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ABSTRACT

This atlas consists of 20 maps, tables, charts, and graphs with complementary text illustrating Soviet government machinery, trade and political relations, and military stance. Some topics depicted by charts and graphs include: (1) Soviet foreign affairs machinery; (2) Soviet intelligence and security services; (4) Soviet position in the United Nations; (5) Soviet foreign trade; (6) NATO-Warsaw Pact conventional forces; and (7) U.S.-Soviet strategic nuclear forces. Maps illustrate: (1) the territorial formation of the Soviet Union; (2) the 15 Union republics, along with their population; (3) the officially closed areas of the Soviet Union; (4) the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; (5) Soviet relations with nonruling Communist parties and fronts; (6) Soviet military influence in developing countries; and (7) United States and Soviet naval presence. A chronology of major events in the U.S.-Soviet relationship is included. (SM)

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Atlas of the Soviet Union

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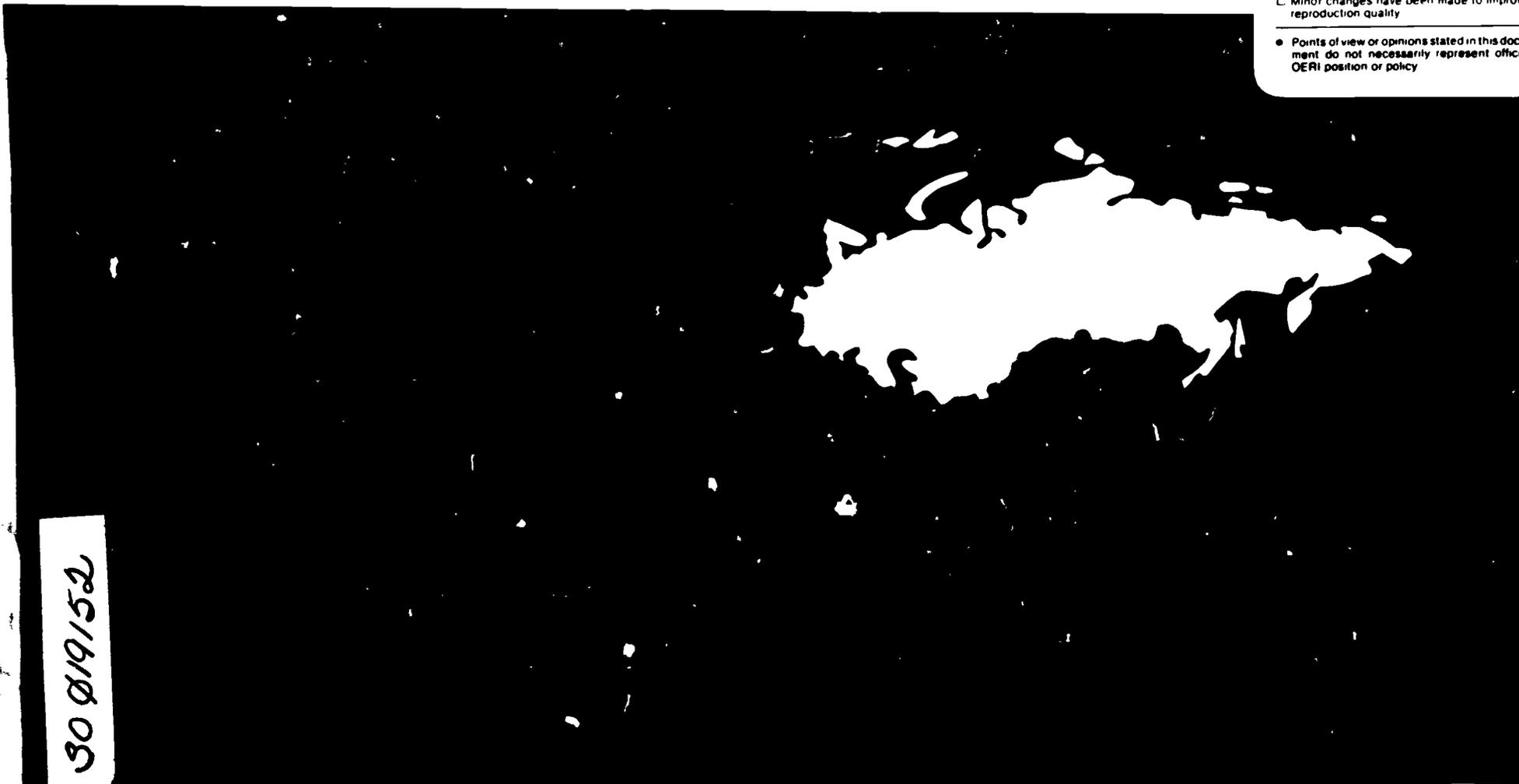
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Atlas of the Soviet Union

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Introduction

The purpose of this publication is to provide basic information about the Soviet role in world affairs. Following the format of the other atlases the author has prepared in the Department of State's Bureau of Public Affairs,¹ this atlas consists of 20 maps, tables, charts, and graphs with complementary text illustrating Soviet foreign affairs machinery, trade and political relations, military stance, and other subjects, including a chronology of major events in U.S.-Soviet relations.

The Soviet Union, now a military superpower active in all parts of the globe, has been incorporated into the world community of nations for half a century or more. Lenin's communists (Bolsheviks) who seized power in Russia in 1917, and their followers abroad, believed they were the instrument of the world socialist revolution predicted by Karl Marx. Economic and military weakness soon forced

¹Atlas of United States Foreign Relations (1983, 1985); Atlas of the Caribbean Basin (1982, 1984) and Atlas of NATO (1985).

them to enter into more or less formal relations with other countries. In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations but was expelled in 1939 when Stalin attacked Finland. Hitler's attack in 1941 brought Moscow into World War II on the allied side, and at Yalta in 1945 the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom agreed to take the lead in forming a new international organization—the United Nations Organization—to preserve world peace and security.

What sets the Soviet Union apart from Western powers in the international community is the unbroken rule for 70 years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The key doctrine of its Marxist-Leninist ideology, the class struggle, extended to the international sphere, assumes that conflict is inevitable between countries with different social systems. The Soviet term "peaceful coexistence," in common use since the 1950s, posits competition in non-military fields obviating the necessity of armed conflict. What also affects the Soviet role in world affairs is that, under communist rule, Soviet citizens cannot freely

travel, emigrate, mingle with foreigners, or fully develop their creative powers. Hence the paradox of a superpower that plays a large role in world affairs but to this point has largely been cut off from the dynamics of modern international life. To redress this situation is one of the objects of the new policies instituted by Soviet leadership since Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in April 1985.

An effort has been made in this atlas to avoid Soviet terms for international events and movements which are coined to reflect and propagate official doctrine. Transliteration from the Cyrillic alphabet, except with historically established usages, follows the rules of the Board on Geographic Names. The name Soviet Union, the common substitute for the formal name, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is used throughout along with the initials U.S.S.R.

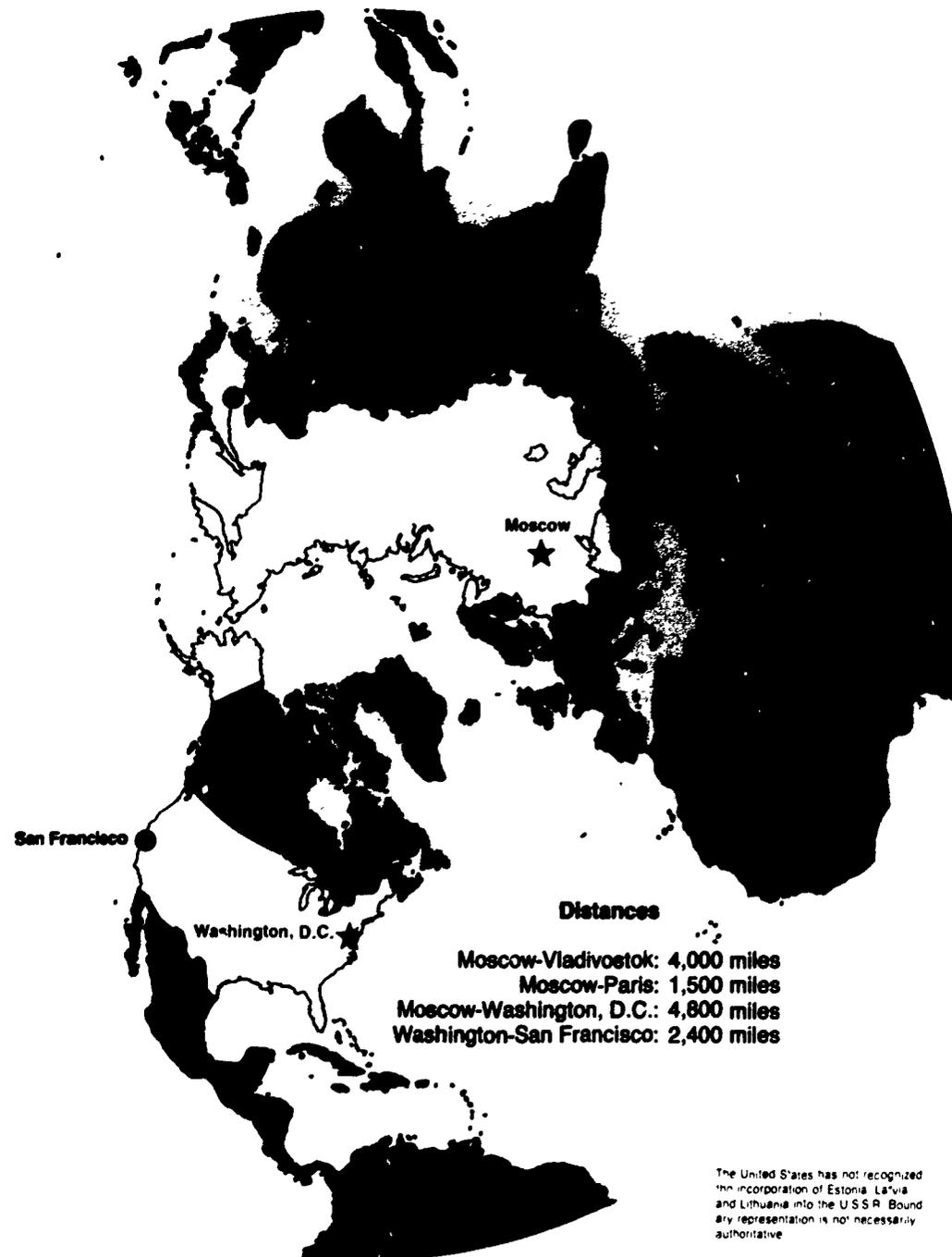
The Soviet Union as a World Power

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.	U.S.S.R. World Rank
Area	8.6 million sq. mi.	3.6 million sq. mi.	1
Agricultural Land	2.34 million sq. mi.	1.67 million sq. mi.	1
Population (mid-1985) ¹	279 million	239 million	3
GNP Per Capita (1985)	\$7,400	\$16,710	18
Defense Share of GNP	15%	6%	1 ²
Armed Forces (Active)	5 million	2 million	1
Arms Exports to Third World ³	\$38 billion	\$17 billion	1
Grain Production (1981-85 average)	178 million metric tons	308 million metric tons	3
Crude Oil Production (1981-85 average)	11,714 thousand barrels per day	8,716 thousand barrels per day	1

¹Mid-1985 estimate, U.S. Bureau of Census

²U.S.S.R. ranks first among industrialized countries, ninth in world.

