucial development factor. At the same time, our socialist state has for years been giving increasing support to the impoverished people in many parts of the world who are afflicted by natural catastrophes, by aggression, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. All strata of the population have been participating in these efforts. Every year, the GDR's solidarity fund receives over M 200 million that are used for the transmission of free aid.

Thus there is developing in the relations between the GDR, the other socialist states and the nationally liberated states a qualitatively new relationship. The principles of this relationship and the experience gained through it are providing valuable impulses for the reorganization of international economic relations. This applies in particular to the relations with the socialist-oriented developing countries. In the GDR, the socialist orientation in all of its complexity is regarded as a vital enrichment of the revolutionary world process. The experience gained here should be thoroughly analyzed. The new quality in the social processes of the countries most advanced in regard to the socialist orientation not only opens up new possibilities of cooperation among socialism, the national liberation movement and the nonaligned states, but also gives rise to new practical-political and theoretical problems. During the visit of the GDR party and state delegation to the People's Republic of Mozambique, Erich Honecker emphasized that the socialist achievements attained in nationally liberated states "are achievements of the revolutionary movement as a whole." The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council stated: "The experience gained in the development of a progressive social system on African soil is of great value to all peoples fighting for their liberation and for social progress."<sup>18</sup>

The successful further development of the socialist orientation will largely depend on whether the revolutionary forces will be able to apply the universal laws of the socialist revolution, while making allowance for the diversity of national particularities. In this regard, the GDR and the other

states of the socialist community will continue to give them disinterested support. In the Moscow Declaration of November 1978, the Warsaw Pact signatories "reaffirm the intention of their countries to continue the development of varied and friendly cooperation with the young socialist-oriented states."<sup>19</sup>

Thus, in the 30th year of the German Democratic Republic, it has been shown again that through the objective formulated by the Ninth SED Congress--"to support the social and national liberation movements and closely to cooperate with the nationally liberated states"<sup>20</sup>--the continuity of the foreign policy of the socialist German state is guaranteed. The cultivation of friendly relations with the states and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America always was, is and will be a primary concern of the GDR's policy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. All in all, the GDR presently maintains diplomatic relations with 127 states.
2. Until April 1979.
3. V.I. Lenin, "Report at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, 22 November 1919," in: Works, Vol 30, p 145. Italics K.W.
4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 22 Feb 79.
5. Ibid.
6. V.I. Lenin, "Report at the Second All-Russian Congress ...," op. cit., p 144.
7. Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Signatories, AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, Berlin, No 47, 1 Dec 78, p 373.
8. See O. Reinhold, "Socialist Democracy and Bourgeois Democracy," EINHEIT, Berlin, No 3, 1979, p 245.
9. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 1 Jan 79.
10. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 Feb 79.
11. Ibid., 20 Feb 79.
12. L.I. Breshnew, "Auf dem Wege Lenins, Reden und Aufsätze" [Following Lenin--Speeches and Essays], Vol 4, Berlin 1975, pp 79 ff.
13. "9. Tagung des ZK der SED," [Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee], Berlin, 1978, p 178.



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14. Ibid.
15. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 Jan 79.
16. Declaration by the Warsaw Pact Signatories, op. cit., p 374.
17. See "Group of Eminent Persons--the Impact of Multinational Cooperations [sic] on Development and on International Relations," United Nations Publications, 1974.
18. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 Feb 79.
19. Declaration ..., op. cit., p 373.
20. "Programm der SED" [SED Program], Berlin, 1976, p 58.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JOURNAL COMMENTS ON GDR MILITARY AID TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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[Article by Mario R. Dederichs: "The Red Africa Corps: East Berlin Sends Thousands of Military Advisers and Shiploads of Arms--Nowhere Does the GDR Operate More Successfully Than on the Black Continent"]

[Text] Even the most patient person will blow his stack at some point. Since November 1978 the SPD and the FDP, and since April 1979 also the CDU, have been waiting for an answer from the Federal Government to grand interpellations concerning the growing military intrusion of the East Bloc states into Africa. What is involved primarily is the increasing presence of the GDR's National People's Army on the black continent.

CDU Deputy Juergen G. Todefhoefler has already ascertained one reason for the long silence by government people: "They are incapable of defining their Africa policy." The Foreign Ministry, to which this criticism primarily applies, can only come up with very lame excuses: "At the moment" things are "too much in motion."

It is a fact indeed that quite a few things are moving on the black continent to the benefit of the GDR. East Berlin is constantly gaining more comrades in Africa with its aid for leftist dictators and radical guerrilla fighters. The GDR supplies the instructors and arms, gives little money, but instead many pithy words--in such a way it occupies a field which Bonn (marching route: "No arms exports to areas of tension") has left to the German communists without offering any competition.

GDR Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, therefore, can justly term the military aid by his country the "most effective" one after the Soviet and Cuban assistance. In May this year he was given a demonstration in Ethiopia of how several thousand militia members are trained for assault in the Tatek training camp near Addis Ababa--with submachine guns and steel helmets from the National People's Army (NVA).

