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## A Calendar of Soviet Treaties 1958-1973 by George Ginsburg and Robert M. Slusser

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## BOOK REVIEWS

A CALENDAR OF SOVIET TREATIES 1958-1973. By George Ginsburgs and Robert M. Slusser. Alphen aan den Rijn, The Netherlands, 1981. Pp. 908. ISBN 90-286-0609-2. \$150.00.

Reviewed by Serge L. Levitsky\*

### I

The primary purpose of the *Calendar of Soviet Treaties* is "to identify the international agreements entered into by the USSR from the beginning of 1958 to the end of 1973." This in itself is no mean achievement, not only because the compilers have consulted Soviet as well as Western sources, but they have also expanded the definition of "treaties" to include all sorts of "understandings," joint communiqués, trade protocols, records of diplomatic visits and meetings, attendance at international conferences and at sessions of such regional or specialized bodies as CMEA, The Warsaw Treaty Organization, etc. Even several agreements entered into by the USSR Academy of Sciences, by TASS and the Committee for Science and Technology are recorded here.

Such broad approach has the advantage of exposing the reader (the foreign policy analyst, the journalist, the scholar, the diplomat, etc.) to the full range of Soviet diplomatic activity, revealing the intensity of that country's involvement in world affairs in the post-Stalin period. The reader, to be sure, is still left with the task of interpreting and assessing all this activity, but the authors of this most useful reference tool, Professors Ginsburgs (Rutgers) and Slusser (Michigan State), have provided him with a starting point for further research.

All entries in the *Calendar* are painstakingly researched and documented, even where, in retrospect, a given event now appears to have been but of marginal or ephemeral significance. A typical entry includes the date and place of signature, data on ratification, entry into force, duration and a brief description of the purpose of the agreement, if the title is not self-explanatory. The value of the chronological *Calendar* is greatly enhanced by a 163-page recapitulation of the entries, arranged by names of partner states or organizations. There are 160 such sub-headings, from Afghanistan to Zanzibar.

If a criticism seems appropriate at all, it concerns the already

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rather remote cut-off date of coverage in the *Calendar*: the end of 1973. On the other hand, the authors did succeed in forging a link with the predecessor volume, published in 1959 under an identical title by Stanford University Press. The earlier volume had been compiled by Robert M. Slusser and Jan F. Triska and covered the years 1917-1957. The authors of the more recent *Calendar* were unable to secure the publisher's permission for a consolidation of the earlier entries in a comprehensive *Calendar of Soviet Treaties for 1917-1973*, and had to settle for "an organic continuation" of the previous *Calendar*, retaining its methodology and style, and, fortunately, also the high level of scholarship. The new *Calendar* bears the imprint of the Documentation Office for East European Law, University of Leiden, Holland's prestigious legal research institution in the Faculty of Law.

## II

More controversial is the authors' decision to include in the *Calendar* commercial and technology transfer contracts signed by the appropriate Soviet foreign trade organizations (FTOs) with private Western firms, at least to the extent to which such contracts have been reported on in the news media.

I question neither the inclusion *per se*, nor its potential benefits; I merely note the difficulties inherent in a systematic listing of such transactions, a problem which the authors were unable to satisfactorily resolve:

(a) In extending their survey to all aspects of the Soviet involvement abroad, the authors could omit data on East-West trade transactions only at the price of sacrificing an important dimension of their survey.

(b) Given the wide gaps in our knowledge of commercial contracts signed by the Soviet FTOs with private foreign firms during 1958-1973 or at any other time, the authors of the *Calendar* were presented with an opportunity to bridge these gaps. Yet, in attempting to do so, they were obliged to rely primarily on reports published in the news media that proved to be at best incomplete, often inaccurate, and, well yes, even tainted by political bias, however unintentionally. Such bias is tied to the very process of gathering "news" by the media. For instance, to use an illustration from our own days of Cold War II, we all remember the wide coverage given by the daily press in this country to declarations by American book publishers about their plans to boycott the 1983 Moscow Book Fair.<sup>1</sup> But when the Fair was over, the Soviets

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1. See N.Y. Times, Sept. 12, 1983, at A9, col. 1; N.Y. Times, Sept. 7, 1983, at A23, col. 1.

had signed some 2,580 new contracts with foreign publishing houses and the United States headed the list of Western countries with most contracts.<sup>2</sup> Professors Ginsburgs and Slusser would have found it difficult, however, to extract much useful information from the daily press about these contracts: They were not as "newsworthy" as a planned boycott and American publishers were not anxious to give them any publicity at all.