³Arms deliveries, 1980-84



The United States has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the U.S.S.R. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Territorial Formation of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union occupies essentially the territory of the Russian Empire of 1914.

Three years of fighting followed the Bolshevik coup in 1917. The new government held on to Russian domains in Asia and the Caucasus (except for the Kars-Ardahan region ceded to Turkey) but in the west gave up large territories to Poland, lost Bessarabia to Romania, and recognized the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

World War II (1939-45) brought the following gains:

1939

- Eastern Poland, seized by agreement with Berlin;

1940

- Baltic states, annexed with Berlin's acquiescence;
- Sections of Finland, ceded after Winter War, 1939-40;
- Bessarabia and eastern Bukovina, ceded by Romania with Berlin's acquiescence;

1944

- Tuvian People's Republic (independent but under Soviet influence since 1921) annexed,

1945

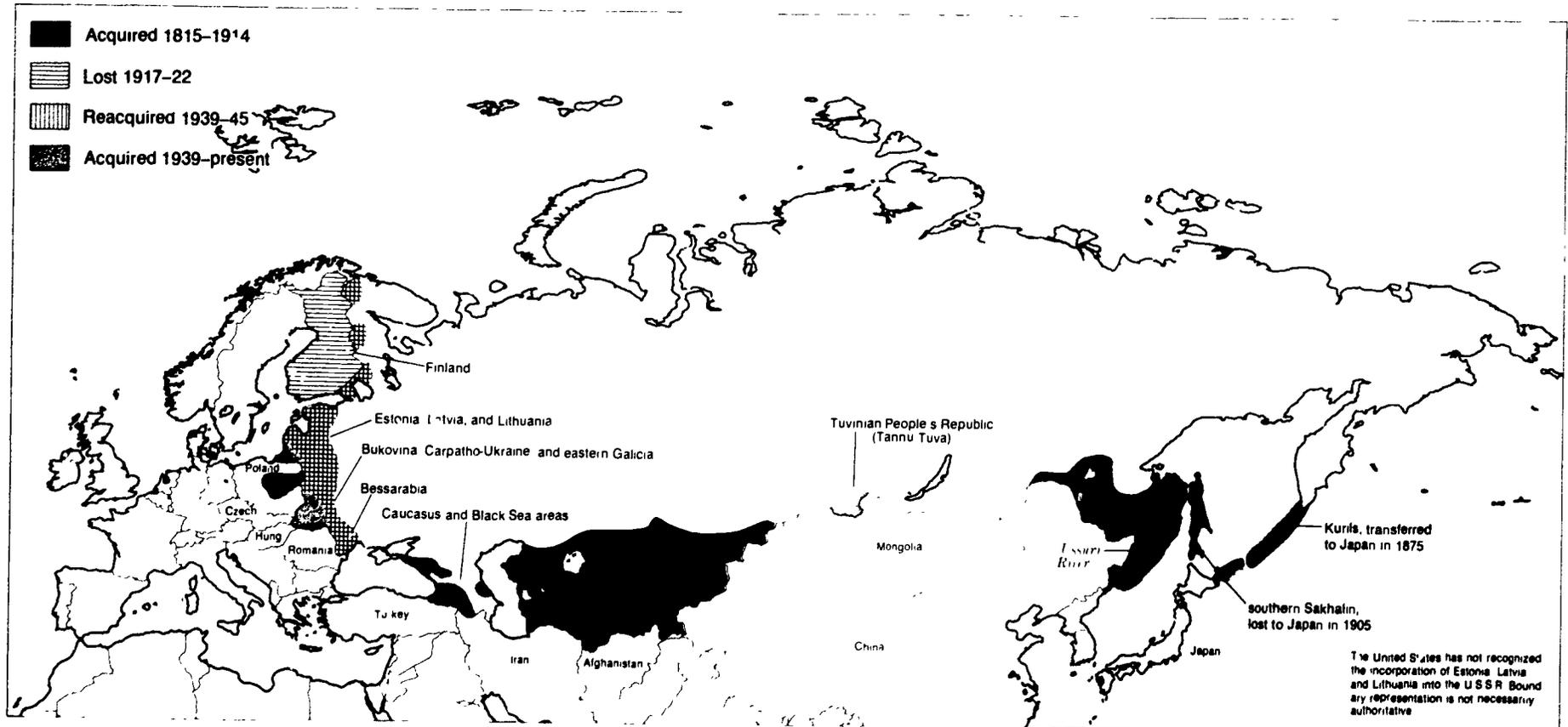
- Northern East Prussia from Germany,
- Finnish territory in north;
- Carpatho-Ukraine, ceded by Czechoslovakia;
- Southern Sakhalin and the Kurils (allotted at the 1945 Crimea, or Yalta, Conference) and other islands from Japan

The United States does not recognize the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

China disputes Soviet possession of certain Amur and Ussuri River islands and a tract on the Afghan border.

Japan claims Japan's Northern Territories (the Habomais, Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu) islands occupied by the Soviet Union along with the Kurils in 1945.

The Soviet Union had de facto control over the Chinese western province of Xinjiang from the mid-1930s until the Chinese communists entered the province in 1949.



The Soviet Multinational State

The Soviet state is a union of 15 "soviet socialist republics"—union republics—one for each of the larger nations of imperial Russia that have come under Soviet rule.

These republics, in fact, are administrative units of the central authority and cannot conduct an independent domestic or foreign policy. But the multinational structure has provided

advantages in foreign affairs. The original Asiatic and Muslim character of the Central Asian peoples has enabled Moscow to claim an affinity with the Afro-Asian world and send representatives to some international Islamic functions. And at Yalta in 1945, the United States and the United Kingdom agreed that Belorussia and Ukraine could be charter members of the United Nations.

Within the union republics there are ethnic subunits for 38 of the more than 100 officially recognized peoples (nationalities). Every Soviet citizen has a nationality—that is, ethnic affiliation—recorded in the internal passport. Russian is the language of the central administration and the armed forces and is propagated among non-Russians as the common language of the Soviet Union.

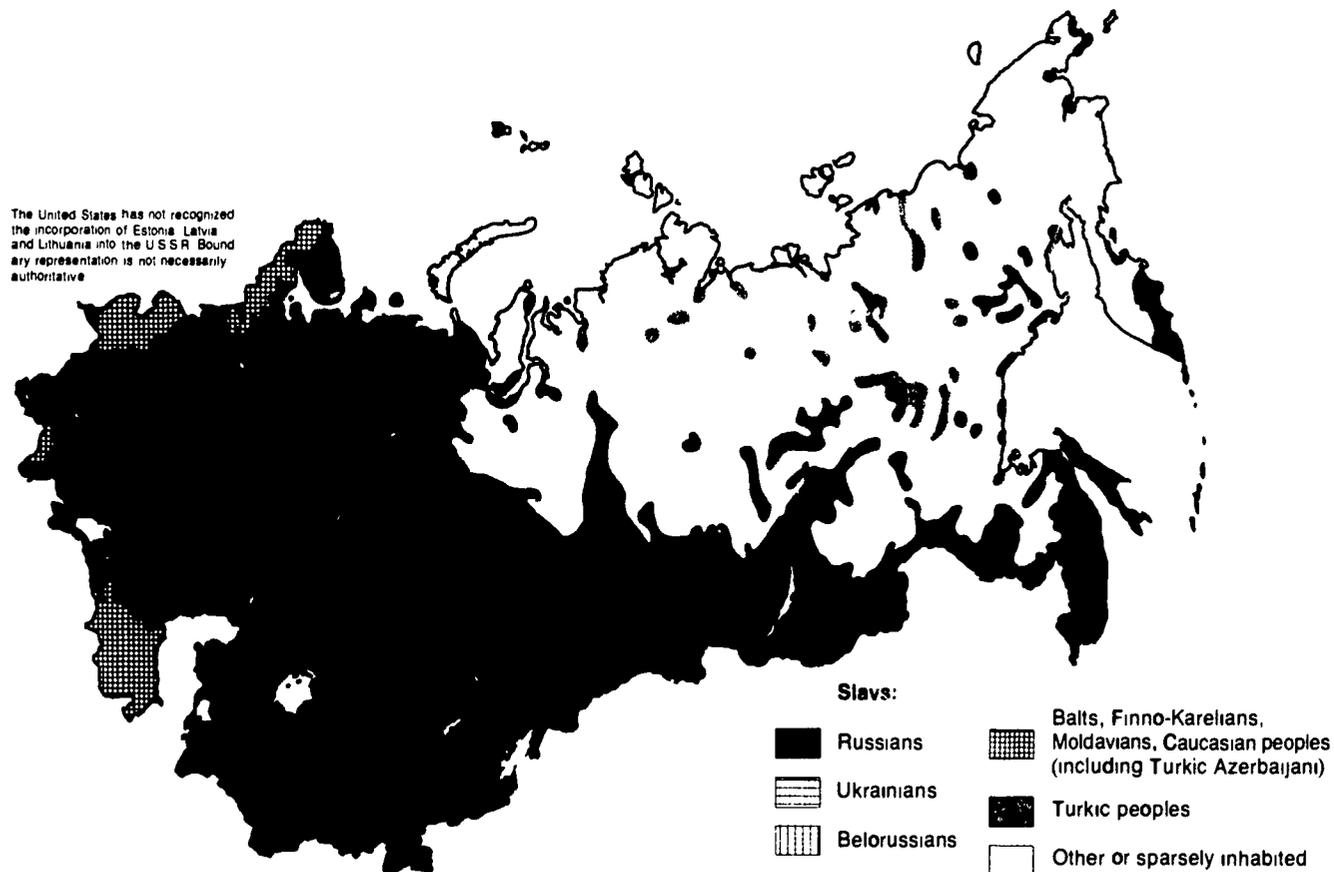
Population by Union Republic

(1979 Soviet census figures)

Republic	Population (millions)	% of Population Russian
Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic	137	83
Ukrainian	50	21
Uzbek	15	11
Kazakh	15	41
Belorussian	10	12
Azerbaijan	6	8
Georgian	5	7
Moldavian	4	13
Tadzhik	4	10
Kirghiz	4	26
Lithuania	3	9
Armenian	3	2
Turkmen	3	13
Latvia	3	33
Estonia	1	28
TOTAL Soviet Union¹	263	52

¹U.S. estimate for mid-1986 is 279 million.

The United States has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the U.S.S.R. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.



