

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICS COLLOQUIUM TO NATO'S ECONOMIC AGENDA AN EVOLUTION OVER 30 YEARS

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Origins and Aims

This Colloquium is the 28th since the first one in 1971. For a reason which I will give later there was no meeting in 1972! It is the 24th in which I have been privileged to participate - and it has always been a great pleasure as well as a stimulating and informative experience.

The first gathering, in 1971, originated from an idea of the Director of the Economics Directorate at NATO and was a "Symposium on Soviet Economic Growth, 1970-1980". Nine papers were presented of which five were by professors from Germany and the United States. The remaining four were by economists working in Munich, Paris and Washington. I give these details because now, and for the past few years, a meeting of this kind without Central and East European participation would be inconceivable. The gathering was in a Committee room just large enough to accommodate the relatively small number of participants.

Small size did not dampen enthusiasm. But when it came to considering a repeat symposium the following year a zealous official in the purse area of NATO administration looked up the word "symposium" in the Oxford English Dictionary and discovered that it was first and foremost "A drinking party; a convivial meeting for drinking, conversation, and intellectual entertainment: properly among the ancient Greeks, hence generally." This explains why there was no meeting in 1972! But the 1971 gathering was appreciated in many places because a second edition of the book recording the presentations was printed in 1975. As a result there will be 29 books covering the 28 colloquia!

As a result of the zealous official's activity, the 1973 event carried the sober title of "Colloquium" and again nine papers were presented by eminent experts on Banking, Money and Credit in Eastern Europe. Ambition overtook events in 1974 and the gathering was called a "Round Table" but it was not a conspiracy to take over the North Atlantic Council's meeting chamber where there is - or perhaps I should say "was" in my day - a large round table. King Arthur's table for his knights was round to emphasise their equality: the North Atlantic Council's meeting table is round, so that no Ambassador has precedence and

all are seated in alphabetical order of the member country they represent, in English, clockwise from the Secretary General!

By now, 1974, the number of papers submitted had grown to 15 and the subject was again about the USSR, thus establishing the pattern of alternating Soviet Union studies with East European ones - a pattern which was to survive until the break up of the Communist regimes in Europe. Since then, in the last seven years, including the 1999 meeting, the practice has been to treat the Cooperation Partner countries all together.

1975 saw the arrival in NATO of an official who decided that the only Round Table in NATO was to be the one in the Council Chamber and so the harmless designation "Colloquium" - "a conversation, dialogue, colloquy. A meeting, or assembly for discussion; a conference, council (not in ordinary Eng. use)" according to the Oxford English Dictionary, was adopted for the fourth and subsequent meetings.

So much for the birth and naming of this event. But why was an economics conference conceived in NATO in the first place? What is NATO? It is "an association of free states united in their determination to preserve their security through mutual guarantees and stable relations with other countries".¹ The organisation "provides the structures needed to facilitate consultation and co-operation between them, in political, military, and economic as well as scientific and other non-military fields".² Moreover, in Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty of 4 April 1949 it is stated that "The Parties ... will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and *will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.*"³ (*My italics*).

The preservation of security calls for an assessment of the intentions and capabilities, and the strengths and weaknesses of friends and potential foes alike. Their economies are an important element of such assessment. The elimination of economic conflict and the encouragement of economic collaboration reinforce the need for economic assessments. How better to gather the information, the interpretations and analyses necessary for such assessments, and indeed to carry out this task where appropriate, than to bring together from the countries of the Alliance the brains most expert in such studies?

There is nothing new about studying the economic development of one's friends and potential foes. Once it was done mainly or solely in order to maintain the pre-eminence of national interests but today it is necessary in order to see how other nations, our friends, our allies, might be helped. Now, especially, we need to know what challenges threaten our security and the stability of our nations. The challenges are no longer perceived mainly as military: they stem from economic activities, international crime, financial manipulation, drug trafficking, smuggling, terrorism, etc.

Changes Over the Years

How has our event changed over the years?

In its early days, starting in **1971**, this event reflected the way the world was then established: two blocs with very different economic and political systems facing each other across an impassable divide. The main aim of this conference then was to study the economic capabilities, the development, the strengths and weaknesses of the Warsaw Pact countries. The first conference, called “Symposium”, was held shortly after the 24th Soviet Party Congress. That Congress dealt with the direction of Soviet economic policy during the first half of the seventies and inaugurated the Ninth Five Year Plan 1971-75. Study of these plans in the West was of paramount importance to our understanding of Soviet and East European economic development and to our assessment of the fields which were most promising for co-operation or where failures were most likely to occur and to affect East-West relations.

Generally speaking the geographical areas studied in successive years alternated between the Soviet Union in one year and the other members of the Warsaw Pact in the next. Sometimes, however, economic developments in the Soviet Union were so important that studies of that country had to be given priority. Thus whilst in 1971 the Symposium considered Soviet Economic Growth, the next event in **1973** studied Banking, Money and Credit in Eastern Europe but the USSR was also considered because current Soviet Plans attached “Increased significance to consumer satisfaction”⁴ and therefore to household purchasing power and to the role of money. By then “Soviet banking institutions were well established on Western financial markets”⁵. Thus some studies were presented about the Soviet monetary system, trade credit, inflation, the financing of East-West trade, about rouble convertibility and on the overall attitude of East European countries towards a Euro-Rouble. The discussions in that distant past seem to be going on still today - and in the wider context of the whole of Europe.