But are the authors of the *Calendar* prepared, in any event, to list all 2,580 publishing contracts in a future updating of the *Calendar*?

(c) The entries in the *Calendar* relating to contracts with private firms reflect the inadequacies of information derived from the daily press: The date of signing is often replaced by the date when the signing was announced in the press; the contents of the contracts are not systematically or uniformly recorded or identified; the firm's name is likely to be misspelled because it has been retranslated from the Russian (e.g., "Hallcraft & Co." for Holcroft and Company);<sup>3</sup> and, most unfortunate of all, only a minute number of such contracts have come to the compilers' attention. How significant were the contracts "that got away?"

The spotty coverage of such contracts in the *Calendar* was by no means always unavoidable:

To cite but one example, one may examine the coverage of Soviet contracts with private American firms for the purchase of equipment and technology for the Kama River truck plant (KamAZ), the most important single project of the 1971-1975 Soviet Five-Year Plan, which was then in the early stages of construction. Within the period covered by the *Calendar*, i.e., up to the end of 1973 alone, the Soviets had signed contracts worth in excess of \$1 billion for the purchase of foreign equipment and technology for the plant. This figure is arrived at by merely adding up the dollar amounts of contracts that can be accounted for and documented. Seventy contracts have been signed with U.S. firms alone, prior to the end of 1973, of which nineteen were cash purchases (total: \$26,325,000) and 51 were made against the U.S. Bank Credit Agreement (total: \$218,565,900).

Ginsburgs and Slusser duly list, under the date of March 21, 1973, the signing of an agreement "between the USSR and the U.S. Export-Import Bank on \$86.4 million credit to finance a plant to produce trucks and engines at the Kama river plant . . . Chase Manhattan of N.Y. to provide 45% of the total . . ." In reality, however, the credit agreement was concluded by the Bank for Foreign Trade of the USSR

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2. *Facts and Figures*, 39 BOOKS AND ART IN THE USSR 23 (1983).

3. G. GINSBURGS & R. SLUSSER, A CALENDAR OF SOVIET TREATIES 1958-1973, at 714.

with the Ex-Im Bank *and* the Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., and amounted to a total of \$172,900,000; the \$86.4 million figure represented only the Chase share.

Apart from the Credit Agreement itself, the *Calendar* has entries for six individual contracts:

1. A "preliminary contract" with Mack Trucks, Inc., signed on May 18, 1971, and subsequently "reported cancelled," to "design and supply equipment" for KamAZ (source: New York Times). In actual fact, only a letter of intent has been signed, subject to the issuance of U.S. export licenses. This was the beginning of a long and frustrating saga for Mack Trucks ending in the Soviet decision to become its own prime contractor for KamAZ.
2. On December 22, 1971, the signing of a contract between "Soviet organizations" and Swindell-Dressler is recorded, "for the design of a steel foundry for truck factory on the Kama river." No dollar figure is indicated (\$9 million).
3. A contract with "the U.S. National Engineering concern" is listed under March 13, 1973, (wrong date) for delivery of moulding sand equipment for KamAZ. No dollar amount is given (\$14.4 million).
4. On April 3, 1973, a contract with Carborundum to supply \$10 million worth of shot-blasting equipment is recorded. (The actual contract date was March 31, 1973.)
5. June 7, 1973, is given as the date when *Pravda* announced the signing of a contract with "Hallcraft & Co." for "delivery of ovens for baking steel pieces" at KamAZ. No information is given about the dollar value or delivery dates. (The actual contract, with Holcroft & Company, for delivery of heat treating furnaces for steel castings, with loading and unloading equipment, was signed on June 1, 1973.) In a chronological calendar, the accuracy of dates assumes an importance of its own.
6. Finally, on July 11, 1973, a contract with Cleveland Crane & Engineering, worth \$10 million, for supply of materials handling systems, is said to have been "announced" (Source: New York Times). The contract had been signed on July 10.