Machinery of Soviet Government

Function	National policy and leadership, key decisions	Review and certification of government plans and policies	Military policy and defense	Ceremonial and formal state functions	Economic/administrative coordination	Economic and budgetary planning	Administration of economic plan and public services	Foreign affairs
Agency	Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)	Secretariat	Defense Council	Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the U.S.S.R.	Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.	Gosplan Minister of Finance Central Statistical Directorate	More than 20 ministries and state committees	Foreign Ministry Defense Ministry Committee for State Security (KGB)
Soviet Title of Leading Official	General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee ¹			Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet	Chairman of the Council of Ministers	Ministers and chairmen of state committees		
Comparable Western Position of Leading Official	Head of government: United Kingdom—Prime Minister United States—President			Head of state: United Kingdom—monarch United States—President	None	Agency heads		

¹Khrushchev was also Chairman of the Council of Ministers 1958-64, Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko were chairmen of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet. Gorbachev, General Secretary since April 1985, has not yet assumed any other high offices.

Soviet Foreign Affairs Machinery

Function	Policy decisions	Policy planning, formulation; and some decisions	Diplomacy: relations with other countries and international organizations	Relations with communist parties and international fronts	Economic and cultural-scientific relations	Propaganda	Clandestine operations	Foreign assignments and travel clearance
Agencies	<p>Politburo</p>	<p>Foreign Ministry</p> <p>Secretariat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Department • Department of Defense Industries <p>Defense Ministry</p> <p>Committee for State Security (KGB)</p> <p>State Committee for External Economic Relations</p>	<p>Foreign Ministry</p>	<p>Secretariat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries • International Department (nonruling communist parties, fronts, insurgencies) 	<p>Foreign Ministry</p> <p>Foreign Trade Ministry</p> <p>State Committee for External Economic Relations</p> <p>State Committee for Science and Technology</p> <p>State Committee for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries</p>	<p>Secretariat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Department • Propaganda Department: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foreign radio broadcasting; - Books and periodicals; - News agencies. <p>Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries</p>	<p>Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (GRU)</p> <p>Secretariat (International Department)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clandestine broadcasting 	<p>Secretariat and KGB (clearance)</p> <p>Interior Ministry (passports)</p>

Functions of Soviet Intelligence and Security Services

■ KGB exclusively ■ KGB and GRU

Domestic

Public control	Government and Party security	Counterspyionage and espionage	Codes and ciphers
<p>Suppress dissent</p> <p>Investigate economic crimes</p> <p>Decide on foreign travel</p> <p>Ensure armed forces' loyalty</p> <p>Protect frontiers</p>	<p>Protect and guard officials and facilities</p> <p>Clear candidates for higher appointments and foreign assignments</p>	<p>Detect and prosecute espionage agents</p> <p>Manage Soviet contacts with foreigners</p> <p>Penetrate embassies</p> <p>Recruit foreigners as Soviet agents</p>	<p>Safeguard government communications</p> <p>Break foreign codes</p>

Foreign

Intelligence collection	Covert political action	Covert warfare	Counter-intelligence
<p>Obtain classified information in all fields by agents and technical means</p>	<p>Take 'active measures' through agents to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence foreign governments; • Manipulate media; • Control propaganda campaigns; • Assassinate special enemies. <p>Support communist parties</p>	<p>Smuggle arms</p> <p>Train foreigners for unconventional warfare</p> <p>Conduct special operations</p>	<p>Detect and control operations of and infiltrate foreign intelligence services</p>

KGB—*Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti*—Committee for State Security

GRU—*Glavnoye razvedyvatel'noye upravleniye generalnovo shtaba*—Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff

Closed Areas in the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union is the only country in which virtually the entire inhabited and physically accessible countryside is, as a rule, closed to travel by foreigners (including East Europeans and other Soviet allies).

The official closed area covers about one-fifth of the country. Here travel is strictly limited to a number of open cities and other tourist attractions. In practice the open area also is limited to larger towns, reachable by prescribed routes (in some cases only by air). The

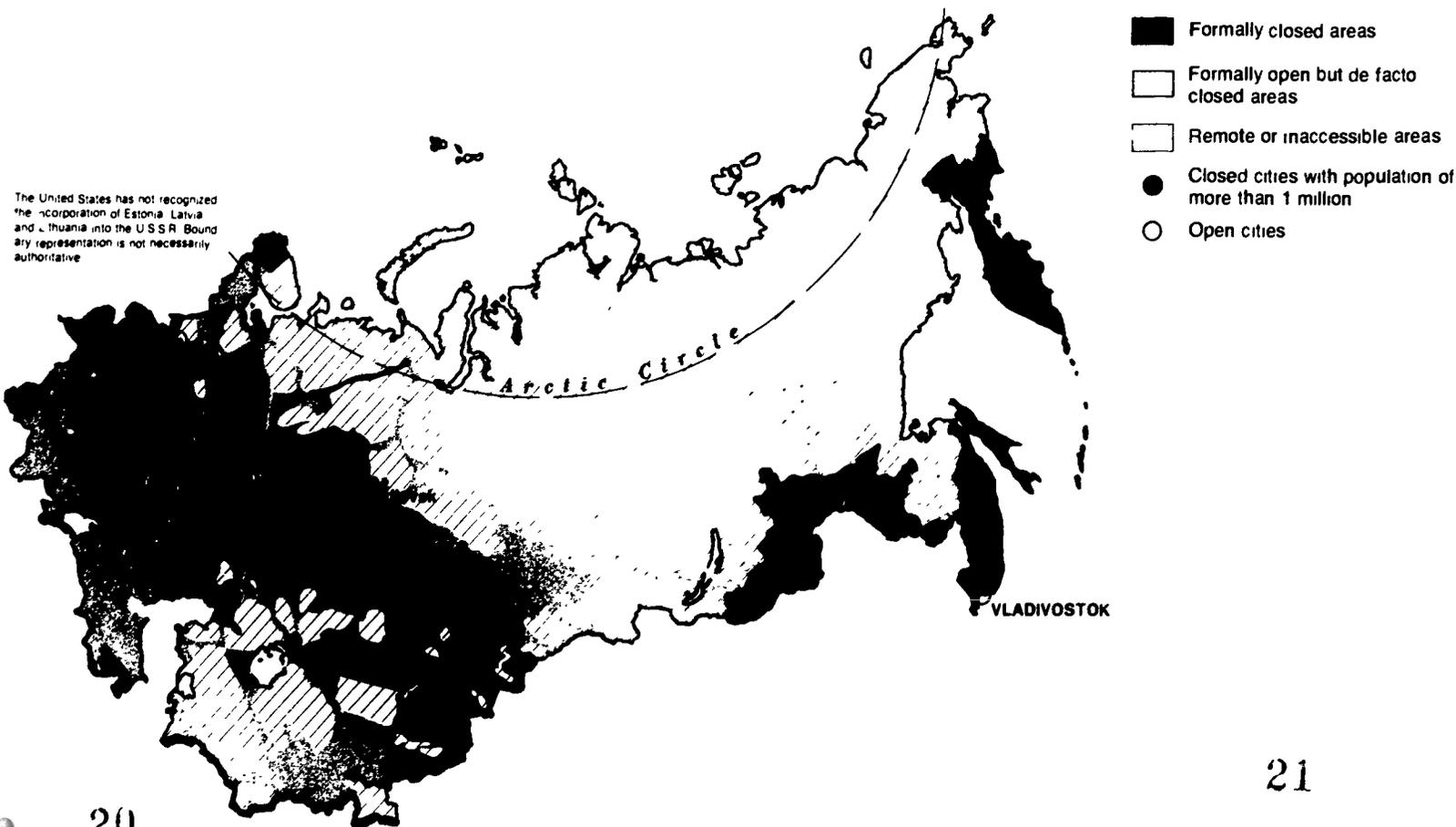
open area also contains some closed cities. As a result, nearly 98% of the territory of the Soviet Union is, in fact, off limits to foreign travelers.

Moscow began to restrict foreign diplomatic and consular travel in May 1941 (1 month before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union). Except for 2 months at that time, the United States did not retaliate until 1952. As Moscow would not remove its travel restrictions or abolish the closed areas, the United

States in 1955 began to restrict the travel of Soviet personnel at the embassy in Washington, the mission to the United Nations in New York, and the consulate general in San Francisco (the only separate Soviet consular facility in the United States, opened in 1973), and of Soviet journalists resident in the United States. About one-fifth of the United States is closed to Soviet officials in these categories. Unlike the Soviet Union, the United States does not restrict the travel of Soviet citizens tak-

ing part in U.S.-Soviet exchanges, visiting relatives or friends, or performing commercial or other nondiplomatic duties.

Tourist travel to the Soviet Union is managed by the Soviet state travel agency, Inturist, under the guidance of the State Committee for Foreign Tourism. Foreign tourists generally may stay only in Inturist facilities. Security aspects of tourism are the responsibility of the KGB.



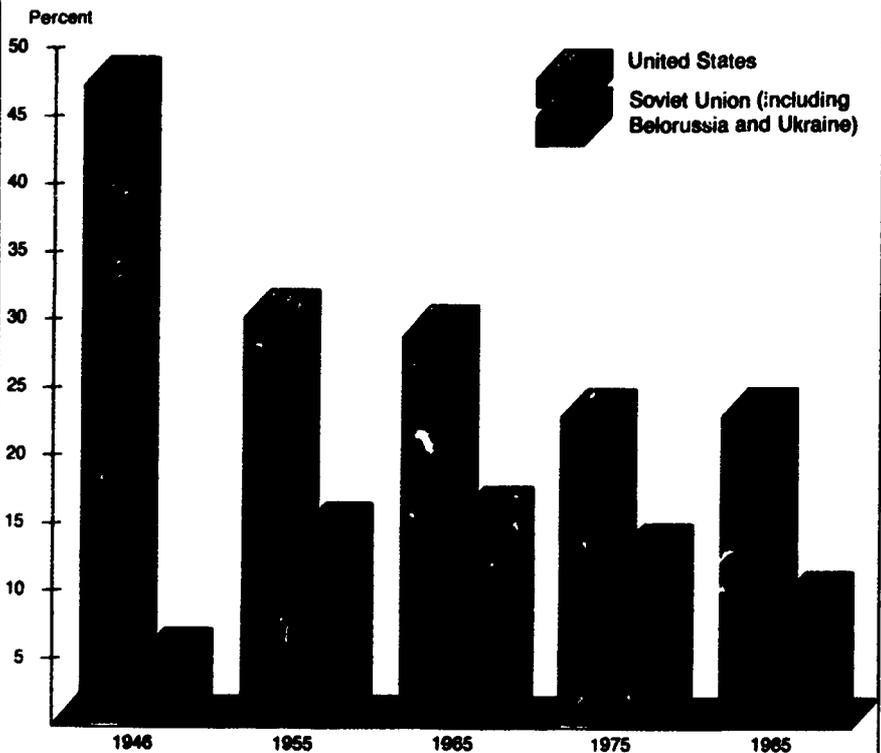
The Soviet Union and the United Nations

The Soviet Union is a charter member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The 1945 Yalta agreement also provided for charter membership for two constituent Soviet republics, Belorussia and Ukraine.