Of course, by then a number of international banking institutions had existed for a long time - the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) being the most prominent in the European context. The possibility of East European countries joining, as Romania had already done, was being considered.

The “Round Table” of January/February **1974** was held soon after the Arab OPEC countries had trebled the price of oil following the Yom Kippur war. We were led to believe that there was a serious danger of world shortages in oil production which would result in an energy crisis. There was world-wide concern and corresponding interest in studying the availability of energy resources. It was therefore logical that NATO should make its contribution to the debate by arranging a discussion about the energy resources of Siberia: they were

known to be huge but largely unexplored and untapped. At the same time Soviet oil exports to the West were growing at 6% a year.

The aim of that conference was to see how large were Siberian resources and how the West could cooperate with the Soviet Union to satisfy mutual needs - the West's for oil and gas, the USSR's for hard currency, technology and equipment. The title of the Round Table was "Exploitation of Siberia's Natural Resources"; it assembled some of NATO countries' greatest experts on the subject of energy from academia, from the major oil companies, specialist journals, government (nuclear energy), some from countries importing oil and others from exporters of pipeline materials and machinery.

Those discussions took place at a time when the USSR was beginning to play a major role in international trade. Soviet banks in the West, the Moscow Narodny in London and the Eurobanque in Paris had contributed greatly to the birth of the "Euro-dollar" in their search for placing surpluses from foreign trading, especially in oil. The Euro-dollar market by now was substantial, having grown from some US\$12 billion in 1966 to more than US\$40 billion in 1971 and to some US\$200 billion in 1973 according to estimates by the Bank of International Settlements.⁶

1975. This year, at what was to carry the definitive label "Colloquium", the "Economic Aspects of Life in the USSR" were examined, particularly in the light of the 1971-75 Plan which was drawing to a close. It is fascinating to read now, 25 years after the conference, the collection of papers published, and to note how rich they are in detailed information and in statistical data. In general there seemed to be slow improvements in living standards, and ... "by comparison ... with such Western countries as the United States, the United Kingdom ... Soviet levels appeared to rank favourably in terms of rents, job security and employment prospects ... and to occupy a position near the median in terms of education, transportation and life expectancy.... Whilst the younger urban generation tends to expect higher living standards - being more aware of consumer levels in the outside world, most Soviet citizens tend to compare their present situation with that of a decade or more ago and find that the changes are for the better."⁷ Now, a quarter of a century on, that "younger generation" is at the peak of its powers: what can it do to satisfy its earlier cravings, the older generation's nostalgia - to say nothing of the expectations of its own children?

By the time of the March **1976** Colloquium, it seemed that there had been a change in Soviet attitudes which hitherto had "sought to achieve as high a degree of autarchy as possible" whereas now the Soviet leadership appeared to realise that... "acquisitions of Western technology in all its forms had a positive effect on Soviet growth."⁸ Thus the Colloquium that year studied "East-West Technological Cooperation" and fitted in well with the 1976-80 FYP which provided "that certain key industries".. including "electric energy, oil, coal, and machines and metal" should expand at a rate well above the average (50% to

60%).⁹ Moreover, it had been stated at the 24th Party Congress in 1971 by Mr. Kosygin that for the realisation of technological cooperation “there can be found various organisational forms which would be to the interest of all participants” and since then this thinking had indeed prospered.¹⁰

1977. Western stagflation had made it difficult, by now, for the Communist countries to maintain their previous levels of exports let alone fulfil the desire to raise them. The hard currency debt to the West was high and constituted a hindrance to CMEA development and integration. The Economics Directorate considered that a Colloquium devoted to CMEA in most of its economic aspects would throw light on the progress of integration and its prospects. Clearly, this sort of examination was fundamental to the work of the Directorate.

By **1978** it was considered that most aspects of Soviet and East European economic development had been examined in past conferences and it was time to attempt a look into the future, hence “The USSR in the 1980s: Economic Growth and the Role of Foreign Trade” was the title of the Colloquium. It was clear that the foreign debt would play an important part in economic development. The two questions uppermost were whether the problems in agriculture could be overcome and whether the rapid growth in the energy sector was storing up future difficulties. It was thought generally that these would lead to a decline in growth in the 1980s to perhaps 3-3.5% per annum.¹¹ In fact, the period covered was that of the 11th and 12th FYPs 1981-85 and 1986-90, a decade which the Economics Directorate was particularly anxious to cover for long-term assessments.

1979 saw the establishment of the Colloquium as an annual event, in this conference hall, and alternating the subject area between the USSR and Eastern Europe. Its main purpose continued and this year devoted itself to “Regional Development in the USSR” inspired perhaps by the interest in self government in various regions of the Soviet Union and by a need to examine the uneven distribution of resources and the promises of the 10th FYP. Population distribution had changed in the USSR overall from 33 urban/67 rural in 1940 to 62 urban/38 rural in 1977 - a trend which was repeated on a Republic basis and was of concern to Central Government.¹²

In **1980** “Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Prospects for the 1980s” was the subject of the Colloquium. The economic and institutional reforms which were introduced in the late seventies throughout the region were of a step by step nature. In total they were considered likely to have only marginal, though favourable, effects on economic development. East-West trade was becoming more sensitive to the higher prices of Western goods, especially machinery, because of increases in fuel and raw material costs.