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The GDR is finding partners for its "operation brotherhood in arms" wherever there is some shooting. The most recent mission location for NVA specialists is Africa's hottest border, the frontline between Zambia and Mozambique vis-a-vis Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

Western intelligence services have spotted "logistic preparations for a large-scale military operation" on the Sambesi River in which the role of the GDR reportedly is "unmistakable." According to the latest findings, the number of GDR military advisers in the guerrilla units being drilled in Mozambique and Zambia for action in Rhodesia is being increased from the present 60 to between 300 and 500.

East Berlin is also delivering arms: portable ground-to-air missiles of the Soviet SA-7 type, 122 millimeter M-63 howitzers, mortars, and small arms such as the Russian AK-47 Kalashnikov rifle (600 rounds per minute) and submachine guns.

Besides, the GDR reinforces the front against Rhodesia politically as well. GDR diplomats arranged a reconciliation meeting between the quarrelling wings of the Rhodesian guerrilla movement in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa. The result: the two competing rebel armies have been welded together into one under an eight-member joint command council.

The GDR leadership still shrinks back, however, from using its own soldiers. Africans and Cuban legionnaires are the cannon fodder. "The GDR is not particularly keen on participating actively in combat actions," says an expert from Bonn's Inter-German Relations Ministry, "Its present role provides it with ample options for exerting political influence--and this is what matters to it."

East Berlin also gained black friends earlier in other parts of Africa through massive assistance. Some 15 years ago, when the rebel organizations FRELIMO (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola), and PAIGO (Guinea-Bissau) fighting against Portugal's colonial rule were still cryptic abbreviations to many politicians in the West, the GDR was at the frontline already: it dispatched officers and teachers, funds and rifles, ammunition and medicine, trained African cadres at home and had wounded guerrillas nursed at hospitals from Rostock to Dresden. Mozambique's President Samora Machel said: "The GDR has supported us from the very outset also in the most difficult situations--in every respect indeed."

During his official visit to Mozambique and Angola in February SED Chief Honecker harvested the African fruit: long-lasting cheers and friendship treaties, even a military treaty with Mozambique.

Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin, Guenter Gaus, cabled to the federal capital: "In all countries visited the trip yielded the GDR additional starting points for the establishment or enhancement of its presence and its political influence."

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What is more important to the GDR than glory and praise is the establishment of Marxist branches in Africa and "the happiness of the working people" (Minister Hoffmann). With that it has been most successful in Mozambique. There the experts from the GDR keep FRELIMO on the Moscow line, set up and improve spy networks and "revolutionary police and security organs" (SED journal EINHEIT), advise the bankrupt state bank, send Thuringian miners into the coal mines of Moatize, apply GDR instructional plans in the schools, and provide a 20-member bodyguard for President Machel made up of FOF agents of the East Berlin State Security Service. More than 500 NVA officers and noncommissioned officers are training indigenous personnel on modern T-54 tanks and MIG-21 fighter planes.

In Ethiopia 1,000 military men who had formerly seen action in the war with Somalia over the province of Ogaden (Chief of State Mengistu Haile Mariam at the time: "They live, die and fight with us side by side") are helping set up a "people's army."

In the People's Republic of Congo, which in 1973 was the first African state to conclude a military agreement with the GDR, the influence of GDR Ambassador Werner Jordan, who has been on this assignment for 8 years now, reaches up to the top of the government. His most important interlocutor is ex-defense and police minister Denis Sassou-n'Guesso. He overthrew Chief of State Joachim Yhombi Opango who had wanted to eliminate the economic chaos in the country with Western financial injections, including some from Bonn. Nguessos Maxim, in contrast: "Final break with international capitalism."

Honecker is also benefitting from the Africa corps in his own camp. With reference to his commitments on the hot continent he tries, not without success, to fend off Moscow's demands for an essentially more costly increase in the GDR's military contribution to the Warsaw Pact. The Foreign Ministry in Bonn announced that as many as over 4,000 GDR helpers including about 2,000 soldiers are in Africa.

Arms deliveries to black African buyers cost the GDR about 700 million marks during the past 5 years. Added to this must be 350 million marks worth of civilian economic assistance (1960 to 1978), as well as 100 million marks in "solidarity donations" from plants and party organizations per year.

The expenditures will even increase--for the benefit but perhaps also to the detriment of the GDR. Bonn government experts, at any rate, see in this a "self-destructive element" of East Berlin's Africa policy because the GDR must live up to the high expectations of the Africans even though it has but limited potential. "Moscow," the experts say, "will hardly help out as a stopgap."

This is why Bonn's man in East Berlin, Guenter Gaus, remains optimistic: "The territorial gain of the GDR in Africa at the moment is considerable, indeed, yet it need not alarm us on a long-term basis."

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