The Soviet Union is a selective participant in UN activities. Moscow has never contributed to the programs of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, or the World Food Program; has withheld its assessed share of the costs of some UN peacekeeping operations; and has joined only 11 of the 16 Specialized Agencies.

The UN Secretariat and the Specialized Agencies employ about 800 Soviet citizens. All Soviet UN employees are chosen and cleared for their assignments by the Soviet Government; they are instructed by their government and turn over to the Soviet exchequer anything they earn above the applicable Soviet scale.

U.S. and Soviet Shares of UN Expenses, 1946-85¹



¹Since 1974, no member can be assessed more than 25% of the UN budget.

Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

The Soviet Union is the largest, and dominant, power in the group of communist-ruled countries that refer to themselves as the "socialist community." They are all members of the Warsaw Pact or the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

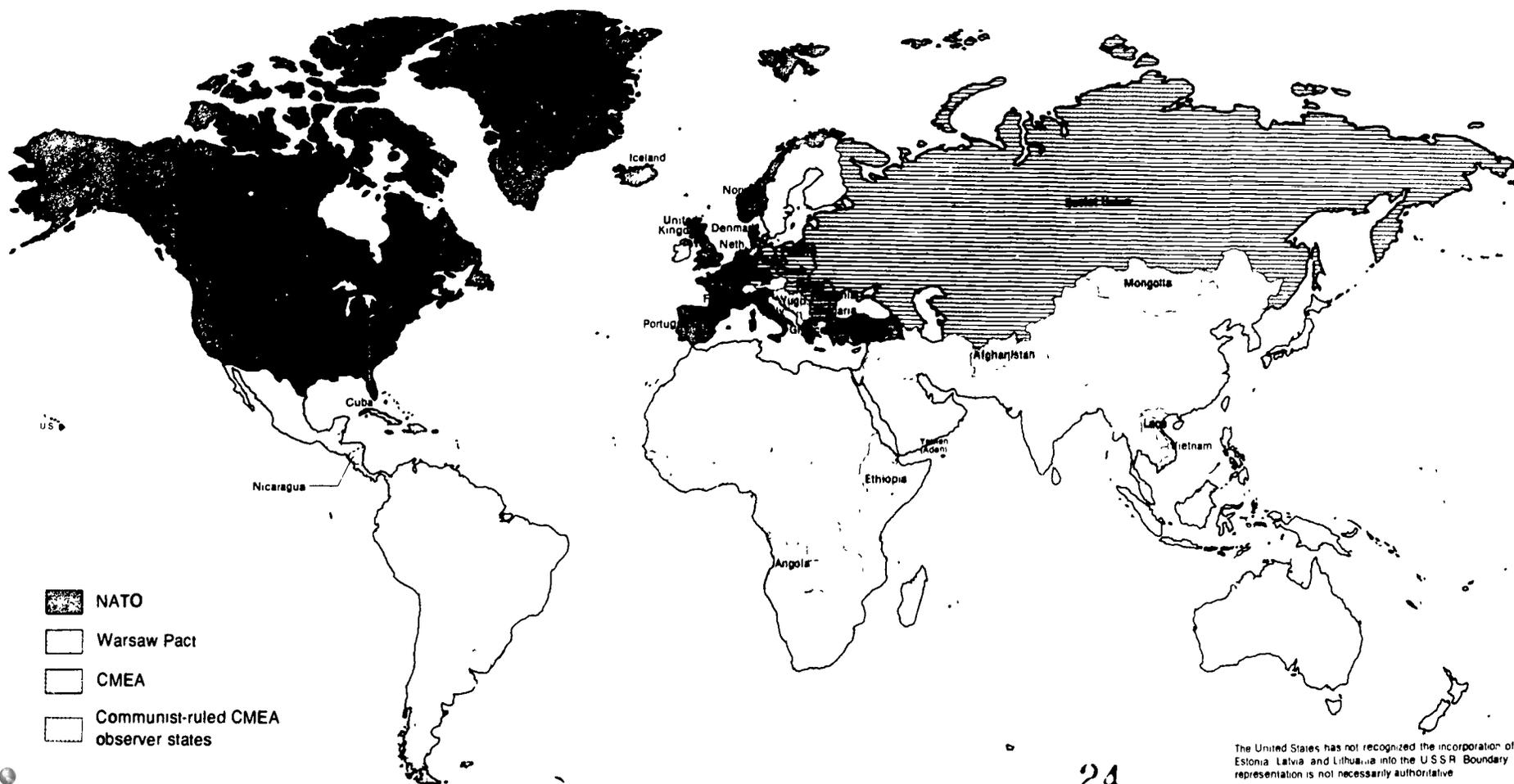
The Warsaw Pact is their military organization. Between 1945 and 1948, the East European countries signed standard treaties of alliance with the Soviet Union and were integrated in-

to the Soviet military system. The Warsaw Pact was concluded in 1955 after West Germany was admitted to NATO. The pact has a joint command under Soviet leadership, and all forces come under Soviet command in wartime. CMEA members Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam take part in Warsaw Pact affairs as observers.

CMEA is their economic organization. Founded in 1949 as Eastern Europe's counterpart to the Marshall Plan, CMEA added its first non-

European member, Mongolia, in 1962. Members coordinate their economic plans and undertake joint industrial projects with the intention of creating an integrated economy.

Relations among these countries are governed by a doctrine they call "socialist internationalism" which implies a collective duty to intervene in member states whenever communist rule is threatened (as in Czechoslovakia in 1968).



Soviet Military Influence in the Third World

The Soviet Union regards the Third World as an area where the balance of power can be changed in its favor. Since the 1950s, Soviet policy has been to cultivate good relations with nonaligned noncommunist and "socialist-oriented" countries as well as those ruled by communist parties.

Arms sales and military assistance are a major source of Soviet influence. Since 1978, the Soviet Union has sold arms to more than 30 noncommunist developing countries and accounted for more than one-third of all arms sales to the Third World (including Cuba). Arms sales generally involve dispatch of technicians to service the weapons and provide training in their use.

The Soviet Union and its allies also train and equip Third World insurgencies and send military specialists or combat units to establish or sustain pro-Soviet regimes (as in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua).

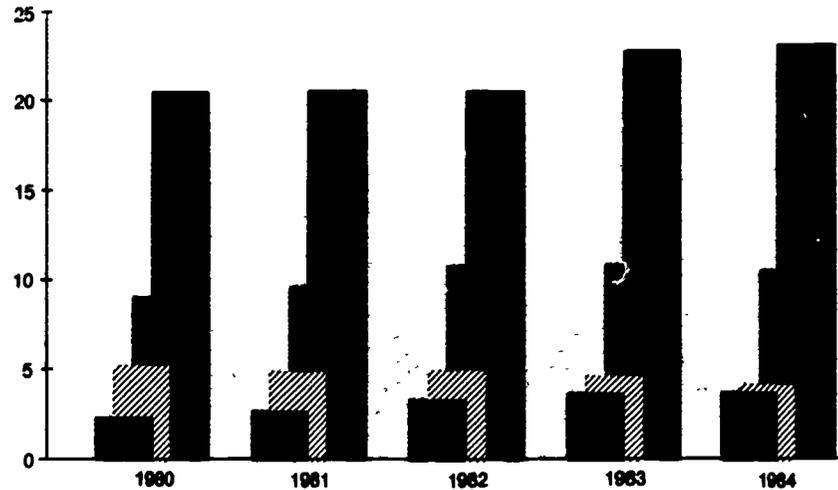
Soviet, Cuban, or Vietnamese Combat Troops Outside Home Areas

Troops From:	Country	Troop Strength, June 1986	Present Since:
U.S.S.R.	Afghanistan	115,000	1979
Cuba	Angola	15-20,000	1975
	Ethiopia	6-7,000	1977
Vietnam	Cambodia	180,000	1978

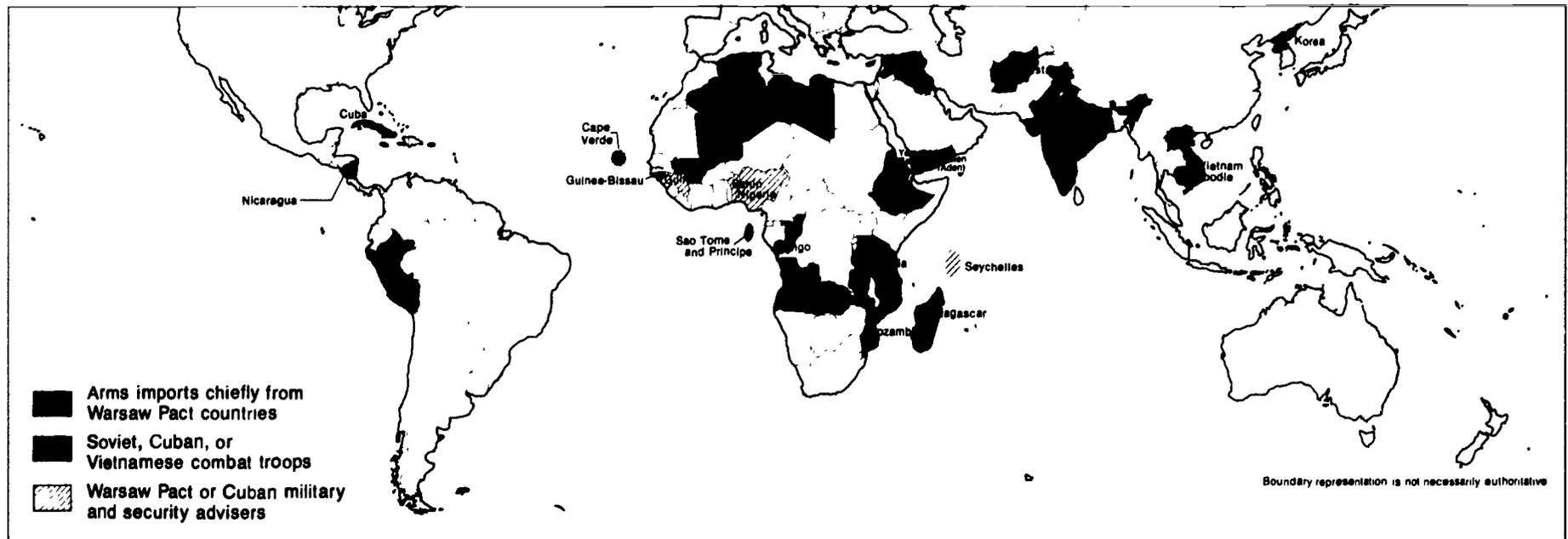
-  US
-  NATO (excl. United States)
-  USSR
-  Warsaw Pact (excl. U.S.S.R.) and Cuba

Military Technicians on Extended Tours Abroad, 1980-84¹

thousands of technicians



¹ U.S. figures include military and civilian personnel in Foreign Military Sales, International Military Education and Training, and Field Training Service.