Would a complete listing of KamAZ contracts have been more desirable? The answer, in my opinion, is affirmative, although it could well have confronted the compilers of the *Calendar* with insurmountable technical problems and difficulties. But to list six contracts out of seventy, at random, is not a satisfactory solution, either. Professors Ginsburgs and Slusser will have a great deal of thinking to do before publishing an updated edition of the *Calendar*. To assist them in making up their minds, as well as for the convenience of the users of the

*Calendar*, I have reproduced, below, two tables in which all seventy contracts are systematically recorded, giving such data as the names of the U.S. firms (European subsidiaries omitted), the date of signing, a brief description of the equipment to be supplied, delivery date, quantity and value in U.S. dollars.

Such a complete listing has the advantage not only of providing a record of technology transfers to the USSR during a defined period of time, albeit only for a single Soviet plant and from a single country, *i.e.*, the United States, but likewise of facilitating assessment of the benefits of the contracts to the firms which have signed them. It will require little additional research, for instance, to show that the KamAZ contracts represented a sizeable percentage of the annual sales volume of the U.S. firms, both small and large: *E.g.*, C-E Cast Equipment (Cleveland), approx. 69.4%; Holcroft & Company, 66.3%; Ingersoll Milling Machine Company (Rockford, Ill.), 10%; National Engineering Company (Chicago), over 150%; La Salle Machine Tool, Inc., 62%; Cleveland Crane & Engineering, 52%; Gleason Works (Rochester, N.Y.), 14.6%; Landis Tool Co. (Litton Ind.), 44%; etc. For Crankshaft Machine Co., the 12th largest U.S. corporation in terms of the volume of KamAZ orders at that time, the Soviet contract amounted to nearly double the company's annual sales. KamAZ contracts represented some 14% of Pullman's annual business in the engineering and construction fields.

No need to go on, except perhaps to point out that the value of KamAZ contracts signed by U.S. corporations prior to the end of 1973 was more than double the total value of U.S. exports to the Soviet Union in 1970. These contracts have assumed a particular significance for the U.S. machine tool industry which was in a severe slump at the time, with as many as 40% of the workers laid off in 1971. According to Leonard Woodcock, President of United Auto Workers of America, KamAZ contracts have enabled some 160,000 workers to return to their jobs.

No, *détente*, in terms of commercial and economic advantage, was by no means a one-way street. I doubt, however, that the six KamAZ contracts listed in the *Calendar* will permit the reader to reach this, or any other, conclusion. Least of all do I pretend to have found a ready solution to how Professors Ginsburgs and Slusser can meaningfully integrate Soviet contracts with private foreign firms in a future edition of the *Calendar of Soviet Treaties*.

**Contracts Signed with U.S. Corporations for Supply of Equipment  
to the KamAZ Plant against Cash Payment\***

No.	Corporation	Equipment	Date of Delivery	Quantity	Value \$ ('000)
1	Federal Products Corp. (A unit of Esterline Corporation)	Instrument	1972	1	2.7
2	Thompson Grinder Division of Waterbury-Farrel (A division of Textron, Inc.)	Grinding machine	1972	1	80.9
3	Winslow Mfg. Co.	Tool-grinding machines	1972	2	61.0
4	Colonial Broach & Machine Company	Pneumatic presses	1972	2	14.2
5	Clark Equipment Company	Sweepers	1972	8	16.1
6	Pratt & Whitney Machine Tool Division of Colt Industries	Drilling and tool-grinding machines	1972	3	213.5
7	American Instrument Company (A division of Travenol Laboratories, Inc.)	Magne-gages (Plating thickness gauges)	1972	5	6.8
8	Kocour Co.	Thickness gauges	1972	2	4.0
9	Pratt & Whitney Machine Tool Division of Colt Industries	Copying milling machines	1973	2	578.4
10	Link Engineering Company	Stand	1972	1	20.2
11	MTS Systems Corp.	Pulsators	1973	3	320.1
12	Elwell-Parker Electric Co.	Truck for transporting dies	1974	1	84.6
13	Swindell-Dressler Company (A division of Pullman, Incorporated)	Project report for foundry of KamAZ plant			9,000.0
14	National Engineering Company	License for multistation automated sand-preparing system		1	997.6
15	Gleason Works	Gear-testing machines		131	10,115.4
16	C-E Cast Equipment (A division of W.S. Tyler, Incorporated, a subsidiary of Combustion Engineering, Inc.)	Complete systems for automatic and mechanized pouring of cast iron (five automatic molding lines)	1974-1975	5	4,100.0
17	C-E Cast Equipment	Complete systems for mechanized pouring of steel (two automatic molding lines)	1974	2	700.0
18	Federal Products Corp.	Measuring instrument	1974	1	2.8
19	American Instrument Company	Plating thickness gauges	1974	5	6.7

**Contracts Signed with U.S. Corporations for Supply of Equipment  
to the KamAZ Plant against the U.S. Bank Credit Agreement\***

No.	Corporation	Equipment	Date Signed	Quantity	Delivery Date	Value \$ ('000)
1	Swindell-Dressler Company	Electric arc furnaces (nine gray-iron melting furnaces rated at 50 metric tons capacity each and eight holding furnaces rated at 75 metric tons capacity each)	10/19/72	17	1973-74	15,929.0
2	C-E Cast Equipment	Automatic molding systems for automotive casting of gray and malleable iron, with electrical equipment	1/31/73	5	1974-75	22,613.0
3	C-E Cast Equipment	Automatic molding systems for automotive castings of steel, with electrical equipment	1/31/73	2	1974	7,032.0
4	Swindell-Dressler Company	Heat treating furnaces, with handling equipment	3/26/73	10	1974-75	8,250.0
5	Holcroft & Company (A division of Thermo Electron Corp.)	Heat treating furnaces	11/30/72	8	1973	1,746.9
6	The Ingersoll Milling Machine Company	Automatic line for machining cylinder blocks	6/30/72	1	1973-74	19,180.0
7	Holcroft & Company	Carburizing systems	11/30/72	23	1973-74	5,646.04
8	La Salle Machine Tool, Inc.	Automatic line for machining crankshaft bearing caps	8/19/72	1	1973	2,682.4
9	Holcroft & Company	Furnaces for tempering crankshafts	8/25/72	4	1973	929.4
10	Holcroft & Company	Heat treating unit for automatic stamping line	10/28/72	1	1974	380.0
11	Holcroft & Company	Heat treating equipment for automatic line to process intake and exhaust valves	10/31/72	2	1974	900.0
12	Holcroft & Company	Isothermal annealing unit for ring gears	11/10/72	1	1975	853.6
13	Holcroft & Company	Accessories for heat treating equipment of diesel engine plant	12/28/72	1	1974	139.8
14	The Wickes Corporation	Special-purpose lathes for automatic crankshaft line	11/18/72	n.a.	1974	2,144.2
15	The Wickes Corporation	Supplement No. 1 (machine-tool model change)	1/15/73		1974	25.7



Contracts Signed with U.S. Corporations for Supply of Equipment to the KamAZ Plant against the U.S. Bank Credit Agreement\*  
(continued)

16	Holcroft & Company	Heat treating equipment for expansion cams, connecting rods, etc.	12/8/72	1975	2,507.15
17	The Warner & Swasey Company	Grinding machines for automatic crankshaft machining lines	12/20/72	1974	1,506.81
18	Landis Tool Co.	Grinding machines for automatic crankshaft machining line	12/20/72	1974	8,665.80
19	National Engineering Company	Complete equipment for automatic mold sand systems for preparation of molding mixtures for five automatic flask (molding) lines and four flaskless (molding) lines in the gray iron foundry and for two flask (molding) lines in the steel foundry	3/12/73	1974	14,443.0
20	Swindell-Dressler Company	Equipment for melting shop (for gray and malleable iron)	3/23/73 (Supplement to contract of 10/19/72)	1973-74	5,400.0
21	The Carborundum Company	Cleaning equipment (barrel-type shot-blasting machines, shot-blast cabinets and other units) for foundry, including license for making steel shot	3/31/73	1974-75	9,907.9
22	Ajax Magnethermic Corp.	High-frequency induction crucible melting furnaces	4/5/73	1974-75	1,410.0
23	Sutter Products Co.	Hot-box core-making machines	4/11/73	1974-75	4,040.0
24	Crankshaft Machine Co.	Automatic line for machining camshafts (lathes)	10/23/72	1974	3,360.0
25	MTS Systems Corp.	Pulsator	2/6/73	1974	645.3
26	Cross Company	A multiple system for deburring cylinder blocks with provision for automatic loading and unloading	4/18/73	1974	1,532.5
27	Holcroft & Company	Stress-relief annealing furnaces with loading and unloading system	4/27/73	1974	943.6
28	Sutter Products Co.	Unit for cleaning cylinder block and surfaces	4/27/73	1974	328.0

Contracts Signed with U.S. Corporations for Supply of Equipment to the KamAZ Plant against the U.S. Bank Credit Agreement* (continued)						
29	Swindell-Dressler Company	Lifting mechanisms for holding furnaces	5/30/73 (Supplement to contract of 10/19/72)	4	1974	94.7
30	Holcroft & Company	Heat treating furnaces for steel castings with loading and unloading equipment	6/1/73	4	1974	2,250.0
31	The Ingersoll Milling Machine Company	Integrated system for machining cylinder-block bases	6/20/73	1	1974	1,040.0
32	Vacuum Industries, Inc.	Semicontinuous induction vacuum melting furnace, capacity 500 kg.	6/19/73	1	1974	508.5
33	Vacuum Industries, Inc.	100-kw electron-beam furnace	6/19/73	1	1974	410.5
34	Cleveland Crane & Engineering (A division of McNeil Corporation)	Monorail systems for transporting molten metal and core sand in gray and malleable iron, steel foundry, and nonferrous foundry buildings	7/10/73	n.a.	1974-75	10,420.4
35	Holcroft & Company	(a) Set of furnace systems for heat treating aluminum castings	8/1/73	9 systems	1974-75	3,560.0
36	Blaw-Knox Foundry & Mill Machinery, Inc.	(b) Furnaces for artificial aging of aluminum Cement guns for electric arc furnaces	8/1/73 7/11/73	2 2	1974 1974	310.0 99.8
37	Cardinal Scales International	Self-propelled electronic transfer cars, electronic melt shop scales, and electronic counting scales	7/11/73	3 cars 9 scales	1974	635.0
38	Swindell-Dressler Company	Set of furnaces for melting and holding of aluminum with charging and handling system	9/19/73	16 furnaces 4 charging units	1974-75	3,950.0
39	Ajax Magnethermic Corp.	Set of furnaces for melting and holding of bronze, brass, and zinc scrap with charging and handling system	10/5/73	25	1974	1,413.0
40	Raycon Corporation	Transfer line for fuel-injecting units	10/24/73		1974	1,116.7

Contracts Signed with U.S. Corporations for Supply of Equipment  
to the KamAZ Plant against the U.S. Bank Credit Agreement\*  
(continued)

41	Albany Machine (An affiliate of Albany International)	Carousel automatic forging process	10/19/73	15	1974-75	3,083.0
42	Shalco Systems	Ten core-making machines and one complete automatic unit for preparing coated core mixture	10/15/73	11	1974	683.0
43	American Air Filter Co., Inc.	91 Type R Rotoclones (wet centrifugal dust collectors) and 37 Kimpactors, Venture Type (wet dust collectors)	10/29/73		1974-75	1,905.0
44	Denison Division of Abex Corporation	Presses for steel and iron casting with a capacity of 75 and 100 tons	11/6/73	17	1975	1,310.0
45	La Salle Machine Tool, Inc.	Transfer line for manufacturing of pistons	10/31/73		1975	9,715.5
46	Sutter Products Co.	Sand preparation system for core-making shops for casting of iron and non-ferrous metals	11/19/73		1975	2,500.0
47	Ex-Cell-O Corporation	Automated line for the complete machining and processing of cylinder liners for diesel engines	11/19/73	1	1975-76	16,610.6
48	Ex-Cell-O Corporation	Pilot line for the machining and processing of cylinder liners	12/3/73	1	1974-75	3,934.5
49	Ingersoll-Rand GmbH. Automatic Production Systems Group	Automatic assembly line for V-8 diesel engines	12/26/73	1 system	1975	7,103.6
50	Holcroft & Company	Equipment for heat treatment of piston pins	10/5/73		1975	1,300.0
51	Holcroft & Company	Equipment for heat treatment of cylinder liners	11/26/73		1975	1,470.0

\*Compiled by Serge L. Levitsky and Abigail W. Delfausse