By **1981** we were all conscious of the effects Western trade sanctions, imposed as a result of the application of martial law in Poland and of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, may be having (or not having). Energy was

clearly a key element throughout the CMEA hence the title “CMEA: Energy 1980-1990”.

“The CMEA Five Year Plans (1981-1985) in a New Perspective” were examined in **1982** taking into account the non-planned - grey, black, underground - elements as well as the planned economic elements. The “non-planned” aspect of life in the USSR and Eastern Europe had been gaining attention and growing in importance for the fulfilment of the Five Year Plans. In the USSR the unreported economy, as I prefer to call it, was essential to give the economy some relief from the disastrous 1981 harvest (estimated at the time to be 160 million tonnes against 236 million tonnes planned)¹³ results aggravated by the continued sanctions imposed over the Afghanistan invasion.

The following year, **1983**, it was the turn of “The External Economic Relations of CMEA Countries: Their Significance and Impact In a Global Perspective” to be under scrutiny, not just foreign trade. Information not readily available from Soviet statistics on, for instance, gold production was presented in papers and this information allowed the conference to draw important conclusions about Soviet and East European trade and credit potential, conclusions which were significant in Western trade and credit policy. It has always been a strange observation that while no Western shop is without some goods from China, very few stores carry lines imported from the USSR. One reason, of course, is that the USSR’s exports have been mainly raw materials and many goods in Western shops may have been produced using Soviet raw materials or energy derived from such materials.

By April **1984** the West was beginning to see some of the economic problems inherited by the new leadership after the death of Leonid Brezhnev in November 1982. Thus “The Soviet Economy after Brezhnev” was the theme of the Colloquium. By then the USSR had seen Yuri Andropov become General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 12 November 1982 and his death on 9 February 1984. He had denounced the shortage of consumer goods and their poor quality in a written address to the Plenum of the Central Committee on 27 December 1983 and had introduced a number of reforms designed partly to remedy this situation and to revitalise the economy as a whole.¹⁴

Chernenko had barely had time to have any effect on the programmes formulated before he came to power just a few weeks before the 1984 Colloquium. He died on 10 March **1985** shortly before the 1985 event which covered “The Adaptability to New Technologies of the USSR and East European Countries”. Many of the Soviet economic reforms of the previous 10 years or so - or even longer - depended on the development or adaptation of new technologies. But conflicting views were held by Western experts on the state of development of these technologies in the USSR and in Eastern Europe. The 1985 Colloquium was aimed at clarifying our knowledge and it did throw some light on the subject.

By April **1986** Mikhail Gorbachev had been General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for just over a year. His main visible achievement to date had been to “accomplish the smoothest transfer of power in Soviet history and consolidated his own leading position faster than Western observers believed possible”¹⁵ but it was really the turn of “The Economies of Eastern Europe and their Foreign Economic Relations” to come under scrutiny at the Colloquium. The USSR could not be completely ignored if only because of the pressure exerted by the Soviet Union on Eastern Europe to supply more sophisticated equipment and because of the recently held 27th Congress of the Communist Party. (Feb./Mar. '86) The CMEA had seen unprecedented activity between June 1984 and December 1985 when four meetings were held of which two in Moscow were called “extraordinary”.¹⁶ One possibility that merited examination was whether this activity might signify a greater degree of integration between CMEA countries in order to adapt the area better to meet the tasks of the “Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress to the Year 2000” which was adopted at the 41st session (extraordinary) of the CMEA held in December 1985. Later Gorbachev was to urge that great priority be given to technological development.

The East European members of CMEA at this time had a diminishing gross indebtedness in convertible currencies amounting in total to some US\$59 billion gross (48.5 net) most of it in long term debt, representing some 8% of GDP.¹⁷

One of the aims of the **1987** Colloquium “The Soviet Economy: A New Course” was to examine how, in the light of “Perestroika” and “Glasnost” introduced by Gorbachev, the aims of the 12th Five Year Plan (1986-90) were likely to be fulfilled. The Colloquium carried out that examination in considerable detail and in particular looked at the short term mobilisation of “hidden productivity reserves” and the long term acceleration of economic growth through the application of modern technology, which were central to the leadership’s strategy.

In the following year **1988** at the 17th NATO Economics Colloquium it was the turn of “The Economies of Eastern Europe under Gorbachev’s Influence” to be the subject of discussion and this was specially timely as the General Secretary had recently called for radical reforms throughout the region. Reactions to this call in Eastern Europe had ranged from downright refusal even to contemplate them (Romania) to progression well beyond, and earlier, than in the USSR (Poland, Hungary). It was “highly speculative to forecast the outcome of Gorbachev’s “perestroika” in the Soviet Union”¹⁸ and therefore a discussion about Eastern Europe was very timely.

This discussion and the 1987 Colloquium which wondered whether the economy of the USSR was at a turning point led to the necessary sequel: “Soviet Economic Reforms: Implementation under Way” in **1989**. These reforms concentrated on Soviet industry, agriculture and the consumer, and the service industries: private and cooperative economic activities were encouraged while the interaction between political, social and economic reforms was recognised. The idea of

joint ventures with the West, which had given rise to high hopes of solving many of the economic problems, had not been greatly implemented. Any notion of rapidly solving economic problems was being discounted and it was accepted more and more broadly that “perestroika” beyond the economy into “the political, social and ideological spheres” was to proceed in step if success was to be achieved.¹⁹

By the time of the next Colloquium in April **1990** Eastern Europe had seen many changes and particularly the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989. Economic reforms in Eastern Europe were widespread and had brought about far reaching changes in most of the region but especially in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the GDR “developments [were] a special case since they [were] embedded in the ongoing process of overall German unification”.²⁰ There, the resistance to reform of the economy had been overcome and the idea that only a market economy could succeed in bringing about efficiency had been accepted, leading rapidly to union with the Federal Republic of Germany. Reflecting all these changes, the Colloquium was also subject to “perestroika” in that for the first time in its history speakers from the East were included in the programme and notably from Moscow, Budapest and Warsaw.

The following year, in March **1991**, the 20th Colloquium reverted to the USSR and carried the title “The Soviet Economy under Gorbachev”. The flexibility of the Alliance, as emphasised in the London Declaration of July 1990, was reflected in the presence of three Soviet and one Czech speakers on the platform. The entire spectrum of the Soviet economy was covered and it was felt by almost all participants that in the prevailing political setting there was not much ground for optimism. Later that year, on the 19th August 1991, a coup failed to rectify the situation but to all intents and purposes after that the Soviet Union no longer existed. The proliferation of economic plans, succession of economic advisers and the worsening economic situation in the period preceding the Colloquium, and the appreciation shown of the huge problems encountered in economic reforms made for a challenging 1991 Colloquium.

The North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) held its first meeting on 20th December 1991 and its first Work Plan included in its economic items the **1992** Economics Colloquium covering the “External Economic Relations of the Central and East European Countries”. One of the most important topics covered was that of “East-West Economic Cooperation in a New Political Environment”.²¹ In his opening address, the Secretary General, the late Manfred Wörner emphasised how the results of the Colloquium “will, to a certain extent, help us to decide on how we proceed in those questions which really affect both economic realities and security”.²² By now the Soviet Union had disappeared and no speaker from that part of the world was present, but some came from Budapest, Prague and Warsaw. They were welcomed by the Secretary General as being invaluable to understanding the new economic realities of Central and Eastern Europe and to “develop policy guidance on possible ways ahead” in questions bearing on

both economic realities and security. The economic situation in all the CEE countries as well as in the Former Soviet Union had become infinitely more complex and difficult in the changeover process to market economics.

By **1993** the NACC had existed for more than a year and the old division, at the colloquia, between USSR and Eastern Europe was abandoned in favour of considering all the partner countries together. Another change this year was to hold the Colloquium in June/July rather than April when the Brussels weather could be very unpleasant. Also, the practice was adopted to divide the speakers into six panels which allowed sharper focus on specialised topics. The inclusion of this Colloquium in the NACC Work Plan made it possible to invite a large number of experts from Cooperation Partner countries of CEE. Perhaps this contingent was partly responsible for emphasising the linkage between economics and politics, and between economics and security. From the debate, at the Colloquium, it became clear that the economic health of the CEE countries was not yet robust and still experiencing the shock and pain of transition from command economies to the market. At the same time these nations were trying to establish new democratic political structures that would survive. Their chances of success were greatly affected, it was claimed, by the economic policies in the West.²³ Although the subject had been touched upon in 1992, special consideration was given to defence conversion and its security implications by assigning the topic to one panel which discussed five papers.

In June/July **1994** the Panel format was repeated. The theme of “conversion” was pursued with stress on privatisation in the defence industry although many experts argued that this should be considered as part of overall industrial privatisation. It was noted that millions were employed in the defence industries and in Partner countries the changeover brought serious social problems. The philosophy behind privatisation, namely that private enterprises are more efficient, less wasteful of manpower, materials and money, is the same in both East and West. While restructuring poses a challenge also in the West, the problems there are smaller since the companies involved are generally operating in well established market economies with well tried procedures for effecting privatisation. If viable restructuring projects were proposed, there was little doubt that foreign capital would be available.

A year later the **1995** Colloquium provided the opportunity to take a close look at the “Status of Economic Reforms in Cooperation Partner Countries in the mid-1990s”. By now, the event was established as a regular feature of the NACC Work Plan. This year, 17 speakers came from CEE out of a total of 27! There was seen to be a considerable difference in progress of reforms from one reforming country to the next owing to many factors such as the number of privately owned farms, the relative importance of agriculture and industry, the degree of development of private marketing and of cooperatives, the relative value of commercial ties with Russia and with the EU, the degree of energy

dependence on Russian supplies, high energy production costs as in the Ukraine, the levels of unemployment - real and hidden, and of social instability.

There was a big question as to whether privatisation was an economic or political measure and to what extent it might lead to stabilisation either of money value or of prices. Both would require support from international financial institutions and some agreements had been reached but over the whole region the situation was very uneven. A comparison with China was only partly valid: there the transition to a market economy had made rapid progress and caused less disruption largely because tighter political control had been exercised over the reform process, and an important expatriate Chinese community had assisted.

The unreliability of statistics, the different time scales of transition among CEE countries, their different economic assets and state of development made comparisons of little real value. Unrest caused by unemployment had been largely avoided possibly because of the existence of a large unreported economy including frontier commerce. But crime, fraud and corruption played an important part interfering with the privatisation process.

Solving external debt problems was judged most urgent and essential, especially as a means of restoring credit worthiness and here the Paris and London Clubs could be expected to play an important part. There were many other problems among which the most striking were inadequate foreign and home investments, poor credit ratings and the need to comply with criteria for accession to the EU, laid out at the Copenhagen Summit in 1994. Lack of experience in trading with the West meant that the comparative advantage of lower labour costs was largely lost. Competition with S.E.Asia and an inadequate international commercial legal system were also severe hindrances to reform progress. Only Poland and the Czech Republic had satisfactory credit ratings.

Whereas in 1995 the Colloquium was concerned with the then current status of economic reforms, the **1996** event, and indeed all the colloquia since then, provided opportunities to examine in detail specific areas of Economic Developments and Reforms: The Social and Human Dimension this year, Regional Cooperation in **1997**, Security and Defence Issues in **1998**, and of course this year, **1999**, The Link between Economics, Security and Stability.

1996 was a time for reconsidering old relationships: the citizen was not benefiting from an improved standard of living, sometimes the very opposite; legacies from the communist era were still important and, indeed, there were cries in some parts of the CEE for a return to the old relationships and policies. Concerns were expressed in the West about European stability which these conditions might threaten, especially, perhaps, as in some countries the most affected sectors are those relating to the armed services and defence industries where downsizing was dramatic.

In **1997** again a significant number of speakers came from CEE countries (12 out of 23) to present papers on External Economic Relations within the overall theme of Economic Developments and Reforms in Cooperation Partner

Countries. A Euro-Atlantic Council had been established and the “Founding Act” had been signed with Russia creating the basis for a new “Joint Permanent NATO-Russia Council”. Most of the CEE countries had firmly set their aims to join the European Union, NATO, the WTO and other international organisations open to nations found in the global market place in the widest sense - i.e., those who give protection for owners, shareholders, creditors and all who contribute to the production processes. Although most CEE countries had some way to go before such achievement, in retrospect, progress since 1989 had been enormous.

It was seen that there was some need, if only in popular minds, to curb the power of the newly rich and to direct their energies away from self interest to national interest. If this were done how much more rapidly could the transition to genuine market economies be completed, and the support of Western institutions readily be given. So far, only Poland and Slovenia had “regained their starting point with GDP currently higher than at the revolution”.²⁴

1998 saw another “first” when the Economics Directorate accepted an invitation from the Slovenian government to hold the event in Ljubljana. By now the Colloquium had become one of the main events in the Economic Chapter of the Action Plan 1998-2000 of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. Marjan Senjur, Minister of the Republic of Slovenia for Economic Relations and Development, who had made the keynote speech at the 1997 Colloquium, welcomed the participants who were to discuss “The Role of the State with Particular Focus on Security and Defence Issues” still under the overall heading of “Economic Developments and Reforms in Cooperation Partner Countries” of the past two years. Seventeen of the authors and speakers were from countries in transition.

The topic reflected the view of NATO’s Secretary General expressed at the 1997 Colloquium, that “the military aspect of security... remains the fundamental element in any policy of balanced security”.²⁵ General economic matters were examined but emphasis was placed on industrial restructuring and on the state budget. The Cooperation Partner countries were agreed that adequate defence expenditure was essential as was retention of an appropriate restructured defence industry, consistent with efforts to gain membership of NATO. At the same time it was recognised that social security, technical progress and foreign trade were such important elements of national security that they too should be given a high place on the priority list. Of the ambitious programmes each country had embarked upon, how much could be achieved in full without Western help was open to question.

Overview

So, to look back over the last 30 years, the Economics colloquia have been held while the Soviet Union and the CIS have been under the direction of five

successive leaders: Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, Gorbachev and Yeltsin. They have each introduced political and economic reforms made possible because of the actions of each one's predecessor, with perhaps the exception of Chernenko who died before he had time to accomplish changes. All these reforms, but particularly those of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, have had their effects throughout the Central and East European economies and those of the nations of the Former Soviet Union. Likewise, reforms first introduced outside the FSU have inspired economic and political developments throughout the region, marked especially since 1989 which saw the dramatic event of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

From the brief examination of the colloquia expressed above it is evident that their evolution followed the succession in Soviet and FSU leadership and the parallel developments in CEE. The changes in format, in participating nationalities, in subjects examined at the Colloquia and in the priorities accorded to them all reflect the reforms, the changes in policies and the economic developments in CEE, in the USSR and FSU, and in the relations between them and with the West.

Most of these reforms have drawn the nations involved into closer links with the West but the impatience too often witnessed in CEE countries and also in the West fails to recognise the enormous progress made in all areas of human endeavour since Brezhnev died in 1982. There was talk of solutions which would be found in days - 500 days was one programme - and few people seemed to remember how long it took the Western nations to re-establish themselves after 1945. As an example, it took us in the UK something like 500 weeks to transform our economy from the command structure which it had during the war to the mixed economy which it had become 10 years later when rationing disappeared, and this was when almost all our pre-war contacts abroad had remained intact, and when there was almost unlimited demand for capital equipment as well as consumer goods.

I submit that the CEE nations, and perhaps even more we in the prosperous West, should therefore appreciate the great efforts witnessed and the enormous successes so far achieved. But the close link that has always existed between economics and international as well as national stability should never be forgotten.

Consolidated Lists of Contents

In order to help the researcher to make fuller use of the books reproducing the texts of the papers presented at the colloquia since 1971, I have prepared, in three appendices, consolidated lists of contents which have been drawn from the tables of contents given in each Colloquium volume. I hope these will be found of value.

Notes

- 1 NATO Handbook. 50th Anniversary Edition. 1998. p.23
- 2 *Ibid* p.24
- 3 *Ibid* p.395
- 4 NATO Colloquium Book 1973 p.6 line 8
- 5 *Ibid* p.6, line 10
- 6 Dictionnaire Economique et Financier. Y. Bernard/J.C. Colli/D. Lewandowski. 1975 p.560
- 7 NATO Colloquium Book 1975 pp.19-20
- 8 NATO Colloquium Book 1976 p.6
- 9 *Ibid* p.11, lines 8 *et seq.*
- 10 *Ibid* p.47, line 8
- 11 NATO Colloquium Book 1978 p.14
- 12 NATO Colloquium Book 1979 p.11
- 13 NATO Colloquium Book 1982 p.292
- 14 NATO Colloquium Book 1984 p.71
- 15 RFE/RL 82/86 19 Feb. 1986
- 16 NATO Colloquium Book 1986 p.275
- 17 *Ibid* pp.326 *et seq.*
- 18 NATO Colloquium Book 1988 p.7
- 19 NATO Colloquium Book 1989 p.273
- 20 NATO Colloquium Book 1990 p.7
- 21 NATO Colloquium Book 1992 p.15
- 22 *Ibid* p.11
- 23 NATO Colloquium Book 1993 p.25
- 24 NATO Colloquium Book 1997 p.249
- 25 *Ibid* p.19, line 21

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF COLLOQUIA

APPENDIX A

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Gorczynski	Edward	Restructuring: Defence Industry	Poland	1994	225
Granick	D.	Industrial Growth: Problems	USSR	1978	71
Graziani	Giovanni	Trade with Third World	USSR	1987	289
Green	Donald W.	Banking & Finance in Reforms	EE	1980	245
Green	Donald W.	Economic Growth & Foreign Trade	USSR	1978	225
Green et al	David W.	Technology Transfer Implications	USSR-West	1976	43
Greenblatt	Sara Reva	Energy Security Issues	CEE-FSU	1993	245
Gregory	Paul R.	Perestroika-Managers & Officials	USSR	1991	188
Grela	Marek	Economic Reforms	Poland	1990	87
Grossman	Gregory	Economy: Private & Cooperative	USSR	1989	115
Grossman	Gregory	Shadow Economy in Socialist Sector	USSR	1982	99
Grossman	Gregory	Conclusions	N/A	1976	345
Guidi	Marcello	Welcoming Address	N/A	1987	7
Gullo	Damian	Preface	N/A	1984	7
Gultekin et al	Bulent	Privatisation in Post Communist Economy	CEE	1994	71
Gummich	Andreas	External Relations	CEE	1995	169
Gumpel	Werner	Energy Crisis Impact	USSR-World	1974	151
Gustafson	Thane	Technology:Oil & Gas Sector	USSR	1985	151
Haase	Herwig E.	Economic Prospects for 1980s	GDR	1980	163
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Hoppe	Maria	Foreign Economic Relations	GDR	1986	59
Hana	Lulzim	Living Standards, Social Welfare	Albania	1993	51
Hannigan et al	John B.	Energy:Trade & Cooperation	CMEA-LDCs	1981	215
Hanson	Philip	Econ. Reforms: Current State	USSR	1989	12
Hanson	Philip	Twelfth Five Year Plan	USSR	1987	10
Hanson	Philip	Summing up	N/A	1985	305
Hanson	Philip	Brezhnev's Economic Legacy	USSR	1984	41
Hanson	Philip	Economic Sanctions	West-USSR	1983	69
Hanson	Philip	Technology: Diffusion of Imported	USSR	1976	143
Hardt	John P.	Overview: External Economic Relations	Partner Countries	1997	247
Hardt	John P.	Transition Economies: Report	CEE-CIS	1995	233
Hardt	John P.	Economy in Crisis and Transformation	USSR	1990	16
Hardt	John P.	Policy Options: Discussion Agenda	EE-USSR-West	1986	347
Hardt	John P.	FYPs & East-West Economic Relations	CMEA; E-W	1982	275
Hardt	John P.	Regional Policies: Mily. Econ. Implications	USSR	1979	235
Hardt	John P.	Technology: Western in Economic Plans	USSR W.	1976	315
Hare	Paul Gregory	Economy & Developments	Hungary	1986	213
Hartley	Keith	State Budget & Security	NATO	1998	127
Hausman	Arthur H.	Technological Transfer Patterns	E-W	1976	329
Hegstad et al	Sven	Privatisation: Foreign Investment	Russia	1994	287
Héthy	Lajos	State & Social Security	CEE	1998	182
Héthy	Lajos	Keynote Speech	CEE	1996	9
Héthy	Lajos	Privatisation: Employment	CEE	1994	207
Héthy	lajos	Migration, Labour Market	CEE	1993	79
Hewett	Ed A.	Economic Relations	USSR-CMEA	1984	241
Heyman Jr	Hans	Perestroika & Innovation	USSR	1989	81
Hilton et al	Brian	Defence: Post Cold War Transition	East-West	1996	201
Höhmnn	Hans-Hermann	State & Social Security	CEE-CIS	1998	199
Höhmnn	Hans-Hermann	Systemic Change Assessment	CEE-CIS	1995	259
Höhmnn	Hans-Hermann	Stability Risks	CEE-FSU	1993	267

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Holesovsky	Vaclav	Economic Reforms	Czechoslovakia	1980	59
Hudson	Cameron	Economic Reforms & the Consumer	EE	1980	121
Hunter	Holland	Transport & Communications	Partner Countries	1993	187
Hunter	Holland	Transportation as Factor in PlanFulfilment	USSR	1982	217
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Iozzo	Riccardo	Banking: Foreign Investment	CEE; Italy	1994	281
Isadjanov	Abduvali	Economic Restructuring	Uzbekistan	1998	273
Jackson	Marvin	Labor Markets & Income	CEE-CIS	1996	89
Jackson	Marvin	Privatisation Critical Issues	CEE	1994	25
Jacobs	Everett M.	Foreign Trade & Soviet Growth	USSR-World	1978	197
Jacobs	Everett M.	Housing, Urban	USSR	1975	65
Jacobsen	H.-D.	Banks & Credit Quest	COMECON	1977	177
Jacobsen et al	Jens	Ozone Depletion Substances	CEE-FSU	1993	227
Janacek	Kamil	Stability: Socio-Economic	CEE	1993	275
Joseph	Philip	Preface	N/A	1986	7
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Joseph	Philip	Summing up	N/A	1984	327
Joseph	Philip	Integration & Standardisation	COMECON	1977	59
Kaminski	Bartlomiej	Foreign Trade in the 1980s	Poland	1986	161
Kanet	Roger E.	International Economic Relations in 1980s	EE	1986	291
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Kaser	Michael	Summing up	N/A	1998	291
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Kaser	Michael	International Economic Relations: 1990-92	East-West	1992	49
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Kaser	Michael	Gold Sales & Prospects	CMEA	1983	157
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Kaufman	Richard F.	Technology Transfer	USA-FSU	1992	133
Kaufman	Richard F.	Summing up	N/A	1990	205
Kaufman	Richard F.	Industrial Modernisation & Defense	USSR	1987	247
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Khromov	Yuri	Food Situation-Agrarian Reform	Russia	1995	71
Kirby	E.	Siberian Development Pattern	USSR	1974	47
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Knirsch	Peter	Developing Nations and	COMECON	1977	221
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Korcelli	Piotr	Demographic Developments	CEE-Poland	1993	85
Kosals	Leonid	Military Enterprises & Market	Russia	1996	187
Kosals	Leonid	Privatisation & Military-industrial Complex	Russia	1995	135
Kosir	Igor	Conversion: Defence Industry	Slovakia	1994	219
Kosir	Igor	Industrial Restructg & Defence Conversio	Slovakia	1993	121
Kosta	Jiri H.G.	Economic Policy	CMEA	1988	12
Kostecki et al	Janusz	Econ.Conditions for Security	Poland/All Europe	1995	253
Kotliarewsky	Michel	New Technologies in Banking	EE	1985	24
Kroncher	Allan	Production & Service Sector in 1980s	CMEA	1982	195
Kroncher	Allan	Technology: Western, Significance for USSR	USSR-West	1976	89
Kryukov et al	Valery	Controlling Oil & Gas Complex	Russia	1993	145
Kulesza	Eva	Economic Reforms & Popular Reactions	USSR	1989	213
Kulinich	Nikolai	Privatisation: Defence Industry	Ukraine	1994	195
Kumar	Andrej	State in External Economic Relations	CEE	1998	269
Kuznyetsov	Vladimir	Economic Reforms	Ukraine	1995	47
Lachaux	Claude	Summing up	N/A	1983	307
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Lascelles	David	Future for	COMECON	1977	259
Laulan	Yves	Foreign Economic Relations	EE-USSR-West	1983	307

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Laulan	Yves	Preface	N/A	1973	7
Lavigne	Marie	Economic Relations:Ties & Cooperation	USSR-EE	1990	163
Lavigne	Marie	Economic Development&Intra CMEA Trade	USSR-CMEA	1978	185
Lazar	Georges	Countertrade	EE-USSR-West	1983	275
Lazarcik	Gregor	AgriculturalPerformance.&FoodConsumption	EE	1988	131
Lebahn	Axel	East-West Trade: Financing	EE-USSR-West	1983	237
Lemoine	Françoise	Trade Prices	COMECON	1977	135
Leontjeva	Elena	Industrial Restructuring	General-CEE	1998	88
Leptin et al	G.	Consumer Welfare & Growth	USSR	1971	63
Levine et al	Herbert S.	Technology Transfer Implications	USSR-West	1976	43
Leyson et al	Jan	Defence: Post-Cold War Transition	East-West	1996	201
Licari	Joseph	Energy & Growth Prospects in 1980s	USSR	1981	265
Licence	J.V.	Siberia:Natural Gas Supplies	USSR-World	1974	167
Linz	Susan J.	Perestroika & Production	USSR	1989	238
Lister	James	Energy & Raw Materials	USSR	1979	161
Litvine	M.	Credit Orientation	USSR-EE	1973	85
Loginov	Andrei N	Privatisation: Results, Prospects	Russia	1994	175
Lorot	Pascal	External Economic Relations	Baltic States	1992	119
Machowski	Heinrich	Trade and Integration	CMEA	1980	263
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Maldekis	Eugenijus	Economies in Transition	Lithuania	1996	29
Malet	Gérard	Preface	N/A	1983	5
Malle	Silvana	Military Expenditure	CEE-CIS	1998	144
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Malle	Silvana	Cooperative Sector Developments	USSR	1991	39
Malle	Silvana	Labour Saving Policies in '80s	USSR	1987	71
Malleret et al	Thierry	Privatisation: Foreign Investment	Russia	1994	287
Marcolungo	Luigi	Economy in 1983 & Andropov	USSR	1984	69
Marcum	John M.	New Technologies: Economic Impact	West	1985	35
Marer	Paul	Foreign Economic Relations	Hungary	1986	231
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Maresceau	Marc	Economic Relations: Status	CMEA-EC	1990	186
Marrese	Michael	Economic Prospects for 1980s	Hungary	1980	183
Martens	John A.	New Technologies & Chernenko	USSR	1984	191
Matejko	Alexander J.	Living Standards	EE	1988	164
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Maurel	Marie-Claude	Economic Reforms: Unfinished	Bulgaria	1990	36
McAuley	Alastair	Personal Income Variations in 1974	USSR	1979	41
McAuley	Alastair	Regional Development & Trade	USSR	1979	277
Mcintyre	Robert J.	Economic Changes	Bulgaria; GDR	1988	80
McMenamin	R.	Western Technology & Soviets	USSR-West	1978	155
McMillan	Carl H	Foreign Economic Policy	USSR	1989	145
McMillan	Carl H.	Participation in Businesses	EE-USSR-West	1983	287
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McNeish	James A.	Commercial & Financial Relations	EE-West-LDCs	1988	229
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Monier	Jean-Hugues	Privatisation: Land Arms Industry	France	1994	231
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Müller	Friedemann	Cooperation in Energy	CEE-CIS	1997	157
Müller	Friedemann	Energy Prospects: Implications	CMEA-WEST	1981	301
Negrescu	Dragos	Industrial Restructuring	Romania	1993	125
Nemiria	Grigory	Prospects & Constraints	Ukraine	1996	261
Nicholson	R.L.R.	Nuclear Power Role	COMECON-World	1974	155
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Nove	Alec	Five Year Plan:Twelfth & Statistics	USSR	1991	15
Nove	Alec	Summary	N/A	1979	291
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Nowotny	Thomas	Economic Restructuring	CEE-CIS	1998	118
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Nuti	Domenico Mari	Summing Up: External Economic Relations	N/A	1992	921
Nuti	Domenico Mari	Economy & Economic Reform: Prospects	Poland	1986	189
Odell	Peter R.	Siberia: Energy Competition	USSR	1974	121
Oknyansky	Valery	External Economic Relations	Russia	1997	51
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Perakh	Mark	Technology Advances: Use in Industry	USSR	1976	177
Petrov	Victor	Economic Reforms: Possibilities, Problems	Ukraine	1995	15
Pindak	M. F.	Post-War Trends in Banking	EE	1973	143
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Popov	Vladimir	Economic Reforms	USSR	1991	26
Potocnik et al	Janez	Foreign Direct Investment	Slovenia	1997	227
Rafto	Thorolf	Economic Experiments (Synopsis only)	EE	1982	17
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Rainys	Gediminas	Privatisation - Military Industries	Lithuania	1994	57
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Revesz et al	Gabor	Economy & Social Dimension	Hungary	1996	289
Richet	Xavier	Economic Reform	Hungary	1980	85
Rimington	Anthony	Technology, bio: Issues in	USSR	1985	217
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Sabela	Radomir	Conversion & Privatisation	Czech Republic	1994	109
Saltiel	Jean-Pierre	Economic Relations	USSR-West	1984	255
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Scanlan	Tony	Energy Development & Economic Prospects	EE	1980	221
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Scanlan	Tony	Energy Perspective	Russia-Ukraine	1997	175
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Schinke	E.	Agriculture: Uncertain Outlook	USSR	1978	23
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von Scholz	Hans-Eike	"Thermie" Programme for Energy	CEE	1993	179

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Zatkalikova	Anna	Privatisation & Legislative Framework	Slovakia	1995	147
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