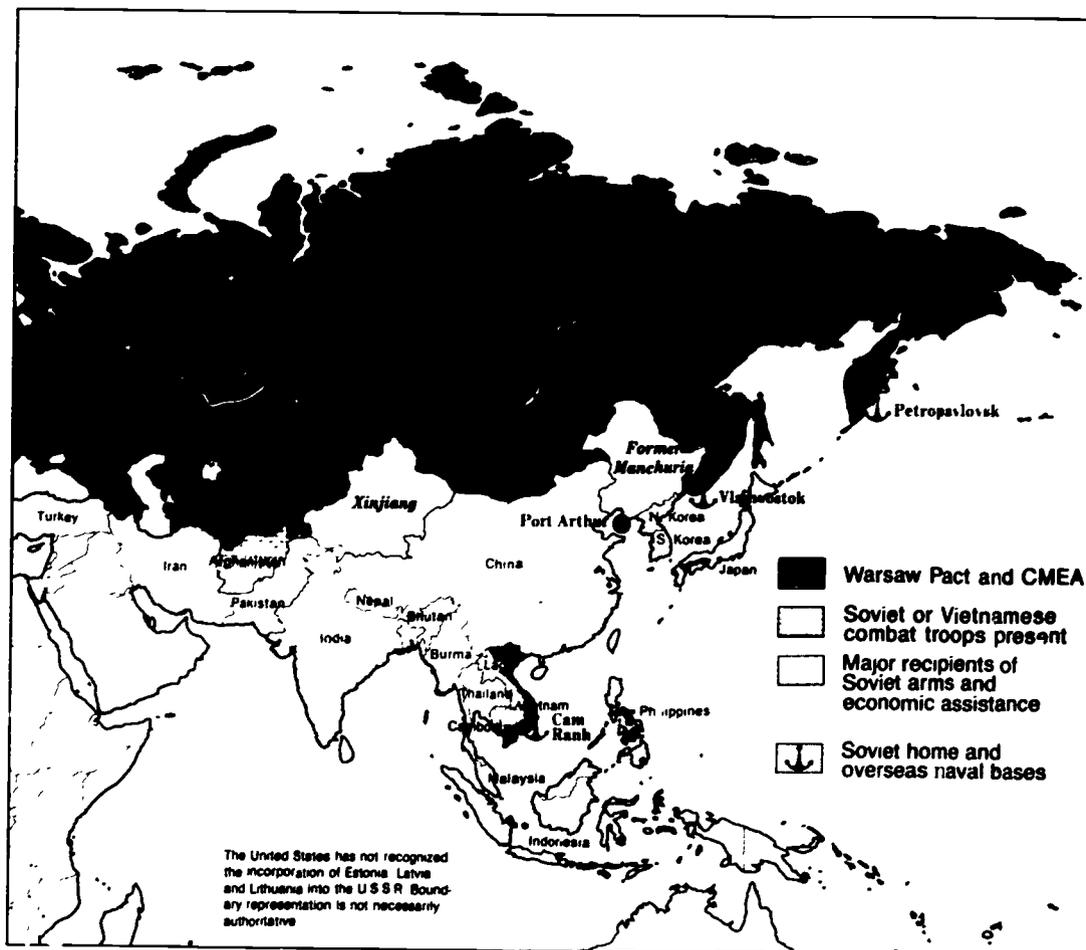


The Soviet Union and China

The Soviet Union inherited Russia's involvement in the Far East. In the 1920s and 1930s, Soviet policy was to defend Siberia against Japan and promote pro-Soviet government in China. In the 1940s, it was to replace Japan as the dominant power in China, and since the mid-1950s to extend Soviet influence in south and southeast Asia.

After the Chinese communists came to power in 1949, Moscow withdrew from Xinjiang and, in 1954, gave up special rights in Manchuria and the former Russian naval base at Port Arthur promised to the Soviet Union at Yalta. But Moscow refused to discuss the status of the People's Republic of Mongolia (where the Kuomintang had given up China's suzerainty in 1947) or of the lands—a few river islands and a tract on the Afghan border—held by the Soviet Union though they were not included in the territory China had ceded to Russia before 1914.

Since the early 1960s, when Sino-Soviet differences broke into the open, Moscow has stationed large forces near the border with China in Mongolia and Siberia, strengthened ties with India, and obtained naval and air facilities in Vietnam. Since 1983, the two countries have been engaged in sporadic talks. China's preconditions for efforts to restore normal relations are that Moscow reduce its forces on China's border, withdraw from Afghanistan, and give up its support of Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia.



Soviet Foreign Trade

Self-sufficient in energy and most raw materials and with an economy closed to foreign competition, the Soviet Union has the industrialized world's smallest share of world trade—3%. Most trade with noncommunist countries is conducted in Western, hard, currencies.

The West accounts for about 30% of Soviet foreign trade. Chief Soviet imports are industrial equipment and

high-technology items and grains. NATO countries and Japan place restrictions on the sale of items with direct or possible military application to countries in the Warsaw Pact.

Petroleum has been the chief Soviet export to the West for more than 25 years. Natural gas exports rose after completion in 1983 of the Siberian pipeline to Western Europe.

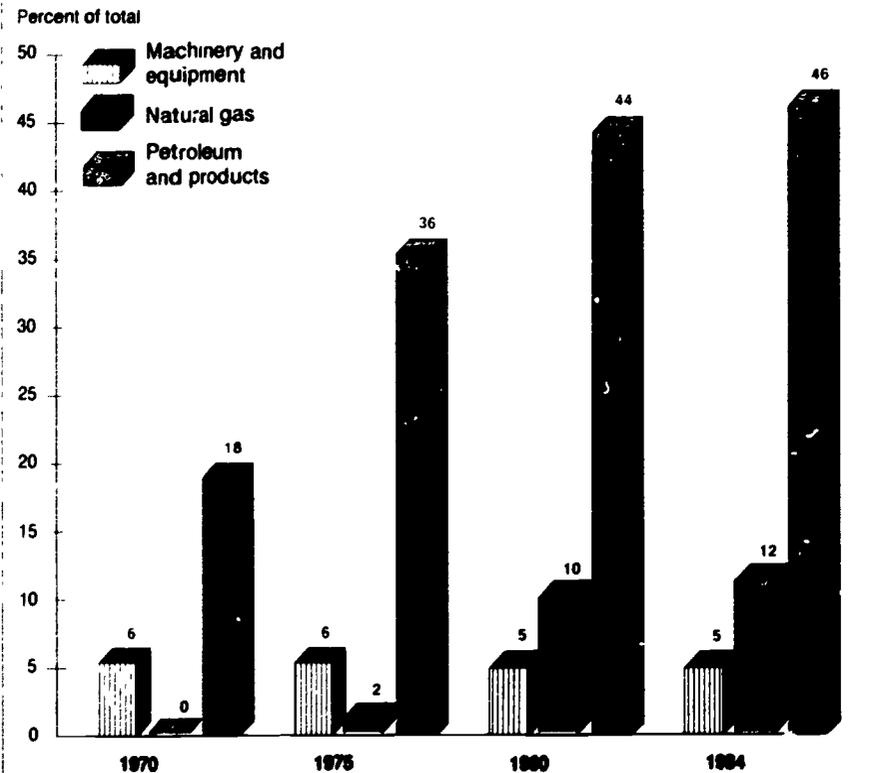
The Soviet Union accounts for less than 2% of U.S. foreign trade but has

been a large importer of U.S. agricultural products since the mid-1970s (the second largest in 1984 and 1985). The United States does not have a general commercial treaty with the Soviet Union. A trade agreement signed in 1972 has not entered into force because of Soviet restrictions on emigration. The

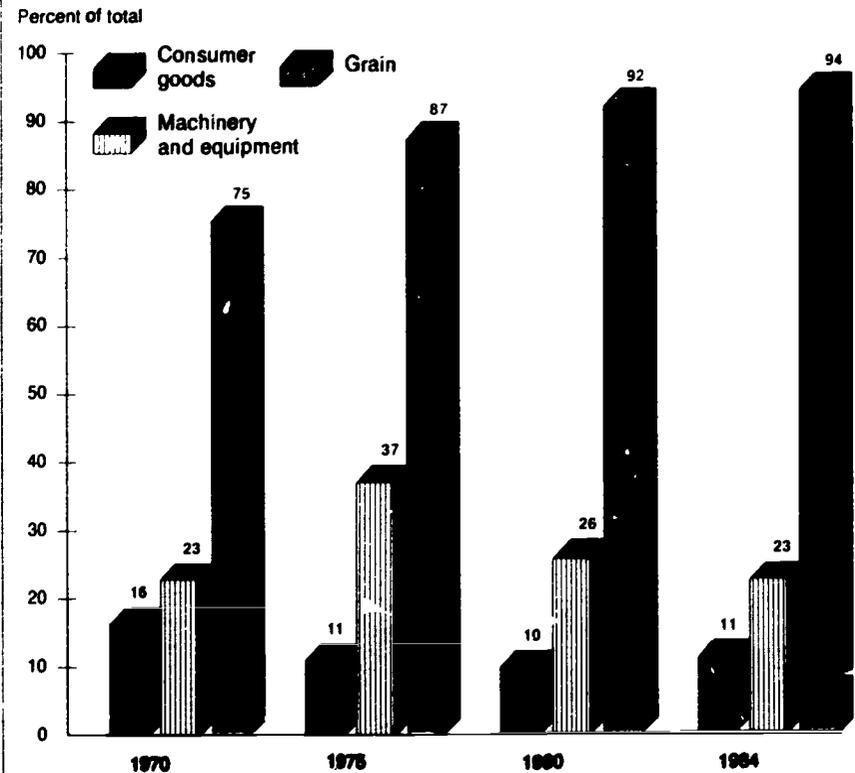
Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act forbids extension of most-favored-nation treatment to Soviet-bloc countries unless the President has certified that they permit free emigration.

Ten percent of Soviet foreign trade is with developing countries. Weapons comprise more than 50% of Soviet exports. Chief imports are grain and bauxite.

Soviet Hard Currency Exports, 1970-84



Soviet Hard Currency Imports, 1970-84



Soviet and CMEA Foreign Aid

The Soviet Union and other CMEA members, singly or jointly, provide economic aid directly to some 40 developing countries. But except for a small donation to the UN Development Program, the Soviet Union does not take part in multilateral development assistance affiliated with the United Nations and provides relatively little emergency aid. The food aid Moscow gave to Africa in the famine year of 1973-74 was 1.5% of that given by the West.

