

expressing views about Soviet problems and in making public judgements which could be exploited by Gorbachev's opponents to undermine his policies.

As is discussed further below, the early conclusion of major arms reduction agreements is one of the most important ways of helping the reform process in the USSR at this time. Determined and imaginative Western arms control efforts, especially with respect to conventional forces, would save skilled manpower and scarce resources for use in the restructuring of the Soviet economy.

As the economic situation in the USSR has continued to deteriorate, the Soviet authorities have been changing their original position: that they did not need economic assistance from the West. There are indications that they may now be interested in some forms of Western aid. While some actions by the West must necessarily depend on prior Soviet implementation of key economic and legal reforms, the West should be prepared to do more than it is now doing in such areas as manpower training in the skills needed to operate a more open market economy, improving access to Western technology and markets (for example in the United States), and in other ways. Direct economic assistance in certain areas such as food, agricultural production, and high technology also needs to be considered. The rationale would be to enable the present Soviet government to achieve a breakthrough of some kind, demonstrating that *perestroika* can bring results. Effective Western consultative machinery is in place under the aegis of the European Community. Western countries should keep this question under close review and plan specific measures which could be introduced rapidly, if and when necessary.

Another important means of helping Gorbachev will be to find ways to bring the USSR into the GATT at an early date, as well as into the IMF and the World Bank in due course. The West needs to respond to Soviet overtures in this respect to show it is prepared to have the USSR take its place as a major player in the key international economic institutions. In general, the West must be on the look-out for opportunities to involve the USSR constructively, and to a greater extent in the consideration of international issues.