CMEA's economic aid to noncommunist countries does not conform to the

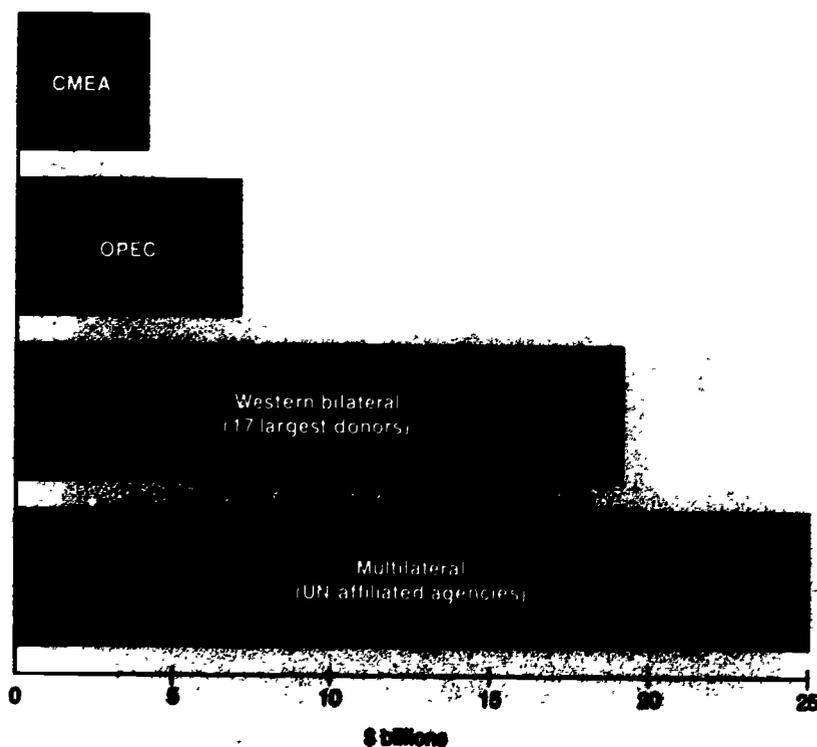
Western concept of official development assistance based on grants or concessional loans. CMEA, in its aid program, purports to be engaged in a form of economic cooperation providing benefits to both sides. Its projects are chiefly government-owned plants, infrastructure, and technical assistance mostly paid for with hard currencies. CMEA also provides training facilities to Third World countries and grants scholarships for technical or general education. In 1984, there were some 70,000 trainees from noncommunist countries enrolled in CMEA institutions.

Cuba and Vietnam—the Soviet Union's major aid recipients—receive general economic support through conversion of trade deficits into long-term loans; Cuba receives subsidies for sugar exports and oil imports; and Afghanistan receives free shipments of commodities and food.

CMEA observer states—such as Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Yemen (A)—still receive most of their aid from noncommunist donors.

Economic Assistance Compared¹

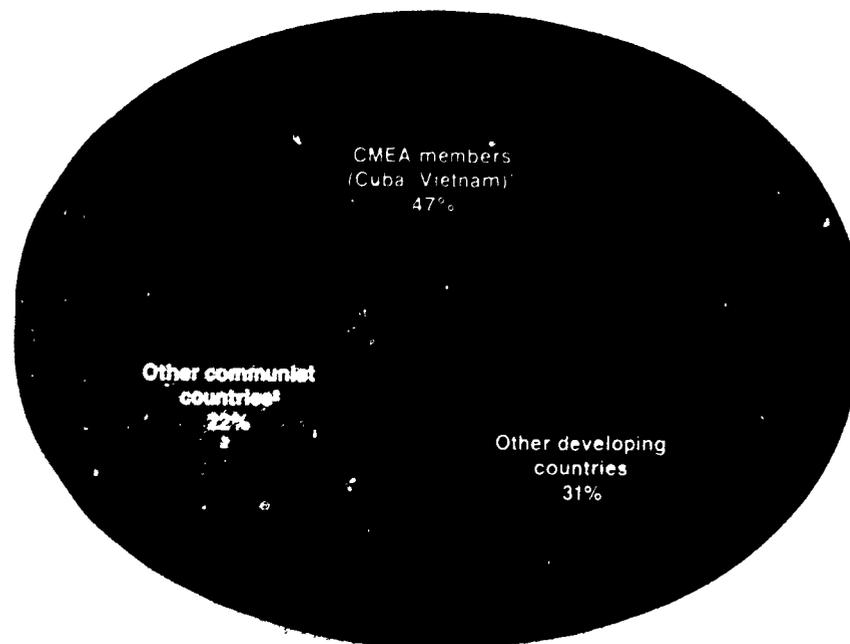
(1981-84 average)



¹Western donors contribute about 80% of multilateral assistance funds.

CMEA Economic Aid Concentration, 1981-84

(Percent of total aid)



¹No figures available for Mongolia.

²Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Laos, Nicaragua, Yemen (A).

Soviet Cultural Diplomacy

The Societies for Friendship with the Soviet Union established in many countries beginning in the 1920s were the first permanent instrument of Soviet cultural diplomacy. Their object was to spread a rosy picture of Soviet developments and encourage support among foreigners for Soviet policies.

Since the 1950s, the Soviet Union has developed a system of cultural and scientific exchange based on agreements with other governments involving many

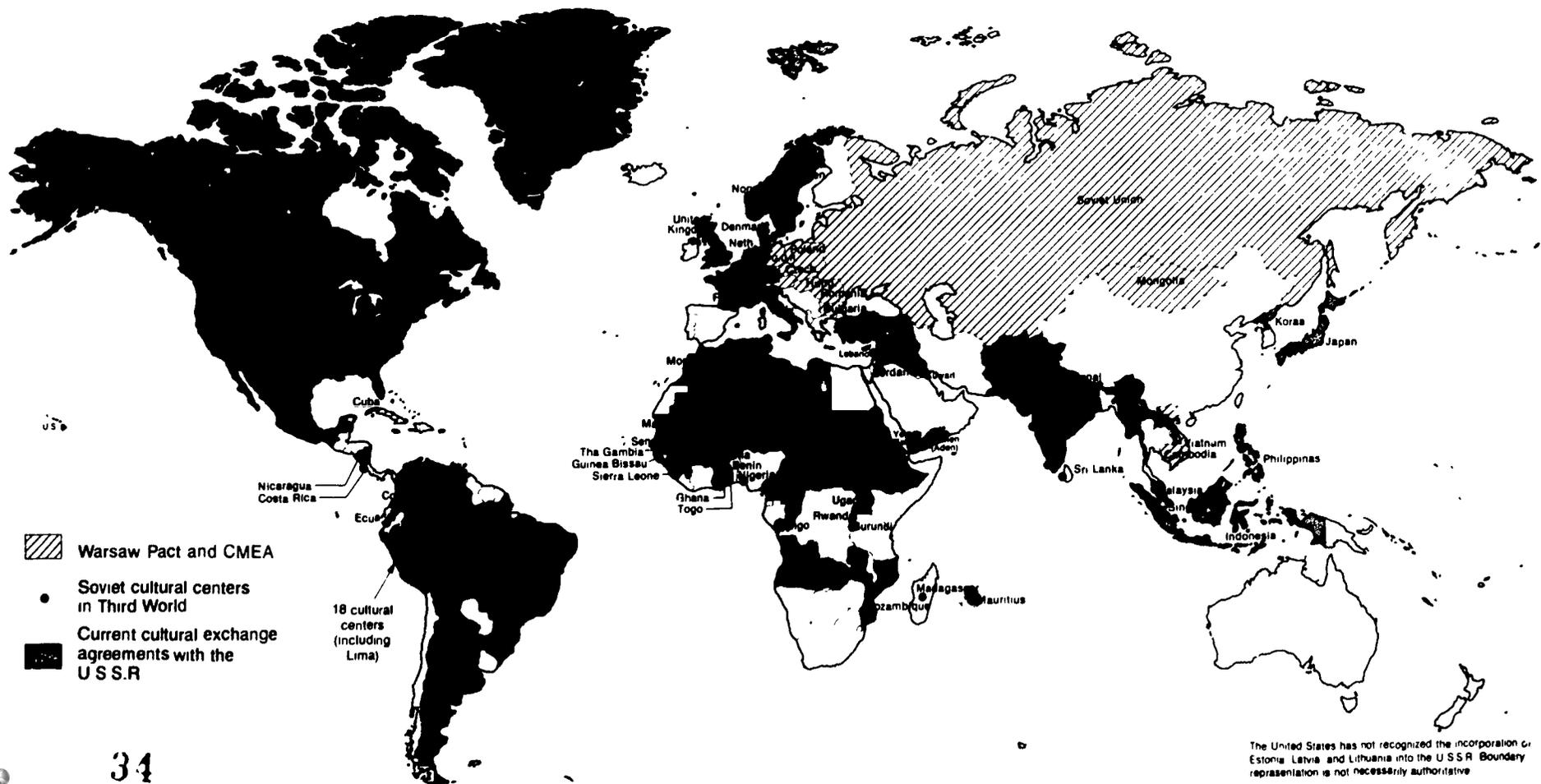
academic fields and professions as well as the performing arts and athletics. Other governments enter into these agreements because the private exchanges natural to Western society are not possible with the Soviet Union. The Soviet purpose is to advance practical interests. A preponderance of scientists and technologists among Soviet exchanges in the West reflects Soviet need for new technology.

The United States and the Soviet Union signed a comprehensive exchange agreement in 1958 which was

renewable every 2 years. A 1973 agreement enlarged the exchange and set a 6-year term. After the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. allowed some special exchanges to lapse and limited science and technology exchanges. The new general exchanges agreement signed in 1985 provides for continued educational, performing arts, and other cultural exchanges. Special agreements provide for cooperation in fields such as health, environmental protection, space research, and atomic energy.

Soviet cultural diplomacy in the Third World is designed to combat Western influence. Emphasis is on educational assistance—the dispatch of instructors and coaches for athletics, the arts, and general subjects. The Third World, especially India, is a large market for Soviet textbooks published in native tongues or in common working languages such as English and French.

Soviet cultural centers, first opened in the 1950s, provide facilities for lectures, exhibits, and language instruction. There are now 70 Soviet cultural centers in 35 Third World countries.



Soviet International Radio Broadcasting

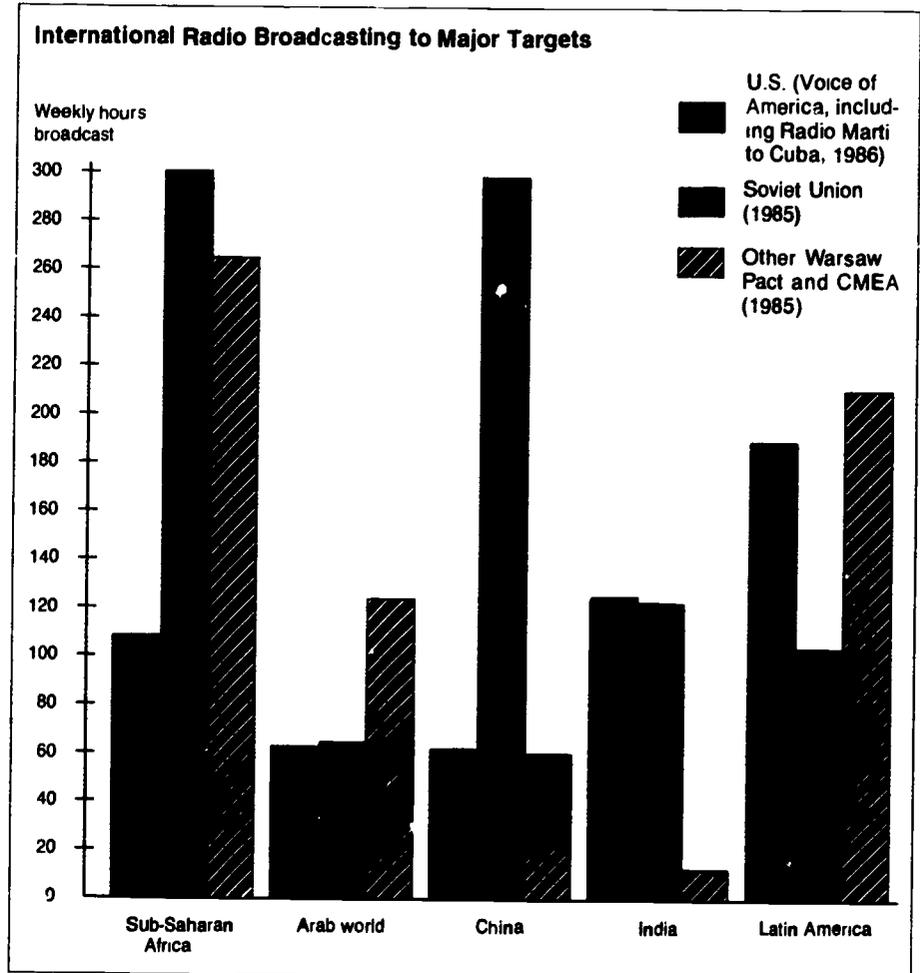
The Soviet Government was the first to make permanent use of the radio to influence foreign audiences. Its first programs, in 1929, were in English, French, German, and Russian. In 1985, the Soviet Union broadcast 2,215 hours per week in 82 languages.

The chief stations, broadcasting propaganda to all parts of the world, are Radio Moscow and Radio Peace and Progress. The Alma Ata and Tashkent local stations send Kazakh and Uighur programs to China's western province of Xinjiang. Certain Soviet transmitters openly promoting subversion in China, Iran, and Turkey pretend to be underground radios in these countries. Soviet allies having the largest international radio broadcasting schedules are Cuba and East Germany.

The West's first permanent Russian-language radio programs for the Soviet Union were those of the British Broad-

casting Corporation in 1946. The Voice of America's broadcasts to the Soviet Union began in 1947. U.S.-funded Radio Liberty, established in 1951, broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian and 11 other languages. (U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the other East European countries.)

Western countries have made no effort to inhibit Soviet international broadcasting. But Moscow's response to Western programs has been to jam the airwaves—except between 1973 and 1980—and press the broadcasting countries to drop or emasculate their programs. In May 1987, the Soviet Union once more stopped jamming Voice of America but intensified jamming of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

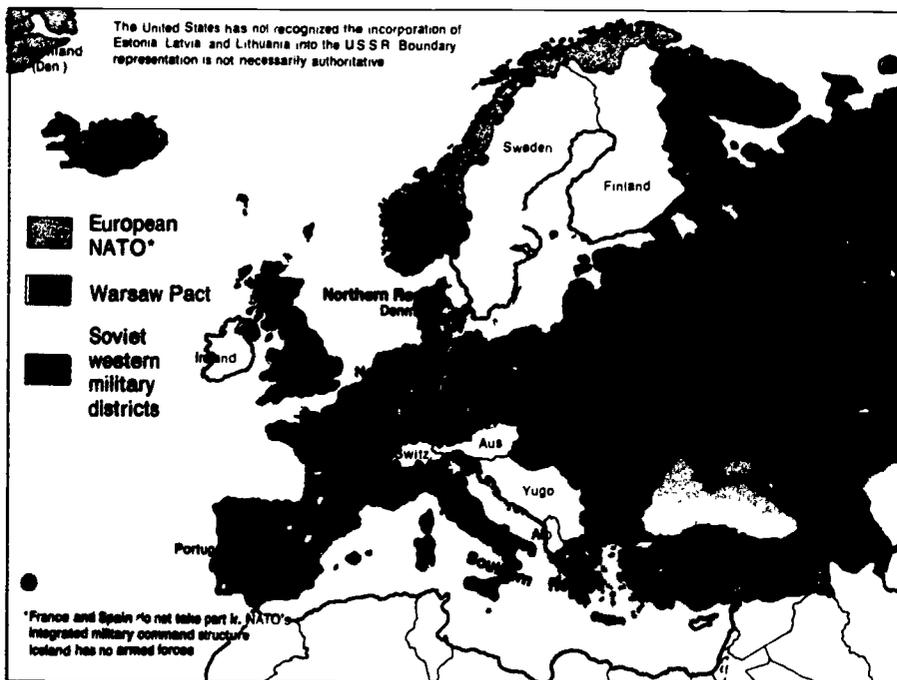


NATO-Warsaw Pact Conventional Forces

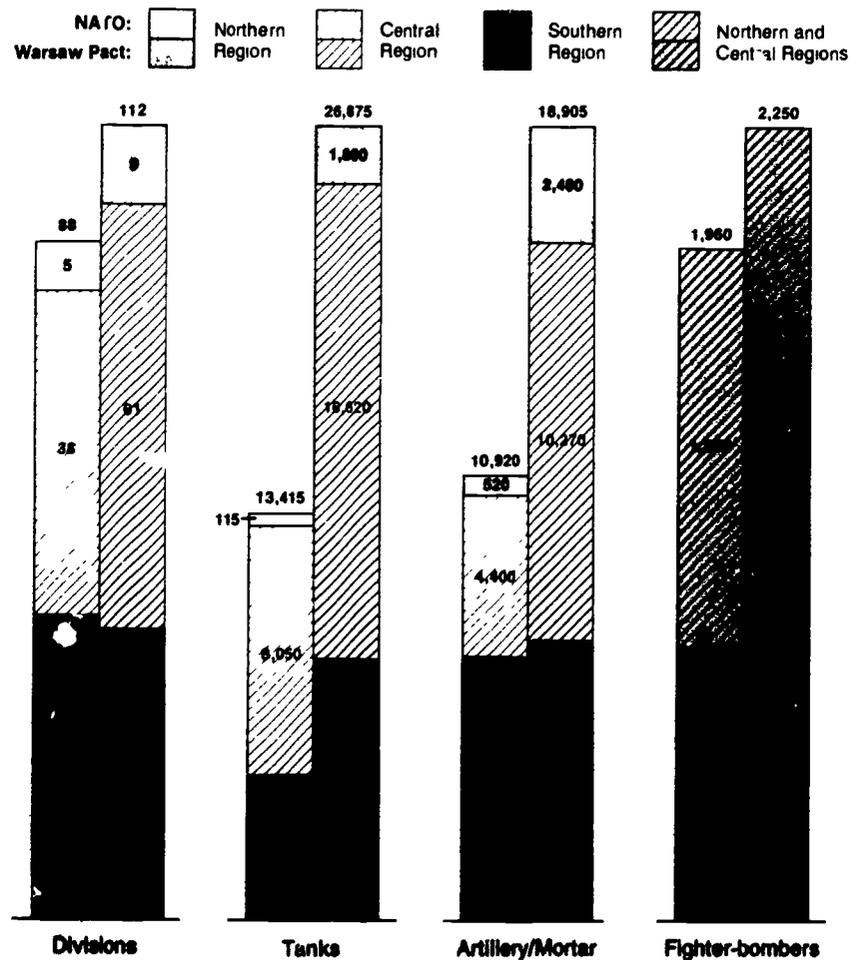
The Warsaw Pact has about 4 million active-duty military personnel in Europe, and NATO countries in NATO's integrated command have about 2.6 million

Of Soviet total active-duty armed forces of about 5 million, 640,000 are stationed in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Also facing NATO are Soviet forces in the Soviet western military districts. Strategic reserves are present in the Moscow, Volga, and Ural military districts.

Of U.S. total active-duty armed forces of about 2 million, 326,000 ground and air personnel are forward based in the European area. Rapid reinforcement plans in the event of need call for transfer from the United States to Europe of 10 U.S. divisions plus Air Force and Marine units.



Conventional Force Comparisons in Place and Rapidly Deployable*



* Regions are NATO designations.

Source: NATO, *NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Force Comparisons, 1984*.

U.S.-Soviet Strategic Nuclear Forces

The Soviet Union and the United States possess long-range, or strategic, nuclear weapons trained against one another. The equivalence of these forces depends not only on numerical limitations set by arms control agreements but the status of modernization programs.

The two countries conducted strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between 1969-79. SALT I (the 1972 agreement) placed tight limits on anti-

ballistic missile deployment for an indefinite period and much looser limits on intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles for an interim period of 5 years. SALT II, signed in 1979, has never been ratified and has been violated by the Soviet Union. In 1986, the United States announced that it would not be bound by SALT numerical limits on offensive forces.

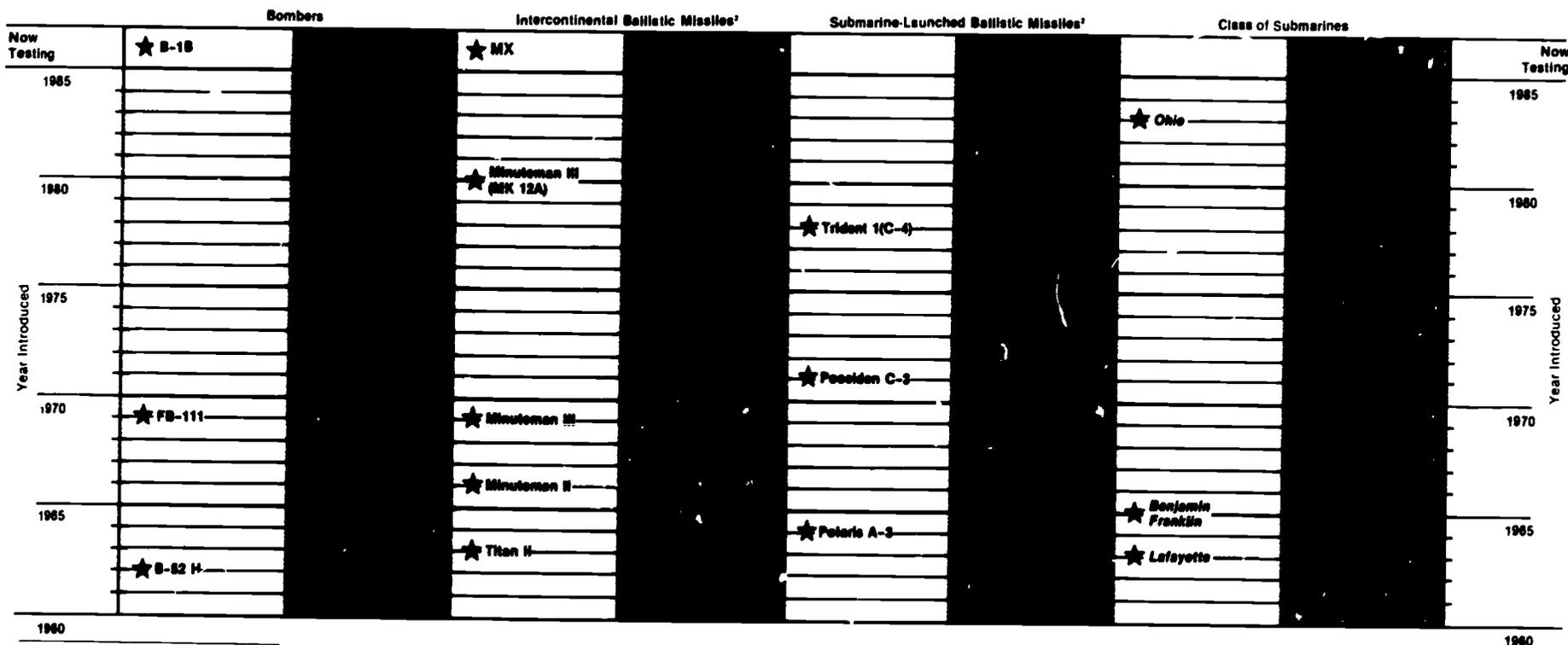
A new round of U.S.-Soviet negotiations, the strategic arms reduction talks (START), began in 1982. The Soviet Union quit these talks in November 1983 when NATO reaffirmed its decision to deploy intermediate-range Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles to balance Soviet deployment of the modern intermediate-range SS-20 missile.

The U.S.-Soviet arms control talks in progress since March 1985 have a larger

agenda including not only strategic offensive forces but intermediate-range forces (land-based systems of less than intercontinental range) and defense and space issues.

U.S. Strategic Nuclear Forces Generally Compared

★ U.S. ★ U.S.S.R.



¹Currently operational systems only

²The modification series for Soviet intercontinental and submarine-launched missiles is shown in parenthesis—for example SS-19(3), SS-N-18(2)

Source: Data modified from NATO, *NATO and the Warsaw Pact Force Comparisons*, 1984

U.S. and Soviet Naval Presence

The Soviet Navy, greatly expanded since World War II, includes a large oceanographic fleet, amphibious ships, carriers for helicopters and vertical- and short-takeoff-and-landing (VSTOL) jet aircraft, and the world's largest number of submarines. In recent years the Soviet Union has gained access to naval facilities in distant lands.

Areas and dates of continuing Soviet naval deployment beyond home waters are:

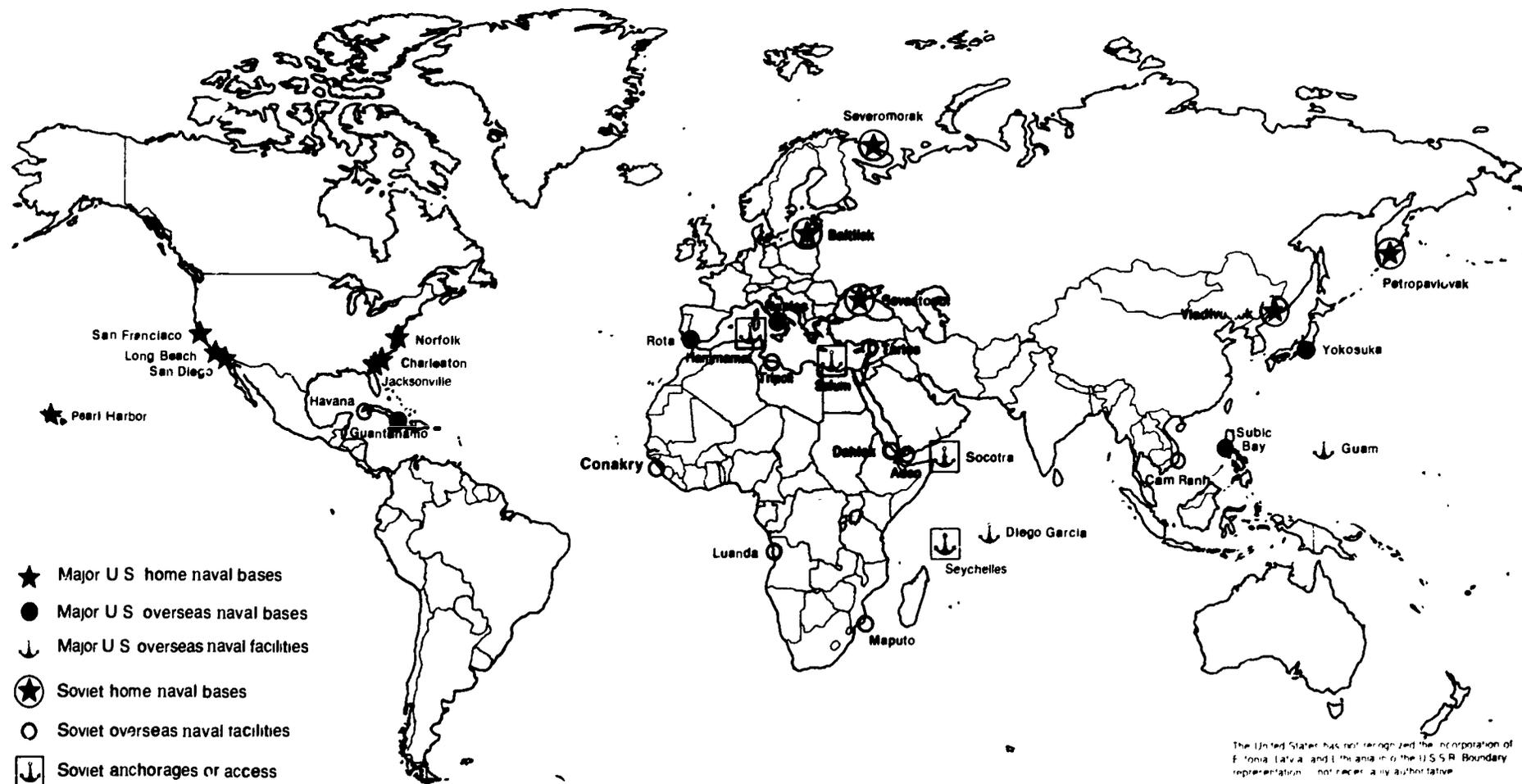
- Mediterranean Sea, 1964 (first visit, 1958);
- Indian Ocean, 1968;
- Atlantic Ocean (West African waters) 1975,
- South China Sea (Vietnamese waters), 1979.

Somalia granted the Soviet Union naval rights in 1974 but revoked them in 1977. Since then, the Soviet Union has acquired access to other facilities at the approaches to the Red Sea from Yemen (A) and Ethiopia.

Soviet units have been visiting the Caribbean, using Cuban facilities, since 1969.

The Soviet naval facility at Cam Ranh, Vietnam, established in 1979, is

a full-fledged base with a major communications facility and a support complex for bombers, fighters, and reconnaissance aircraft. Twenty to twenty-five ships or submarines are present at any one time.



The United States has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the U.S.S.R. Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

Milestones in U.S.-Soviet Relations

1917

United States refused to recognize Soviet government established by Bolshevik (communist) coup, as Bolsheviks did not represent Russian people and flouted obligations toward other countries.

1918

United States joined Allied landings at White Sea ports and Vladivostok in hopes of reviving Russian resistance to Germans and protecting military supplies.

1919

Communist International (Comintern) created as single world communist party with seat in Moscow.

1920

United States lifted prohibition of U.S.-Soviet trade.

1921

U.S. communist factions, under threat of expulsion by Comintern, merged as Communist Party of America (later, the Communist Party of the United States of America).

1922

American Relief Administration, headed by Commerce Secretary Herbert C. Hoover, provided food, shelter, medical and sanitary supplies, and technical publications to help combat Soviet famine and general distress.

1923

Soviet Information Bureau opened in Washington—point for unofficial contacts with Soviet Government

1924

AMTORG Trading Corporation established in New York to represent Soviet foreign trade organizations

1930

American experts completed assembly of Stalingrad Tractor Plant, Europe's largest.

1932

American-assembled Gor'kiy Automobile Plant, Europe's largest, began to produce copy of Ford Model A

1933

United States recognized Soviet Government; ambassadors exchanged

1941-45

Under Lend-Lease, United States shipped to Soviet Union more than \$10-billion worth of arms, raw materials, food, and industrial equipment to sustain war against Germans.

1945

Crimea (Yalta) Conference—Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin agreed on steps to create general international organization (United Nations), jointly assumed supreme authority for Germany after surrender, and pledged joint responsibility for free elections in countries liberated from Nazi domination.

1945-48

Soviet Union, violating Yalta agreement, established communist governments in Eastern Europe; Greece beset by communist guerrillas, Turkey by Soviet diplomatic pressure.

1947

Truman Doctrine asserted U.S. policy of containing Soviet expansion through economic and military aid to threatened countries.

1948-49

Berlin blockade—U.S. and Western powers nullified Soviet closure of land routes with massive airlift of supplies for Berlin's Western sectors.

1950

Soviet-supported North Korean invasion of South Korea repelled by U.S. and UN forces and led to rapid buildup of Western defenses under North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

1958

First U.S.-Soviet agreement on cultural, technical, and educational exchanges, to be renewed every 2 years.

1959

Eisenhower-Khrushchev Camp David meeting—first visit by top Soviet leader to United States, first U.S.-Soviet summit.

1962

Cuban missile crisis—under threat of U.S. interdiction, Soviet Union withdrew offensive missiles being installed in Cuba.

1963

Washington-Moscow direct communications link ("Hot Line") established.

Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, first major-power agreement regulating nuclear weapons testing, banned explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water.

1969-79

U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation talks (SALT)—1972 agreements (SALT I) set limitations on defensive and offensive nuclear weapons; 1979 agreement (SALT II) has not entered into force.

1973

U.S.-Soviet General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation enlarged exchange program.

1975

Moscow refused to implement 1972 U.S.-Soviet trade agreement because of Jackson-Vanik amendment to 1974 Trade Act requiring certification of free emigration.

Helsinki Final Act of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe enjoined United States, Soviet Union, 32 East and West European countries, and Canada to respect state sovereignty and human rights and enlarge East-West contacts.

Cuba's intervention in Angola starts series of overt Soviet-bloc military operations in Third World—by Cuba in Ethiopia (1977-present), Vietnam and Cambodia (1978-present), and Soviet Union in Afghanistan (1979-present).

1981

First Soviet tanks delivered to Sandinista Government of Nicaragua.

1982-83

U.S.-Soviet strategic arms reduction talks (START) begun in 1982 ended with Soviet walkout in December 1983.

1983

Multilateral liberation of Grenada.

1985

U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations resumed March 1985 to cover strategic offensive forces (START), intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), and defense and space issues.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev meet in Geneva, sign general exchanges agreement.

1986

Reykjavik summit produces breakthroughs in INF and START.

1987

Secretary Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze sign agreement to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers.