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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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Vol. 51, No. 1

Cuba Today

24th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution



Cuba

**New Directions
in Housing**

Tom Angotti

Quality of Life

Howard L. Parsons

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**Is There Life
After SSD II?**

Kay Camp

**Miles Away,
But Poles Apart**

Yuri Rytkeu

Also:

**Robert Daglish • Susan Kling • J.P. Morray • John Somerville • Knud S.
Larsen reviews J.P. Morray's *Socialism In Islam***

Negotiations, Not Ultimatums

The struggle is intensifying within US leading circles over how to respond to the continuing Soviet and Warsaw pact proposals for cutting nuclear weapons. The turmoil has now reached into the Reagan administration itself with the dismissal of Eugene V. Rostow as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. That an avowed super-hawk should end up-fired for seeing the need to negotiate instead of blindly adhering to the Reagan "zero-option" ultimatum shows that the people's pressure for peace has finally penetrated even the fortress of the Reaganites.

Rostow said in departing: "If our people, our allies and our friends lose faith in the wisdom, energy, the imagination and both the firmness and intelligent flexibility of our arms control efforts . . . two consequences will surely follow: It will be impossible to achieve worthwhile agreements with the Soviets and our alliance systems will be in grave peril."

The socialist countries continue to present peace proposals. Following Yuri Andropov's proposals of December 21 (see pp. 4-5), Andrei Gromyko said in Bonn that the USSR is ready to negotiate reductions of its shorter-range nuclear missiles aimed at Western Europe. Early in January the Warsaw Treaty Organization renewed its call for a nonaggression pact with NATO, with no first use of either nuclear or conventional weapons (see p. 3). The US government summarily rejected all the proposals, but President Reagan was obliged to counter somehow. He did so by attempting to summon Andropov to a summit to agree to the Reagan "zero option," a ploy too transparent to be taken seriously anywhere.

Though the British and French rejected the Soviet proposals to cut SS-20s to a level equal to their combined force, other reports indicate that the FRG and Italian governments are pressing the US to negotiate. Despite the continued hard-line position of Chancellor Kohl, a FRG Foreign Ministry spokesman described the talks with Gromyko as taking place in "an extraordinarily factual, unpolemic and good atmosphere. . . ." British and European peace leaders greeted the Andropov proposal as serious and constructive. *The Christian Science Monitor* on December 22 characterized it as ". . . a serious Soviet response to the NATO 'zero option' proposal worth examining and bargaining over." Said Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colorado), "If this is their response, it seems to me that this Administration has no interest in real negotiations. My feeling is that this is new, and it is a serious bargaining effort by the Soviet Union and not a gimmick, not a ploy."

Evidence continues to come in about the US people's attitudes toward nuclear weapons. *The Christian Science Monitor*, not exactly a peace movement oriented paper, reported in mid-December the results of a questionnaire it published in June. Among the responses: over two-thirds believe it immoral to actually use nuclear weapons, over one-third would favor a unilateral US renunciation of nuclear weapons, almost three-quarters think the arms race is immoral.

It seems Mr. Reagan and his closest supporters now recognize the need to watch appearances. But the fiscal 1984 military spending proposals — \$238.6 billion overall and \$28.2 billion for strategic weapons — show they don't yet see the need to make substantive changes in their policy.

The US people have the power to change that. The key areas for action now are the military budget, and pressure for a serious, realistic US approach to nuclear disarmament talks.

The time from now until mid-May is critical for the budget. Support for the Jobs with Peace campaign offers a fine way to work for significant reduction of military spending and transfer of funds to human needs.

The coming weeks are also ripe for letters, telegrams and calls to President Reagan, Secretary of State Schultz, and your Congressional representatives to press for negotiations, not ultimatums, in nuclear weapons talks.

M.B., February 1983

Jan.-Feb. 1983 Vol. 51, No. 1

The USSR is 60 Years Old <i>Yuri V. Andropov</i>	4
Is There Life after SSD II? <i>Kay Camp</i>	8
New Directions in Cuban Housing <i>Tom Angotti</i>	12
Cuba: Human Betterment <i>Howard L. Parsons</i>	13
Miles Away, But Poles Apart <i>Yuri Rytkheu</i>	18
Nuclear Omnicide and Human Survival <i>John Somerville</i>	20
A Visit to Kemerovo <i>J.P. Morray</i>	22
Moscow Diary <i>Robert Daghish</i>	25
Gagra: Pearl of Abkhazia <i>Susan Kling</i>	28
REVIEW	
<i>Socialism in Islam: A Study of Algeria</i> , by <i>J.P. Morray</i> <i>Knud S. Larson</i>	29



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Eating Crow

For years we have heard claims that the Soviet economy is on the verge of collapse. In the last few weeks, along have come two comprehensive studies—by the CIA, no less—which provide a vastly different assessment.

“USSR: Measures of Economic Growth and Development, 1950-80” is a 401-page report prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress and released in late December. Among the findings:

- The USSR's gross national product has grown at an annual average rate of 4.8 per cent in Western terms, though the rate of increase has slowed in recent years. The average annual growth rate is a full percentage point above that of the US during that period.

- Output has quadrupled and real consumption per capita has tripled during the thirty years.

- The diet has improved greatly in quality, with less reliance on bread and potatoes and increased consumption of meat and dairy products.

- The share of GNP represented by investment has grown steadily from 14 per cent in 1950 to 32 per cent in 1979, a rate equaled only by Japan, where the share was 33 per cent in 1980. (The US share declined from 17.5 per cent to 13.8 per cent in the same period.)

- The share of GNP devoted to the military has risen only slightly since 1965.

These findings are all the more striking because they are based on the CIA's own system of calculations which consistently reduces by as much as 50 per cent the civilian sector growth rates published by the USSR. For example, CIA analysts object to the USSR's inclusion of free health care and education in calculating the standard of living.

In releasing the study, Rep. Henry Reuss (D-Wisconsin), chairman of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, noted the negative effect of military spending on the Soviet economy, and said the report “illustrates that a real arms control agreement would be as much in the Soviet national interest as it would be in ours.”

A second report prepared for the same committee highlights the place of trade in the Soviet economy, concluding that the USSR is much more able to do without imports than most or all other industrialized countries, and thus the effectiveness of economic pressure is limited. Imports of grain and other agriculture products primarily serve to prevent a decline in meat consumption, and despite a large increase in such imports, “the Soviet Union remains basically self-sufficient with respect to food,” according to Henry Rowen, chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council.

The report states that the average Soviet person consumes about 3,300 calories a day, compared with 3,520 in the US. Grain cereals and potatoes make up a significantly larger percentage than here, and the percentage of meat and fish is significantly smaller. The percentage of sugar is somewhat smaller; otherwise the diets are virtually identical.

Rowen said economic collapse is not even a remote possibility, and predicted that Soviet economic growth would remain “slow but positive.”

Considering that the people of the USSR enjoy full employment, equal opportunity in education and jobs, stable prices, universal availability of low-cost housing, free education and health care, and heavily subsidized cultural, recreational and sports programs, the admissions contained in the two reports are devastating.

About the same time the CIA's findings were released, the US government said the gross national product would probably show a decline for 1982 of 1.8 per cent, and stated that the economy had shown no significant improvement since the start of 1979. Unemployment, already a record 10.8 per cent in November 1982, was predicted to continue to rise in the first months of this year.

While millions in the US go hungry, some prominent government personalities must be eating crow. □

Warsaw Treaty Organization Issues Declaration

On January 6, the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization issued a Political Declaration which presented a comprehensive body of proposals for peace and disarmament. Some are new; others have been presented previously. They are directed towards mutual reduction of arsenals, lessening of tensions, releasing of military funds for social purposes including aid to developing countries, and increasing political dialogue as well as business, scientific, technological and cultural interchange.

The proposal which has received the greatest media attention in this country is that which calls for an agreement with NATO for non-use of military force, including a mutual commitment of both alliances not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons—or any form of military force—against each other or against other countries. Such an agreement would not limit the right of self-defense.

Among other proposals are the following:

- A mutual quantitative freeze of US and Soviet strategic arms and maximum possible restrictions on their moderniza-

tion.

- Drafting of a stage-by-stage program for nuclear disarmament including agreements to end development and production of new nuclear weapons systems, production of fissionable material for weapons, and delivery systems.

- Complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

- Prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons; eliminating these from Europe.

- Banning neutron weapons.

- Prohibiting deployment of any kind of weapons in outer space.

- Prohibition of radiological weapons.

- Substantially lowered levels of conventional arms and forces both globally and in individual regions, and limiting sales and supplies of conventional arms.

- Limiting and reducing naval activities including withdrawing ships carrying nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean and

(Continued on page 7)

The USSR is Sixty Years Old

The following are portions of the speech delivered by Yuri V. Andropov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the joint special session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR on December 21, 1982. These portions are excerpted from the complete text as it appears in Reprints from the Soviet Press, January 15, 1983. Emphasis has been added.

In the very year the Soviet Union was formed, Lenin wrote the words that vividly showed his line of thought on the nationalities question: "Our five years' experience in settling the national question in a country that contains a tremendous number of nationalities, such as could hardly be found in any other country, gives us the full conviction that under such circumstances the only correct attitude toward the interests of all the nations is to meet those interests in full and provide conditions that preclude any possibility of conflicts on that score. Our experience has left us with the firm conviction that only the closest attention to the interests of various nations can do away with grounds for conflicts, remove mutual mistrust, remove the fear of all intrigue and create that confidence — especially on the part of workers and peasants who speak different languages — without which there can be absolutely no peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization."

Lenin's behests and his principles underlying the policy of the nationalities question are sacred to us. Relying on and steadfastly enforcing them in practice, we have created a powerful state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose formation was not only a major step in the development of socialism but also a crucial turning point in world history.

The path traversed by the Soviet Union in sixty years is an epoch in itself. I would say that history has never seen such rapid progress from backwardness, misery and ruin to a mighty, modern great power with an extremely high level of culture and constantly climbing living standards.

What are the most significant results of our development?

- History has fully borne out the theory of Marx and Lenin that the nationalities question can only be settled on a class basis. National discord and all forms of racial and national inequality and oppression have receded into the past together with social antagonisms.

- It has been compellingly demonstrated that the Communist Party and its scientific policy are the guiding force in the socialist settlement of the nationalities question and the guarantor that this settlement is correct.

- Backward outlying regions populated by ethnic minorities, in many of which feudal-patriarchal and even clan relations were still dominant, have completely disappeared.

- An integral unionwide economic complex has formed on the basis of the dynamic economic growth of all the republics, a growth guided by the general state plan.

- There has been a qualitative change of the social structure of the republics: a modern working class has emerged in each of them, the peasants are moving along the new road of collective farming, an intelligentsia of its own has been created, and skilled cadres have been trained in all areas of the life of both state and society.

- A socialist multinational culture has burgeoned on the basis of progressive traditions and of an intensive exchange of cultural values.

- Socialist nations have formed, and these now comprise a new historical community — the Soviet people.

The interests of the republics are intertwining ever more closely, and the mutual assistance and mutual links that direct the creative efforts of the nations and nationalities of the USSR into a single channel are growing more productive. The all-sided development of each of the socialist nations in our country logically brings them ever closer together.

Over these six decades the position of our Soviet state has changed radically; its prestige and influence have grown enormously. Close peaceful cooperation links the Soviet Union with countries on all continents. Its voice commands respect at international forums. The principles of peaceful coexistence — the basis of Soviet foreign policy — have won broad international recognition and have been incorporated into scores of international instruments, including the Final Act of the European Conference in Helsinki. Soviet proposals have been the basis of major UN decisions on strengthening peace and security.

But each step along the road to more stable peace has taken and still takes a lot of effort; it calls for intense struggle against imperialist war hawks. This struggle has become especially acute now that the more warlike factions in the West have become so aggressively active, their class-based hatred of socialism prevailing over considerations of realism and sometimes over plain common sense.

The war preparations of the United States and the NATO bloc which it leads have grown on an unheard-of, record scale. Official spokesmen in Washington have been heard to talk at length on the possibility of "limited," "sustained," and other varieties of nuclear war. This is intended to reassure the man in the street, to accustom people to the idea that such war is acceptable. And yet one would have to be blind to the realities of our time not to see that wherever and however a nuclear whirlwind arises, it will inevitably go out of control and precipitate a worldwide catastrophe.

Our position on this issue is clear: a nuclear war — be it big or small, limited or total — must not be allowed to break out. No task is more important today than to stop the instigators of another war. This is dictated by the vital interests of all nations. That is why the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons was received with approval and hope all over the world. If our example is followed by the other nuclear powers, this will be a truly momentous contribution to the effort to prevent nuclear war.

It is being said that the West cannot undertake such a commitment because, allegedly, the Warsaw Treaty Alliance has an advantage in conventional armaments. To begin with, this is untrue, a fact to which the facts and figures bear witness. Furthermore, as everyone knows, we are in favor of limiting such armaments as well, and of searching for sensible, mutually acceptable solutions to this end. *We are also prepared to agree that both sides should renounce first use of conventional, as well as nuclear, arms.*

Of course, one of the main avenues leading to a real scaling down of the threat of nuclear war is that of reaching a Soviet-American agreement on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. We approach negotiations on this matter with the utmost seriousness and sense of responsibility, and seek an honest agreement that will do no damage to either side and will, at the same time, lead to a reduction of the nuclear arsenals.

So far, unfortunately, we see a different approach on the part of the American side. While calling for "radical reductions" in word, what Washington really has in mind is essentially a reduction of the Soviet strategic potential. For itself, the United States would like to leave a free hand in building up strategic armaments. It is absurd even to think that we can agree to this. It would, of course, suit the Pentagon, but can on no account be acceptable to the Soviet Union or, for that matter, to anyone who has a stake in preserving and consolidating peace.

Compare to this the proposals of the USSR. They are based on the principle of preserving parity. *We are prepared to reduce our strategic arms by more than 25 per cent. United States arms, too, must be reduced accordingly, so that the two states might have the same number of strategic delivery vehicles. We also propose that the number of nuclear warheads should be substantially decreased and that further improvement of nuclear weapons should be maximally restricted.*

Our proposals refer to all types of strategic weapons without exception, and envisage reduction of their stockpiles by many hundreds of units. They close all possible channels for any further arms race in this field. And that is only a start: the pertinent agreement would be the point of departure for a still larger mutual reduction of such weapons, which the two sides could work out with reference to the general strategic situation in the world.

And while the negotiations are under way, we offer what is suggested by common sense: to freeze the strategic arsenals of the two sides. The US Government does not want this, and now everyone can understand why: it has embarked on a new, considerable buildup of nuclear armaments.

At present, [Europe] is beset by a new danger — the prospect of several hundred US missiles being deployed in Western Europe. I must speak frankly: such a move would make peace still more fragile.

As we see it, the peril threatening the European nations, and for that matter, the nations of the whole world can be averted. It is definitely possible to save and strengthen peace in Europe — and without damage to anyone's security. It is, indeed, for this purpose that we have been negotiating with the United States in Geneva for more than a year already on how to limit and reduce nuclear weapons in the European zone.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go very far. *As everyone knows, we have suggested an agreement renouncing all types of nuclear weapons — both medium range and tactical ones — designed to strike targets in Europe.* But this proposal has come up against a solid wall of silence. Evidently the other side does not want to accept it, yet is afraid to reject it openly. I want to reaffirm again that we have not withdrawn this proposal.

We have also suggested another variant: that the USSR and the NATO countries reduce their medium-range weaponry by more than two-thirds. So far, the United States will not consider this. For its part, it has submitted a proposal which, as if in mockery, is called the "zero option." It envisages elimination



of all Soviet medium-range missiles not only in the European, but also in the Asian part of the Soviet Union, while NATO's nuclear-missile arsenal in Europe is to remain intact and may even be increased. Does anyone really think that the Soviet Union can agree to this? It would seem that Washington is out to deliberately block agreement and then, after pointing to a collapse of talks, by hook or by crook to achieve the stationing of its missiles on European soil.

The future will show if this is so. We, for our part, will continue to work for an agreement on a basis that is fair to both sides. *We are prepared, among other things, to agree that the Soviet Union should retain in Europe only as many missiles as are kept there by Britain and France — and not a single one more.* This means that the Soviet Union would reduce its missiles by hundreds, including dozens of the latest missiles known in the West as SS-20s. In the case of the USSR and the USA, this would be a really honest "zero" option as regards medium-range missiles. *And if later on the number of British and French missiles were scaled down, the number of Soviet ones would be additionally reduced by as many.*

Along with this there must also be an accord on reducing to equal levels on both sides the number of medium-range nuclear-delivery aircraft stationed in this region by the USSR and the NATO countries.

We call on the other side to accept these clear and fair terms, to take this opportunity while it still exists. But let no one delude himself: we will never let our security or the security of our allies be jeopardized. It would also be a good thing if thought were given to the grave consequences that the stationing of new US medium-range weapons in Europe would entail for all further efforts to limit nuclear armaments in general. In short, the answer is now up to the USA.

In conclusion, let me say the following. We are for broad, fruitful cooperation among all the nations of our planet to their mutual advantage and in the interests of all mankind — cooperation free from diktat and interference in the affairs of other countries. The Soviet Union will do everything in its power to secure a peaceful, untroubled future for the present and future generations. That is the aim of our policy, and we shall not depart from it. □

A House of Cards

Allegations of a Bulgarian/Soviet link to the May 1981 shooting of Pope John Paul II by Mehmet Ali Agca have recently held top billing in US and West European media. These have been portrayed against a background of insinuations that the Bulgarian government connives in drug traffic and that Bulgaria is part of an international terrorist network. A further bizarre twist is supplied by allegations that the assassination attempt served the interests of the USSR as an alternative to invading Poland to stem the spread of Solidarity.

The Bulgarians, furthermore, are demeaned by the claim that they are merely Moscow's puppets — a claim intended to smear the recently-elected general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Yuri V. Andropov. This at a time when the USSR is intensifying its already substantial efforts toward agreements on reducing nuclear arms, and when Western European governments, pushed by the peace movements in their countries, have been treating recent Soviet proposals seriously.

Agca, a Turkish citizen, has been convicted of firing the shot which wounded the Pope on May 13, 1981. On November 25, 1982, a Bulgarian, Sergey Ivanov Antonov, Rome station chief of Balkan Airlines, was ordered detained "on suspicion of active complicity." Warrants have also been issued for two Bulgarians who have returned home: Zhelyo Kolev Vasilev, former secretary to the Bulgarian military attache in Rome and Todor Stoyanov Aivazov, former head of the Bulgarian Embassy's finance section.

The Bulgarian government has flatly denied any involvement in the assassination attempt, and has characterized efforts to establish such involvement as an anti-socialist, anti-detente political provocation. Leonid Zamyatin, head of the CPSU's information department, characterized speculation about Soviet and Bulgarian complicity as "an evil-minded campaign that has not a grain nor an iota of truth."

US press reports have revealed a number of gaps and contradictions. Among them:

- *The New York Times* noted on December 12 that all information published about the attack on the Pope has come from Mr. Agca. He belongs to the Turkish National Action Party, characterized by *The Daily World* (January 12) as a violently anti-communist and anti-Soviet organization which has circulated leaflets calling for war against the USSR and liberation of

its Turkic peoples. Agca is reportedly considered by Turkish authorities to be a chronic liar (*The New York Times*, January 3). How he escaped prior to the shooting from the Turkish jail where he was held for murdering a progressive Turkish journalist remains a mystery.

- According to *The Washington Post* (January 6), the Italian Socialist Party may be using the accusations for its own domestic purposes. Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio, a Socialist, spoke far more strongly in the Italian Parliament than did the three Christian Democratic ministers who also testified. *The Post* noted that "politicians from other parties as well as government officials have pointed out that he failed to support his harshest accusations with substantial proof. They have described his comments as 'hasty' and 'irresponsible.'"

- *The New York Times* reported on December 18 that "Israeli and West German security sources," while echoing allegations of Bulgarian and Soviet terrorist activities, had each said they did not believe the Bulgarians would have "taken so grave a diplomatic risk for so nebulous a political advantage with such a high chance of the plot's disclosure." These sources are said to attribute the charges to a "disinformation" attempt, and to discount the effectiveness of the Italian security service.

Antonov's defense lawyers have testimony from several witnesses, Italians as well as Bulgarians, establishing his whereabouts on the day of the shooting and the two preceding days (*The Washington Post*, January 5). In addition, in May 1981 Antonov did not have the mustache Agca ascribed to him. Bulgarian officials say that Agca's claim to know Aivazov's phone number is nonsense because Aivazov had no phone of his own, and that Agca's statement that he knew the Bulgarians only by code names would have rendered his knowledge of the embassy switchboard number useless. Further, Italian authorities have never sought permission to see Aivazov's apartment to verify Agca's description, but the Bulgarians have complained to the Italian Foreign Ministry four times since September about break-ins in that building.

It is not hard to understand the motives of those who have built this house of cards. Those forces which would push the world to within a hair's breadth of nuclear holocaust are growing increasingly desperate in their attempts to scuttle the intensifying popular pressure here and in Western Europe for fruitful arms talks. It is only difficult to understand how such an illogical house of cards can retain credibility over a period of months. □

Freedom Fighters' Lives at Stake

The following article is reprinted from the January 1983 issue of Young Worker, publication of the National Organizing Committee to Found a Communist Youth Organization.

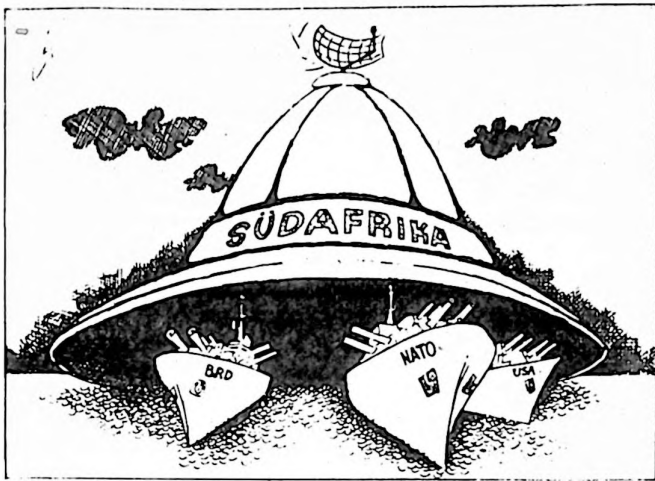
Those who rule South Africa — the land of the apartheid system where the Black majority is kept in subjugation and huge profits are extracted from their labor; where the poisonous venom of racism is used to divide Black and white workers to benefit a small minority of white owners and rulers — are once again threatening to open another chapter in their bloody history: the scheduled legal murder of six young freedom fighters.

Simon Mogorane, 23, Jerry Mosololi, 25, Marcus Motaung,

28, Bobby Tsotsobe, 24, David Moise, 26, Johannes Shabangu, 23, have been charged with high treason, and were condemned to death by the Pretoria Supreme Court. The six youths are members of the African National Congress (ANC), the leader of the liberation movement, which is engaged in political as well as armed struggle against the apartheid system.

The South African government hopes to crush the liberation movement by killing these six young men. Facts, however reveal that support for the ANC by the people of South Africa, both Black and white, is increasing, despite severe repression by the apartheid regime.

South Africa continues to commit these injustices supported by its friendly relationship with the U.S. government. The



"Horizont" (GDR)

Reagan Administration has openly referred to apartheid South Africa as its "friend and ally," and the U.S. sends millions of dollars in military and economic aid to South Africa.

Recently Reagan sanctioned an International Monetary Fund loan to South Africa of \$1.1 billion. Today there are over 540 U.S. multinational corporations operating in South Africa, gaining huge profits from cheap Black labor. This support of apartheid is the very lifeline of the system.

The Reagan Administration's policy towards South Africa is a reflection of its racist policies here at home. Unemployment among youth has reached a shocking 24.5 percent overall, but Black and other nationally oppressed youth suffer from rates as high as 52 percent, officially.

Into the lifeline of apartheid U.S. corporations and the Reaganites pour billions of dollars while millions of youth receive less and poorer quality education, fewer parks and other recreational facilities. Millions are homeless. While millions of youth look for work, U.S. factories close down to be reopened in South Africa, with its starvation level wages and anti-union laws.

Taking action against the apartheid regime's barbarous plan to execute these young freedom fighters, the United Nations Security Council put forth a resolution on December 7, 1982, which "calls upon the South African authorities to commute the death sentences of the six young men" and "urges all states and organizations to use their influence to take urgent measures in conformity with the Charter of the UN . . . to save the lives of the six young men."

The hypocrisy of the U.S. vote in support of the resolution becomes clear when the Reagan Administration continues to support the South African fascist state and refuses to apply sanctions to it.

The Reagan Administration justifies its support of the apartheid regime in the name of fighting the "Soviet threat." But the Soviet Union is opposed to apartheid, and it is Reagan, not the Soviet Union, that threatens the living standards and futures of the youth with cuts in social spending and an increase in the arms build-up.

The six youths scheduled for execution, and all working people in South Africa, like all working people in the U.S. have the same enemy: the Reagan Administration and the monopoly

capitalist system it represents.

These six youths are being persecuted because of their convictions; their dedication to the liberation of their generation and of all South African people. Said Jerry Mosololi, "I regard myself as a soldier, a person who is fighting for the freedom of his people."

The ANC is urging that people protest the scheduled murders of the six ANC youth and demand that the U.S. government take action to save their lives.

Telegrams of protest should be sent to the State President, Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, and to the South African Embassy in Washington.

Letters and telegrams demanding that the executions be prevented should be sent to the United States Secretary of State George Schultz, and to your elected officials.

DEBBIE LOPEZ

New At NWR

Debbie Lopez has joined the NWR staff as special events coordinator. Among her responsibilities are preparations for the annual luncheon and the series of forums being held in New York, as well as aspects of promotion and circulation development.

Ms. Lopez recently graduated from Marymount College with a bachelor of arts in political science, and is currently pursuing a master's degree in international relations. She is education director for the New York section, National Organizing Committee to Found a Communist Youth Organization.



Warsaw Treaty

(Continued from page 3)

banning nuclear weapons deployment in non-nuclear Mediterranean countries.

- Dismantling foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories.
- Agreement by all states with major military potential not to escalate military spending and to reduce it both by percentage and by absolute values.
- To rid Europe completely of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, or if this is not possible now, to radically reduce medium-range systems on the basis of equality and equal security.
- Reducing US and Soviet arms and forces in Central Europe, with verification.
- Strengthening the United Nations as a universal instrument of collective security. □

First Committee Things First— Is There Life After SSD2?

Harsh judgments were pronounced at the time. Disarmament activists, longing for a breakthrough, were bitter. But it had been unrealistic to expect much in the way of progress from the United Nations' Second Special Session devoted to Disarmament (SSD2), given the atmosphere of the Falklands/Malvinas War, the sudden strike into Lebanon, and the continuing combative Reagan rhetoric. "Unmitigated disaster" and "total failure" seem extreme, half a year later. Though the SSD2 failed to move disarmament forward, the occasion might best be described as a golden opportunity lost.

Only the opportunity was lost, however. None of the measures. All unresolved matters were assigned to the appropriate ongoing body, committee or study, and most of them wound up in the 37th regular fall session of the General Assembly (GA), and especially in its First Committee (Political and Security Affairs), which discusses only disarmament.

Though few in number, SSD2's achievements should not be forgotten: The Soviet Union's announcement of a policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons; expansion of UN Disarmament Fellowships from 20 to 25; removal of a few brackets (denoting disagreement) from some draft statements; rescue of, and re-dedication to the Final Document of the first SSD; proposals for a nuclear freeze; recognition by the rest of the world community that no disarmament progress is likely while the Reagan Administration remains in office. SSD2 was the focal point for the most impressive ever anti-nuclear activities; it launched the World Disarmament Campaign.

This last may be a sleeper, the disarmament movement's secret weapon. When the World Disarmament Campaign was officially proclaimed on the opening day of the special session by the president of the General Assembly, Ismat Kittani of Iraq, its content was less impressive than the ceremony itself. No one knew what to expect, what the Campaign would do, whether it could make a difference. Conceived largely by Mexico's Alfonso Garcia Robles, co-winner with Alva Myrdal of the 1982 Nobel Peace Award, the Campaign was backed by Third World nations. Some others were highly skeptical. The Secretary-General was asked to submit a more detailed program for the Campaign to the 37th General Assembly, recently concluded. The program stressed that the information disseminated would indeed be "balanced, factual and objective." It pointed to the UN bodies already in place for cooperation in getting the information out (UNESCO, UNICEF, Department of Public Information, the 60 Information Centers around the world, etc.) And it targeted five major constituencies for participation — elected officials, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), educational communities and peace research institutes. It seemed sufficiently modest, anticipating a first year budget of \$760,000, so support strengthened.

KAY CAMP was International President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom from 1974 to 1980. A member of WILPF's international executive committee, she serves as Coordinator for Disarmament, and is a vice-chair of the Non-Governmental Organizations' Committee on Disarmament at the UN. Ms. Camp is also a board member of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies.



Poster by L. Sinyukayeva. V. Sinyukayev

The program was safe, dealing only in information, manageable in that nations could find ways of exerting some degree of control within their own borders, and positive, giving the appearance of progress in the disarmament sphere without in any way retarding the arms buildup. Even US spokesman Eugene Rostow, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told the First Committee that the Campaign "holds some promise for promoting more widespread, open and thoughtful debate about disarmament." The US delegation apparently saw the World Disarmament Campaign as a further opportunity to try to embarrass the Eastern bloc, for the only resolution introduced into the First Committee by the US (with Indonesia) supports peace and disarmament movements and calls upon "all member States to encourage their citizens freely and publicly to express their own views on disarmament questions and to organize and meet publicly for that purpose." The US government seems ignorant of or unimpressed by the reported 60 million Soviet citizens who in some 20,000 events marched and demonstrated in May, 1982, for a successful SSD2. The resolution may, perhaps inadvertently, prove useful to disarmament activists everywhere, including here in the United States.

Funding for the Campaign is still uncertain. The Secretary-General has been asked to try to reassign internal sources of revenue for the Campaign's benefit. Governments, foundations, organizations and individuals have been invited to contribute. As of November, only Bulgaria, Byelorussian SSR, Finland, India, Iraq, Mexico, Mongolia, Sweden, Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union had pledged specific sums. The Quakers and some individuals also had donated. But with rubles and rupees in non-convertible currencies, the amount available to organize the Campaign world-wide approximated at that point a mere quarter-million dollars. Rumor has it that US coolness froze out a possible official pledging conference in 1982, but hopes remain for 1983.

Members of the NGO Committee on Disarmament were quick to recognize that, beyond funding, the Campaign's success would depend upon the degree of involvement by grassroots organizations. A consultation was called for early November. Though marred by the State Department's denial of visas, confirming that the same occurrence last June was not an egregious error, the groups in attendance viewed the World Disarmament Campaign as a major opportunity to fill a crucial gap in the disarmament movement's tools — a shortage of factual information. Widespread ignorance prevails regarding multinational negotiations, the relation between disarmament and development, costs of the arms race worldwide in economic and human terms, and the vital role of the UN in providing solutions.

Most Americans are not even remotely aware of the debates that take place in the GA's First Committee and the plenary on the single most urgent matter in world history. They are unaware of the valiant struggles of the 40-nation Committee on Disarmament (CD) to negotiate treaties, nor are they familiar with the US arguments and votes on these vital issues. It is reasonable to conclude that if the spotlight of public attention were focused on these actions of governments at the UN, the US could no longer get away with its totally intransigent stance.

How many schoolchildren have been taught that the landmark Final Document produced by the 1978 SSD recognized and began to deal with the major and most urgent threat to humanity's survival? It spelled out the disarmament priorities and measures to be negotiated: nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons and arms sales, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, military budgets, nuclear-free zones, reduction of armed forces, regional disarmament, collateral measures, confidence-building, effective verification methods, and international security requirements. Encompassing all of the above was a comprehensive program of disarmament, leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, to which all the nations, our own included, are solemnly committed.

The Final Document also lubricated the disarmament negotiating machinery. Since then the CD has been meeting its formidable assignment. At the top of its eight-point working agenda is conclusion of a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban (CTB). But the US refused to agree to the setting up of a Working Group to negotiate a test ban until in April of 1982 they permitted a Group to be formed to discuss only verification of such a ban (though the UN Secretary General had reported in 1962 that technical means even then available were entirely

adequate for verification of a test ban, and today a seismic monitoring system has been further developed).

Although the United Kingdom usually goes along with the US on arms issues, most of the delegations, deeply frustrated by this stance, are trying through informal sessions and other means to discuss all aspects of a total test ban. It was in 1958 that the US, UK and USSR began to negotiate a CTB, but the trilateral talks were broken off by the US in 1979. Mr. Reagan in July announced that the US is not interested in resuming them at this point, which shocked the disarmament community, and even the UK. China and France have now announced that they would not participate in the multilateral CTB talks at this time. The UN has also encouraged a moratorium on testing, to no avail, pending conclusion of a formal treaty.

"Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament" is the second item on the CD agenda. This would include banning the use of nuclear weapons; a moratorium or freeze; prevention of nuclear war, etc. Again, the US has stubbornly refused to allow a Working Group on this item, saying it is a matter within the province of the nuclear powers alone. But the rest of the world feels very much victimized by the threat of nuclear war and the vast expenditures and resources consumed by the military buildup.

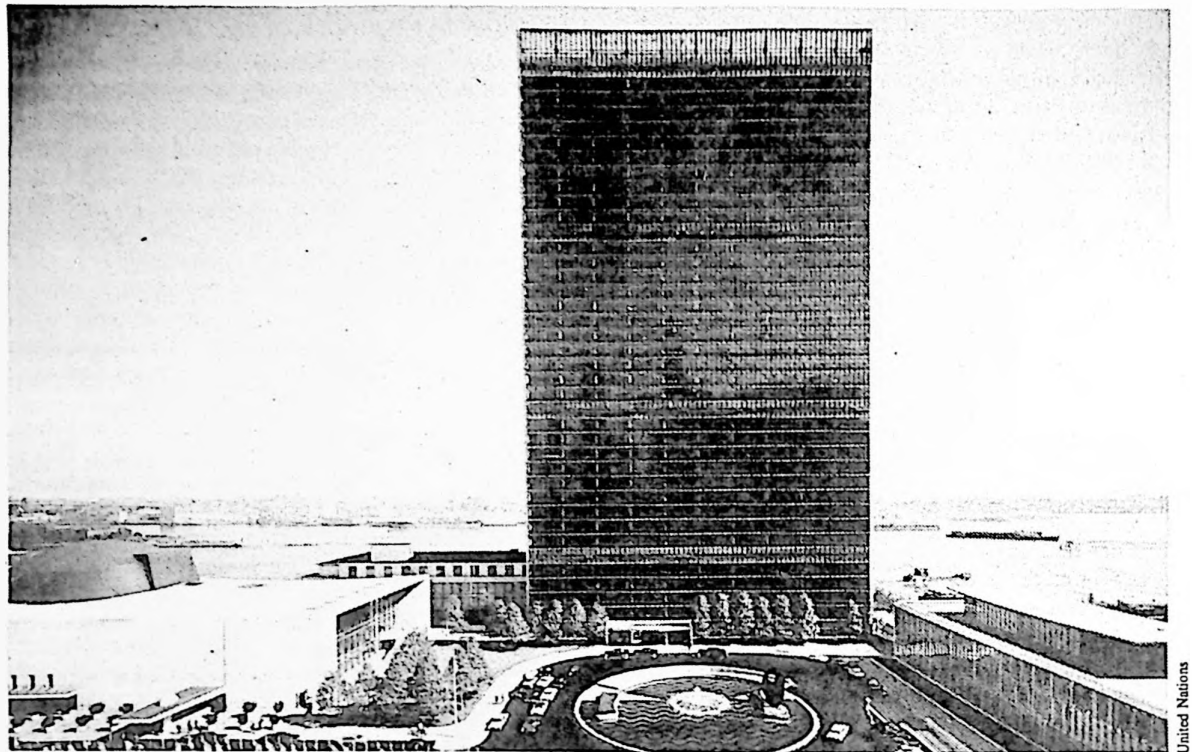
Item Three is "Effective International Arrangements to Assure Non-Nuclear-Weapons States against the Use or Threat of Use of Nuclear Weapons." After three and a half years of deliberations to achieve a joint declaration of such assurances, instead of their separate and conditional statements, the Pakistani chair of the Working Group declared that "further negotiations are unlikely to be fruitful so long as the nuclear weapons States do not exhibit a genuine political will to reach a satisfactory agreement." This issue has assumed new importance as former US officials urge the US to adopt the policy, and in view of the Soviets' unilateral pledge, following China's similar statement in 1964.

In Item Four, Chemical Weapons, a lot of work has been undertaken under the able Polish chairman on spelling out the elements of a treaty, such as its scope, definitions, declarations, the destruction of stockpiles, verification and consultation, but this is a complicated issue and a treaty is not expected soon. The USSR has submitted a draft. Meanwhile the 1925 Geneva Convention banning use remains in force.

Working Group 5 is drafting a Radiological Weapons Treaty. There are no such weapons at present (nuclear weapons were specifically excluded) but the Group is divided over whether to include the problem of attacks against nuclear facilities, producing at least a temporary stalemate.

Item Six is the long-sought Comprehensive Program for Disarmament (CPD). Under the inspired leadership of Alfonso Garcia Robles, this Working Group vainly tried to elaborate a CPD for adoption at SSD2. It was to have been the "centerpiece" of the SSD2. The Group of 21 (Non-Aligned) strongly favored the delineation of specific states and a time-frame, by which general and complete disarmament could have been achieved by the end of the century. But the US and Western bloc refused to allow the inclusion of a time-frame. The SSD2 made no progress, the Working Group has not met since, but resumes to try again in January.

Item Seven, a new one, is "Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space." A Soviet draft was laid before the CD. But squabbles as to whether all weapons should be banned or only anti-satellite systems as preferred by the US, prevented even the



United Nations

formation of a working group.

The 37th General Assembly tried to pick up the pieces scattered by the SSD2 and the standstill at the second 1982 session of the Committee on Disarmament. The First Committee, on which all states members of the UN are represented, had before it some 60 resolutions on disarmament. These are debated, voted upon and forwarded to the plenary for a final vote. Resolutions new this year include three on a nuclear freeze. The USSR introduced "Immediate Cessation and Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests" and "The Threat of Nuclear War and to Ensure the Safe Development of Nuclear Energy." Eastern European states submitted a resolution for a treaty banning the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space. The French proposed creation of an International Satellite Monitoring Agency.

It is notable that the UN General Assembly has proven more responsive to the US grassroots nuclear freeze movement than has the US government. Of the three Freeze resolutions debated and voted upon, one, introduced by India, calling for a multilateral freeze by all nuclear-weapons states, won 122 votes with 16 opposed and six abstentions. The USSR supported it, the US opposed it. Another Freeze resolution, proposed by Mexico and Sweden, calling for a bilateral freeze similar to the measure popular in the US, scored 119 votes to 17, with five abstentions. Again, the Soviets favored and the US opposed it.

The US was the only nation voting against negotiations for a treaty banning all weapons from outer space. The US again was the lone opponent of a resolution to prohibit *all* nuclear tests, which gained 111 votes with 35 abstentions. Two other nuclear weapons test bans opposed by the US won by 124-2-19 and 114-4-26. The latter was introduced by the Soviet Union. A measure to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons gained 103

adherents including the USSR, to 17 including the US. The US provided one of three abstentions on assurances to non-nuclear states, one of eleven abstentions on the international satellite monitoring agency, and one of only two abstentions on a study of nuclear free zones. The US voted against a no first use pledge, and a ban on development of neutron weapons. The vast majority of states supported these measures.

On two matters the US and USSR voted together. Both opposed banning the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. More happily, both joined the 129-0-0 vote adopting the World Disarmament Campaign.

About half the resolutions are adopted by consensus. But in the more controversial areas in which votes are taken, the percentage of measures supported by the Soviets was 84, and by the US, 16. Some measures are more feasible than others, but this is the most negative US record on disarmament in UN history. The US public ought to know. Yet few stories appeared in the mass media. *The New York Times* described the speech of the deputy chief of the US delegation, Kenneth Adelman, charging the Soviets with responsibility for the alleged use of chemical/toxin weapons in Indochina, Afghanistan and now, Ethiopia. A measure supported by the US, asking the Secretary General to conduct an investigation, was voted 63-20-31. But the article made no reference to the progress of the CD Working Group on a Chemical Weapons Treaty, or the Soviet draft, or the US decision to revive its production of chemical weapons, cancelled in 1969. Why are these important resolutions and votes seldom reported in the mainstream press? Why are citizens uninformed and uninvolved? Can it be because the Administration wants it that way, and the press can take a hint?

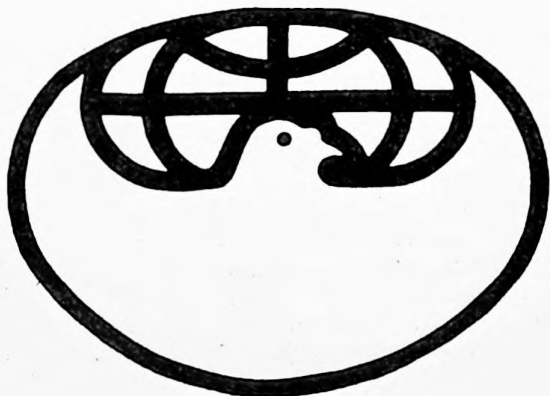
It is no secret that the UN does not enjoy great popularity in this country today. The first Secretary General from the Third World, Javier Perez de Cuellar, has opened a significant debate on the failure, especially of the major powers, to carry out

provisions of the Charter to which they are bound, making the UN system unworkable. There are good and bad reasons for declining respect even within the peace movement for the UN. The continuing crisis in the Middle East has eroded a major potential source of sympathetic support. The UN is a huge bureaucracy. It is still a sexist institution, within the secretariat and among the delegations. Only a gathering of governments, which may or may not represent their own people, the UN is unbalanced, with the vote of the Comoros as weighty as that of the US. The UN is repetitious rhetoric, resolutions without teeth, piles of paper, paralysis in emergency. Yet it is also our last best hope for peace on earth. It is spelling out the rights of abused native populations, of migrant workers, of poor and geographically disadvantaged countries, of women, of liberation movements. It administers a small but splendid development program. It is trying to protect the environment, stem desertification, abolish disease. It feeds starving children and harbors homeless refugees. It is elaborating a code of conduct for multinational corporations. It has staved off war and bloodshed while more permanent solutions to conflict are worked out. A strange thing happens to nations on the way to the world forum: they put their best foot forward. There is an unwritten understanding that the UN, though a political debating club, requires of its members a moral commitment.

Everyone knows that international cooperation is essential on this small planet. Most of our major crises are global and can only be solved globally. The UN is the only potential counter to the power of giant nations and giant corporations. If we give it the ability to bring disarmament and prevent war, as only a global organization can do, we will have inflicted a telling blow on the power of the military-industrial complex to program our lives and deaths. Though operating on a starvation budget, the UN is the only viable alternative to an endless arms race and ultimate nuclear oblivion.

The pathetic inability of the Reagan Administration in its arrogance and ignorance, to accept the rightful responsibilities and opportunities and challenges of UN membership is a tragedy immeasurable in human terms.

NGOs are increasingly involved with the functioning of the UN, helping to keep it democratic, helping it carry out the humanitarian vision with which it was born. People must see that their governments give it its due — and its dues — so it may fulfill its ultimate purpose and “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” □



Strange Picture?

The January 24, 1983 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* has a story about Soviet media coverage of life in the United States. This appears under a lurid title: “STRANGE PICTURE OF U.S. THAT THE KREMLIN CONCOCTS.”

Truly, it is a strange concoction that *U.S. News* pictures. We are told that Soviet publications claim all Americans are “liars, racists and bullies who respect only strength.” Anything Soviet writers say about US rulers, or right-wing forces, appears here as directed against “all Americans.” *U.S. News* mournfully notes that Soviet media reprint articles from US publications, getting their information from that source. “‘What is really difficult for us,’ says one Russian, ‘is when the American press says the same thing about America as our press does.’” So much for distortion!

There are very few actual examples of Soviet press coverage of the US in the article. One example given, however, is this *Krokodil* cartoon (the caption is by *U.S. News*):



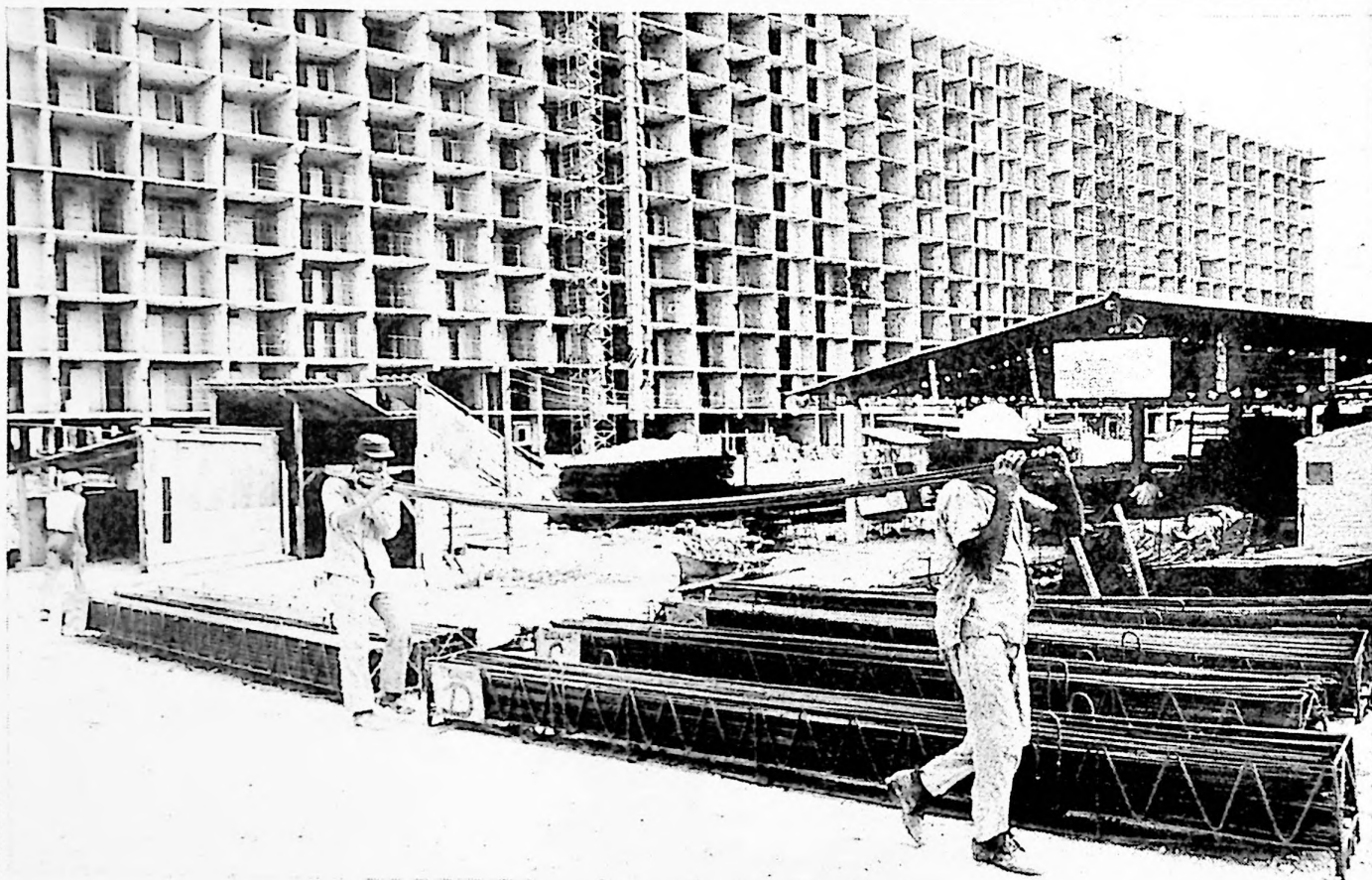
According to Soviet cartoon, U.S. Pentagon grabs bulk of funds for armaments, leaving nothing for social-welfare programs.

Oh, what willful distortion! For shame! How can these “Russians” imply that under Reagan military spending is increasing, while welfare programs are being cut! Have they no shame, no sense of reality? Imagine these poor “Russian” children, who are probably being told, as you read this, that in the US food stamp programs are being cut back, that french fries and ketchup now rank as vegetables, that parents in Staten Island, N.Y. demonstrated against cuts in their children’s bus fare allowances, and even that there are over ten million workers unemployed. What will the Kremlin think of next?

DAVID LAIBMAN

TOM ANGOTTI

New Directions in Cuban Housing



Prensa Latina

The Cuban Revolution has made significant progress in solving some of the most serious problems of underdevelopment, particularly in the fields of education and health. In these two areas, Cuba ranks with the advanced industrialized nations in its standards and achievements. Progress in housing and urban development, however, has been less dramatic, since this has not been as great a national priority over the last two decades. Thus, many of the legacies of poor housing from prerevolutionary Cuba still exist.

This situation, however, is changing. After having put large portions of the social surplus into health and education, Cuba is now directing more and more resources into solving its housing problems. Greater attention is being paid to the comprehensive planning and development of cities. The first two five-year plans (1976-80 and 1981-85) call for large increases in housing construction and the rehabilitation of the existing urban infrastructure.

In the process of solving problems from the past, however, a TOM ANGOTTI recently led a specialized tour on housing and planning in Cuba. The author wishes to acknowledge the help of Jill Hamburg and Juan Martin, who reviewed a draft of this article.

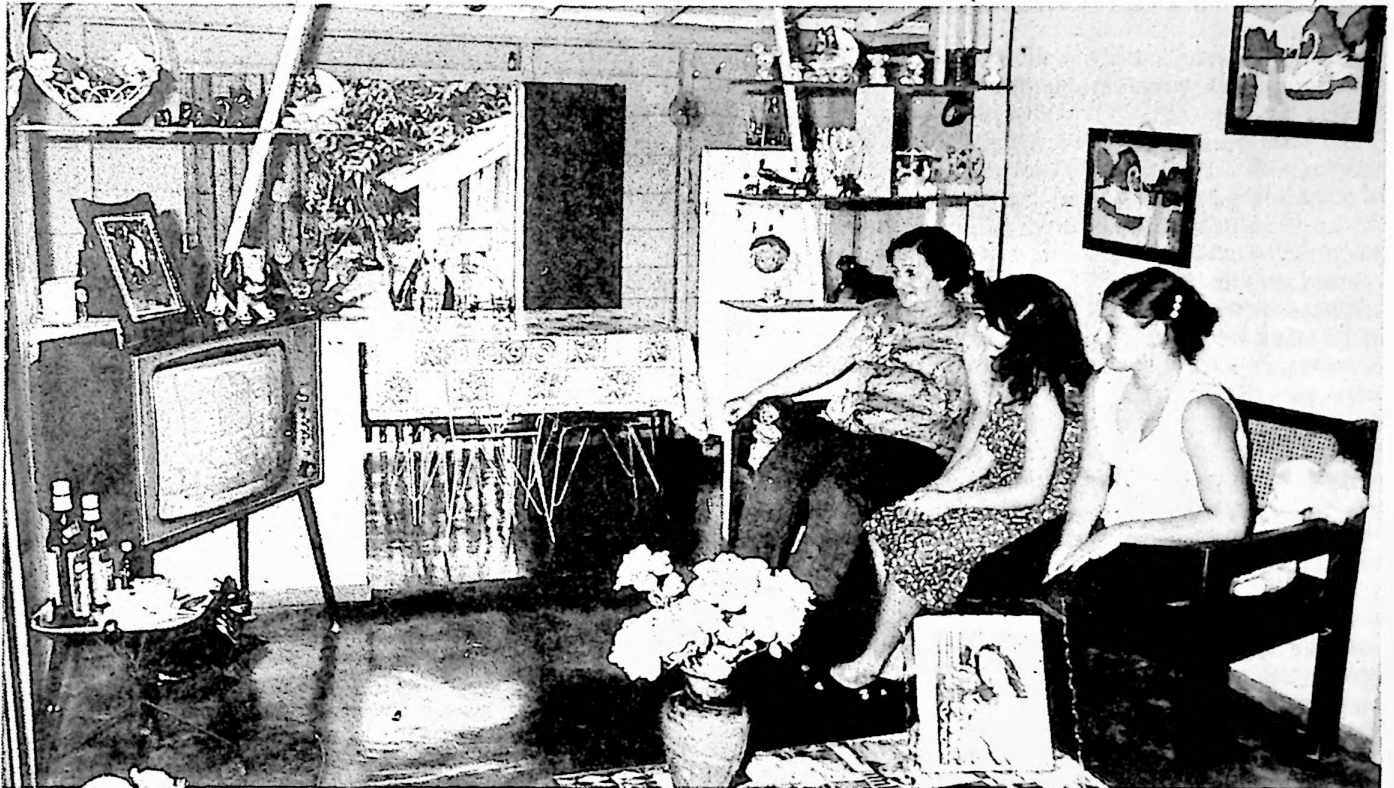
whole *new* set of housing and urban needs has arisen, created by the very rapid pace of economic development itself. Cuba must now confront not only the legacy of past underdevelopment, but also the burgeoning new needs resulting from the dramatic increase in the overall standard of living of the Cuban population. As the standard of living improves, vast new housing needs emerge.

Despite the fact that housing was not among the top priorities in the early stages of the Revolution, Cuba still stands out among the underdeveloped nations for having already solved the most acute problems of housing and instituted the most radical urban reforms in all of Latin America. There are no shantytowns or squatter settlements. There are no landlords or eviction. Speculation, housing abandonment and displacement of neighborhoods are things of the past (where urban renewal occurs, everyone displaced is guaranteed new, low-cost housing). In no case does housing cost exceed 10 per cent of family income, and in most cases it is far less. The socialist revolution has elimi-

(Continued on page 14)

— HOWARD L. PARSONS —

Socialist Cuba — Bright Hope of Human Betterment



On the morning of May 14, 1982 six US philosophers set off from the Newburgh, New York airport for Havana to spend a week with Cuban philosophers and to learn about the life and thought of the people of socialist Cuba. Until the last few days before our departure, it was uncertain whether our flight would be allowed, and the day after we left the Reagan administration imposed a ban, probably unconstitutional, on all commercial and tourist flights to Cuba, excepting "scholarly" and "educational" trips.

Flying down the northern coast of Cuba, we could see the green palms and then the tankers in the Bay — another world only 90 miles south of our own land, so near and yet so far! Down there was the only socialist country in the Western hemisphere. At the airport, we, like all passengers, were greeted in the sunshine by welcome signs in Spanish, French, Russian and English. And there, in the reception room, were our cordial

hosts: Professors Dr. Wilfredo Torres Iribar and Dr. Antonio Díaz Ruiz, president and director of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba, respectively; Professor Dr. Arnaldo Silva León of the Higher School of the Communist Party of Cuba; and Ariel Ricardo Amores of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During our stay, in addition to our meetings with Cuban philosophers, we observed several aspects of Cuban life through visits to a factory, museums, a folkloric event, a scientific institute, a hospital, and — of course — the beach. Of special interest were our discussions concerning the educational system, and our meeting with members of one of the neighborhood Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

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Progress does not come easily. It takes work, struggle and sacrifice. This is the lesson we took from the Museo de la Alfabetización (Museum of the Literacy Campaign). There we learned that in 1961, 707,000 children and adults were taught to read and write. Today, with an illiteracy rate of 3.9 per cent, Cuba is the most literate of all Latin American nations. This mighty feat was accomplished by thousands of young volun-

(Continued on page 16)

Housing (Continued from page 12)

nated the control of banks and landlords over housing. Housing is a social service and not a commodity that can be used to produce profit.

Cuba is also the only country in Latin America in which wide differences in the growth rates of the major cities have been narrowed, and the distinctions between life in the city and countryside have lessened. The process of capitalist development throughout Latin America has spurred large-scale migration to the capital cities, which are bloated with unemployed labor living in slum conditions, while the countryside remains impoverished and agricultural production for local consumption declines. We need only look at nearby Mexico, where the sprawling, chaotic development of Mexico City — now approaching a population of 15 million — dwarfs the other cities and towns, and widens inequalities between rural and urban centers.

In Cuba, the capital city is actually shrinking in proportion to the other cities. While in 1959 Havana accounted for 21 per cent of Cuba's population, by 1981 the proportion had declined to 19.8 per cent. Over the last decade, Havana grew by only 7.7 per cent (less than one per cent a year) while the provincial capitals grew an average 17.3 per cent.

Once the drive for profit and capital accumulation is removed as the motor force of the economy, the movement of population is no longer a function of the movement of capital. National urban growth reflects instead the process of planned economic development and the growth in the productive forces. Production is increased throughout the land and the benefits distributed in accordance with national priorities. And since private land ownership no longer exists, cities and systems of cities can be planned in a more conscious fashion according to the scientific principles of urban planning.

Despite the lag in attention to housing, the rate of new housing construction in Cuba has increased steadily since 1959, and today approaches four times the rate prior to the Revolution. Also, practically all the new urban housing built before 1959 was for the wealthy and middle class, while today both urban and rural workers receive the lion's share.

In addition, as of 1975, 335 new rural communities were built, housing a total population of approximately 140,000. These communities provide modern housing and basic urban services to agricultural workers at no cost to the occupants. They are pioneering in establishment of the highest urban standards for housing in rural areas with significant concentrations of labor located at long distances from existing cities.

The first qualitative advances in Cuban housing were made in the national democratic stage of the Revolution, between 1959 and 1961, a period ending with the declaration of the socialist character of the Cuban Revolution on April 16, 1961, shortly after the defeat of the CIA-backed invasion at the Bay of Pigs. This was the period in which the two main urban reform laws were passed. These laws basically fulfilled the goals of the Moncada Program, outlined in Fidel's *History Will Absolve Me*.

The first urban reform law (1959) cut rents in half, prohibited evictions for non-payment of rent, and required the sale of vacant lots or their immediate development, thus ending real estate speculation. The second law (1960) made housing a social service, abolished landlords and eliminated rent (no household would pay more than 10 per cent of their income for housing; payments went towards the amortization of the dwell-

ing units over a period of 5 to 20 years). As a result of this law, about 80 per cent of Cuban households own their own dwellings today (and can pass them on from one generation to the next).

The second qualitative leap in Cuban housing occurred after a decade of experimentation with various different types of housing and systems of construction. This was the establishment of the microbrigade system in 1970. Microbrigades are construction teams formed by individual enterprises, which build housing with materials and technical assistance from the Ministry of Construction, while their comrades at the workplace agree to augment production to make up for the time lost by the brigade workers. The microbrigade system is therefore a mechanism for combining government resources with the initiative of workers at the enterprise level.

Given the emphasis of the national planning process on agricultural modernization and the development of an industrial base, the microbrigades were, and still are, a useful means of filling a gap in housing production that cannot be fully met by direct government building. Today, a substantial proportion of new housing is built by microbrigades, and this is likely to continue to be the case in the immediate future. However, the experience of the microbrigade workers is laying the basis for the growth of a skilled construction labor force that in the future will be available for integration into the somewhat more efficient government construction crews.

The above summary of accomplishments in Cuban housing highlights some of the remarkable gains that have been made in the last two decades — gains that were made even though Cuba has just begun to give priority attention to housing and city planning. The 1980s promise to be a decade of new breakthroughs in this area of development.

The second five-year plan established a goal of producing 200,000 housing units by 1986. This goal, to be achieved by stepping up the number of factories producing prefabricated elements, is about three times the current capacity.

Cuba is a pioneer in the development of industrialized housing techniques in Latin America. Five major prefabrication systems have been imported, mostly from other socialist countries, and seven systems developed within Cuba. Currently a total of 52 factories have been established, with a total capacity of 35,000 units per year.

Despite the relatively steady growth in production capacity, however, in the past a number of unforeseen factors have limited the actual performance of housing construction. Not the least important of these has been the decline in the price of sugar on the world market, which reduced the amount of foreign exchange available for the purchase of those imported building materials Cuba still relies on. (About 20 per cent of Cuba's foreign trade is with the capitalist world market, and it is this trade which is susceptible to crises in the market and sharp changes in prices.) While the prefabricated systems mostly rely on local building materials, there are still a number of components that must be imported due to Cuba's limited natural resources (such as wood, for example). However, the current policy is that housing be among the last sectors of the economy to suffer from diminished imports, given its priority as established in the five-year development plan.

Of course, housing policy entails much more than simply producing more housing units. Cuba is clearly on the way towards achieving the quantitative goals that have been set,

although constant adjustments have to be made in accordance with the overall performance of the economy. Housing policy must also address the rapidly changing housing needs of the Cuban population. This is its qualitative aspect. The structure and type of new housing must correspond to the new needs that have been generated by the rapid increase in the standard of living in Cuba.

The following sections briefly outline some of the new directions in housing policy arising from the qualitative changes in Cuban society over the last two decades. In general, housing specialists consider three main factors for defining housing needs: 1) replacement of substandard units; 2) elimination of crowding; and 3) housing for newly formed households. These three categories will be used to assess Cuba's housing policies.

1) *Replacement of Substandard Units.* Much of the existing housing that cannot be efficiently renovated is in rural areas and was built before 1959. At the present time, replacement and improvement of rural housing depends mostly on the initiative of individuals, who build and renovate with material assistance and technical aid from the government (probably over one-third of all construction in the country is self-built). However, individual small-scale construction is much less efficient, and is therefore useful only as a stopgap measure until industrialized methods can be more widely used. Policies to further aid self-built housing are currently under consideration.

There are still, however, large portions of the urban housing stock that need replacement or major rehabilitation. With the large-scale construction of modern neighborhoods (such as Alamar in Havana and Jose Martí in Santiago), the poor conditions in prerevolutionary neighborhoods have become more pronounced. According to a recent survey, for example, 29 per cent of all the housing units in Havana are in poor condition. Also, because Havana continues to serve as a national political and cultural center, the concentration there of professional and technical cadre (who generally have smaller families) means a need for more housing units of smaller size.

A number of urban renewal programs begun in recent years have made inroads in the rehabilitation of old neighborhoods in Havana and other cities. However, the complexities of carrying out major construction projects in developed urban areas — including the renovation of physical and social services, clearance and demolition, relocation of the population in adequate housing — necessarily limit the rate at which new units can replace the old ones. Also, the renewal programs usually do not result in major increases in the number of housing units in the old neighborhoods, so they are of limited value in solving the problem of housing supply.

2) *Elimination of Crowding.* The main problem with the size of new housing units (in terms of interior space) is their relative inflexibility: the overwhelming majority of new units have two bedrooms. This is quite adequate for the average Cuban household, which now numbers between three and four persons, especially considering the fact that the standard of interior space used in Cuba ranks among the highest in the world. (As a result of the increased standard of living, the average household size has shrunk from about five at the time of the Revolution.)

The average household size, however, conceals wide variations. For large families, the available space in new units is therefore not adequate. This is more a problem in the provinces than in the larger cities, where families tend to be somewhat smaller.

The three-generation household still plays an important role

in Cuban society. Even though child care facilities are expanding, they are not growing as fast as women are being integrated into the workforce. This creates an important social role for grandparents who can take care of the children of young working couples. This role is further enhanced by the increased life expectancy in Cuba and establishment of pension benefits for all retired people.

Housing units are therefore needed to accommodate large families, including the three-generation families; smaller units for the elderly in existing complexes would serve a similar function. Housing policy in the 1980s is thus geared towards increasing the number of three- and four-bedroom units, and the number of one-bedroom units.

3) *Housing for Newly Formed Households.* Even more significant than the larger household phenomenon, however, is the dramatic increase of one- and two-person households — and the need for smaller dwellings. The shrinking family size in Cuba is a result of the rapid decline in the birth rate (from 28.3 per 1000 in 1953 to 14.7 per 1000 in 1979), itself a reflection of the overall improvement in the standard of living. But it is also due to the progressive social policies of the Cuban Revolution, particularly those regarding the role of women in society.

The Cuban Constitution establishes that "Women have the same rights as men in the economic, political and social fields as well as in the family." Part of implementing this is the integration of women into the labor force. In 1979, women made up 31 per cent of the total force. While this is not as high a proportion as in the more developed socialist countries, it reflects a dramatic shift from almost no participation before 1959; the number of women workers is growing at three to four times the rate of men.

The effect of women entering the labor force is that many of the traditional relations between men and women are becoming outmoded. Women are having fewer children, a process facilitated by the availability of free birth control information and contraceptives. Divorce is relatively simple and easy to obtain, and is one of the possible outcomes of the ideological struggle against "machismo," led by the Cuban Federation of Women. The struggle against sexism may therefore entail the breaking up of relationships established on the basis of male superiority. Cuba today has the third highest divorce rate in the world.*

All of these changes contribute to the decline in the birth rate. The ultimate effect of this phenomenon is that Cuba will soon be faced with a labor shortage rather than a surplus — as are the developed socialist countries. Already, the 1981 census results show a drastic decline in the proportion of the population under 17 years of age. In 1970, this age group accounted for 40.5 per cent of the population, and in 1981 it was only 35 per cent. At the same time, the decline in the mortality rate (today, average life expectancy is 73 years, which places Cuba in the ranks of the advanced industrialized nations) has expanded the ranks of the elderly.

These changes in the structure of the population — integration of women into the labor force, decline in the birth rate, increase in the divorce rate, and increase in life expectancy —

* There are actually three other factors influencing the divorce rate: 1) The availability of universal, free children's services which takes much of the burden of child care off the single parent; 2) The decline in the marriage age, due to the fact that there is practically no youth unemployment and two wage earners can easily manage; and 3) the extent to which new housing is available. So we can see that even as new housing gets built, it brings forth the need to build even more housing!

have altered the type of housing needed in the coming years. In the future, the needs for more one-person units for students, single workers and the elderly will increase. At the same time, larger units will also be needed to accommodate the three-generation household, at least in the short run.

The precise dimensions of the future needs are as yet not known. The demographic situation is changing so rapidly that planners are always in the process of catching up with the trends. Every qualitative leap forward in the development process has a profound effect on social relations and the needs for goods and services.

There are a whole array of other issues that are being tackled by the policymakers as they project future housing needs. Studies underway in the Ministry of Construction are evaluating peoples' reactions to high-rise versus low-rise housing, different densities, the use of open space, etc. New technologies are being explored, including the use of solar energy. The informal housing exchange market (the "permuta") and the sector of self-built housing are being studied for possible changes in

Human Betterment

(Continued from page 13)

teers, some trained as teachers and others not owning even an intermediate education, many only 11 or 12 years old, who set forth into the mountains and braved swamps, drowning, disease, accident and murder to carry out the call of the Revolution. The slogan of the Literacy Campaign was: "If you know, teach; if not, learn." Young volunteers were given brief training and books of practical significance were used in the teaching: *The Land is Ours*, *Nationalization*, *Revolution Converts Army Barracks into Schools*, *The Right to Housing*, and *Racial Discrimination*. UNESCO subsequently issued a report on the methods used in Cuba to eliminate illiteracy.

At the Museum we read some of the more than 7,000 letters written by the students, often in crabbed hand, to testify proudly to their new abilities; the oldest, a former slave, was 107. The Literacy Campaign was followed by the extensive creation of courses and schools to train workers and lift the cultural level. Cuban teachers are also at work in developing countries where Spanish and Portuguese are spoken — Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Nicaragua among others.

For a glimpse into current education, we toured a new exhibition, *Educación 82*, which had attracted half a million people in four months. Most of the visitors appeared to be students themselves, enjoying the spectacle. Cuban students study through the 12th grade, or at age 15 enter into technical or professional studies. After two years of work a technical student may apply for entrance into a university. We viewed exhibits showing students' work done in scientific and technical clubs — machinery of various kinds, a centrifuge, a device to enable the deaf to hear, art work in progress, etc. There we also learned that the greatest part of the national budget is spent on education. This is the "enslaved" Cuba as pictured by our "free" media in the US?

We were received by the Minister of Education, Jose R. Fernández, at his offices. Fernández, a tall, rangy, rugged man with piercing blue eyes and a quick, friendly smile, had been an officer in the Cuban navy before the Revolution, and even

government regulations.

As Cuba's industrialization proceeds, new housing is being planned to complement the expansion of industry throughout the island. As rural development occurs, more attention will also be paid to the development of small towns around rural-based industries, the agricultural cooperatives and state-owned farms.

Housing development in each local area is part of the comprehensive urban plan (all major cities now have master plans). Since there is no real estate industry, the master plans are generally observed. As with every aspect of development in Cuba, policies are established in the most conscious manner and guided according to the principles established through the central planning process, which is an open and highly democratic one involving debates and discussion at various different levels. In a country still struggling with the legacy of underdevelopment, there are of course limitations to the extent that human consciousness can impact social reality.

The Cuban approach to housing and planning problems, however, is probably best summed up in the sign outside the Havana city planning office. It is a quote from Fidel, stating: "Principles are not negotiable." □

studied for a time at Annapolis. During the Revolution he led an insurrection in the navy, and when President Kennedy, following the prepared plan of the CIA, sent mercenary troops into the *Playa Girón* on April 17, 1961, Comandante Fernández led the patriots in smashing the invasion within 72 hours.

He gave us all the vital statistics: 3,300,000 out of a 1981 population of 9,700,000 enrolled in school; 56 per cent of school-age children enrolled in 1956 and nearly 100 per cent in 1981; 7 per cent of all students enrolled in secondary school in 1959-60 and 42 per cent in 1981-82; an increase in the percentage of students enrolled in higher education from 2.2 to 7 per cent during the same period, and an increase in secondary school graduates from 4,653 to 276,543.

The Minister, who also serves as vice president of the State Council, observed the limitations under which education must labor, the "inherited inequalities" of a developing country which suffered, like many others, from centuries of imperialist and colonial oppression. Cuba spends 154 pesos per year on the education of each person (a peso equals \$1.20). That is more than the \$14 spent in the very poor countries in Africa and the \$40 to \$50 spent in the developing countries of Latin America, he observed. But the US and other developed nations spend about \$500.

Some 600,000 students, he continued, are in boarding schools and all costs, including transportation, are covered by society. Day care centers are available only to working mothers, who pay a fee, as the centers provide food, clothes and special care (there is one worker for each 3.5 children) and are expensive.

The prime aim is to democratize education and make it effective in life, Minister Fernández said. "We must not have a privileged intellectual class looking down on others. We are trying to reduce the abyss between workers in different industries. Pupils work in the citrus, tobacco and mining industries, for example. This is not hard work, and they learn to respect laborers while they are producing some goods. Yet we are not

aiming at a mentality of consumption or material richness.”

To learn how grassroots democracy (*Poder Popular*) actually works in socialist Cuba, we had a long evening session with about 20 members of a *Comité de Defensa de la Revolución*, CDR no. 57. Made up of *Cederistas* by blocks in the cities and by villages in the countryside, the Committees were organized as vigilance groups early in the Revolution when the country was endangered by counterrevolutionary attacks. In fact, when bombs were exploded by the opposition, Fidel proposed on September 28, 1960 that the Committees be set up, and one million people joined them. Countries like Yemen, Ethiopia and Nicaragua have followed the model. In the beginning the Committees, which were entirely voluntary, controlled common crimes and were thought to be temporary, but in time they turned out to be an effective means of democratic problem-solving. As the members of each Committee personally knew their neighbors, the neighbors trusted them with control. The Committee carried out tasks for the support of the Revolution and conveyed vital information to the people. Now the CDRs have almost 5.5 million members, or four out of five adults over the age of 14. This is a level of participation one expects in capitalist countries only during a wartime siege. All work done by the CDRs is voluntary and without pay.

The Committees are democratic; at the block level residents by majority vote elect at least three men and three women to the executive which serves for two and one-half years. The executive meets at least once a month, and once a month it has a meeting with all members on the block.

The disciplinary organs of the state deal with serious problems. The role of the CDRs is local and preventive. The members inform the people when children are to be vaccinated, appeal for blood donations, and organize the saving of scarce materials and the collection of garbage and trash. During the battle against dengue — (according to Fidel, “without a doubt introduced in our country by the imperialists”) — the CDRs explained sanitary and other measures for avoiding the disease. The Pap test is made available to women over 30. Recently hospitalized, one *Cederista* told us that the blood she received was donated by her neighbors. Another said that when she had her baby all her neighbors visited her, because “a child is part of the neighborhood family.”

At the neighborhood playground and park all children are taken care of by adults who have free time while mothers are at work, and they try to instruct the children when they behave improperly. For example, the park is used by disabled children, whose handicaps are thought by some others to be contagious, and the adults have explained to them the causes of the disabilities and the equality of all children.

If a neighbor throws garbage in the street, the CDR will talk with him and if necessary assess a fine. Said one of the *Cederistas*, “When I was in Caracas, I saw a car kill a pedestrian, and the police just stood there, and no one helped. It is not so here. The spirit of solidarity among us is very great.”

The CDRs sponsor contests for essays about the history of certain national holidays, such as January 1, Independence Day; January 28, 1983, the 130th anniversary of the birth of José Martí; July 24, 1983, the 200th anniversary of Simon Bolívar's birth.

Our friends did not mention their struggle against polio and

their blood donation drives. Nor did they describe the CDRs' participation in other projects: the clearing of land; harvesting sugar cane; reconstruction of a thermoelectric plant, hospital, dairy complex and stadiums; the construction of housing; upkeep, renovation and repair of homes and schools; landscaping and gardening; recruitment of teachers; and dealing with local delinquency and crime.

Ideological work is concentrated in a block meeting that analyzes literature of a political nature, such as speeches of leaders like Fidel. In study circles, members of the block are able to ask questions, to express doubts and to request answers. Propaganda is placed at certain places on the block and questions about it are collected. If a delegate from *Poder Popular* goes to the municipal government or elsewhere with a question, he comes back with an answer. Members of the CDR can ask any question or state anything to their delegate.

The CDR belongs to zone 50, which together with zone 49 makes up one constituency with 400 voters (out of 1,800 people). In an assembly at which voters elect a presiding officer and a secretary, voters propose as many as eight nominees for one position in the municipal assembly. Bulletin boards display the biographies and photos of the candidates. Voting is voluntary; 98 per cent participated in the last election. Pioneers guard the ballot box, observers can watch the counting of ballots, and within two hours the results are known.

The municipal assembly in turn elects four delegates to the national assembly, where there is a deputy for every 20,000 people. (Fidel himself is elected initially by his constituency.)

The constituency's delegate must give his or her attention to any voter at any time and place. He continues with his regular job. “Today,” the present delegate told us, “I had to be at the place where I appear every week — at the CDR room, waiting for voters. Every four months we must convene an assembly of the constituency's voters, where the delegate must render an account of how he or she has solved the problems of the people. The voters express criticisms and make proposals. The delegate takes these to the municipal government and defends them. I've worked for six years; some delegates have been recalled for their failures. We get no released time from our jobs.”

We asked what voters complained about. “Transportation, the water station, vehicles that dangerously run across water pipes, the expansion of a school building, a cafe, TV repairs, laundries — altogether 1,600 complaints!” the delegate responded. “The municipality is charged with authority and responsibility over education, health, streets, trade, food, services and repairs within its boundaries.”

If the municipal government does not fulfill its duties, he said, the Party takes up the matter, and if the municipal government, which includes Party members, does not take heed, the Party goes over its head and takes measures to correct the problem. Many national bodies are not subordinate to the Party, and so the help of the National Assembly is needed. Also, the members of the Party can convene a meeting of their workers in a particular municipality to try to solve the problem. But, he noted, of the 47 delegates in this municipality, only seven are salaried professionals, i.e. Party functionaries.

We did not have a chance to visit the *Federación de Mujeres Cubanas*, one of the most powerful and productive organizations in the nation, with more than two million members. But we were told that 97 per cent of the women in this block belong to it. Among other things, it is dedicated to liberating women from

(Continued on page 31)

Miles Away, But Poles Apart



Novosti Press Agency

I think that if there had been no October Revolution, we Chukchi would simply have died out. Except, perhaps, for a mere handful, provided they could fence themselves off from the "civilization" of the so-called "free world" which condemns them to mental degradation and to sure, if slow extinction.

The American Little Diomed Island is less than three miles from the Chukotka Peninsula, but the distance that separates our Chukchi and its Eskimo socially, economically and culturally is immeasurable.

One hundred thirty-seven people live on that tiny piece of land. They hunt, fish and make souvenirs, and are totally dependent on wholesale dealers who pay them a pittance which just lets them keep body and soul together. I have seen their stone-walled dugouts window-deep in frozen ground. Our people once lived in such dugouts but now they are no more than architectural relics in our country. There are two civil servants on the island — a male assistant teacher (an Eskimo, for there are no white aspirants for this job) and a female school-cleaner.

Not only has capitalism given this small community none of the educational or health facilities, cultural values or amenities of everyday life that any working person is entitled to in a really free country, but it has robbed the Eskimos intellectually and perverted their culture.

Even this handful has produced its own capitalists addicted to profit-making through exploiting and cheating their fellow tribesmen and sometimes even their own relatives. It is money which rules supreme. I once stayed with a local "businessman" on St. Lawrence Island, less than 30 miles from our Providence Bay. His fondest dream was to get hold of all the retail trade on St. Lawrence. Next door to him Rultyna, a very old woman, lived in a dugout. For light she used a fat-burner, the like of which we cannot find in our country even to place in a museum. There are about a score of capitalists among forty thousand Eskimos, but hundreds, indeed thousands like Rultyna.

Dwight Mylygrok, a bone-cutter from Little Diomed Island, told me that he loved to listen to Soviet radio, picking up Eskimo-language broadcasts from Anadyr. "What do you like

specially about these broadcasts?" I asked him. "Your radio says a lot about working people, about the way they compete to outdo each other in their work, and about the awards they get," the old man replied.

With that in mind, I feel somewhat different when I thumb through the latest issues of *Sovetskaya Chukotka*, a newspaper published in Anadyr. I found particularly interesting a story about Natalya Yetgeut, a graduate of the Ola Technical Farm College, both at work and in her capacity as a public figure, and about her husband Alexey Chaina, a senior shepherd. In the same paper, I read about the fine folk dance company of the regional community center and the new program they presented, consisting of Moldavian, Tatar, Russian, Chukcha, Kuban and Transcarpathian dances.

I also read a feature story about a remarkable man, veteran reindeer-breeder Alexander Karaugye. In his childhood he learned from his uncle how to drive a dog-cart, chase and catch stray deer and start a fire with a single match. He studied at a local vocational school and then at the Blagoveshchensk Agricultural College. Today Alexander Karaugye, a Communist, is senior zootechnician at one of the foremost reindeer-breeding state farms of Providence. Or take this announcement by the Anadyr Teachers' Training College: "Natives have full board and lodging provided for them by the state. Those making effective progress receive scholarship grants."

For us this is as common a thing as the air we breathe; over there, in foreign lands, people are barred even from the most sacred right — the right to work.

Since oil was struck in Alaska, the Eskimo lands have been purchased for a song. Now, the rivers, the coast and the Sea of Beaufort with its fish, seals and whales are being polluted, and the Eskimos are being robbed of their livelihood. The Reagan administration has eliminated even the few safety regulations and pollution controls that existed in America's Arctic zones.

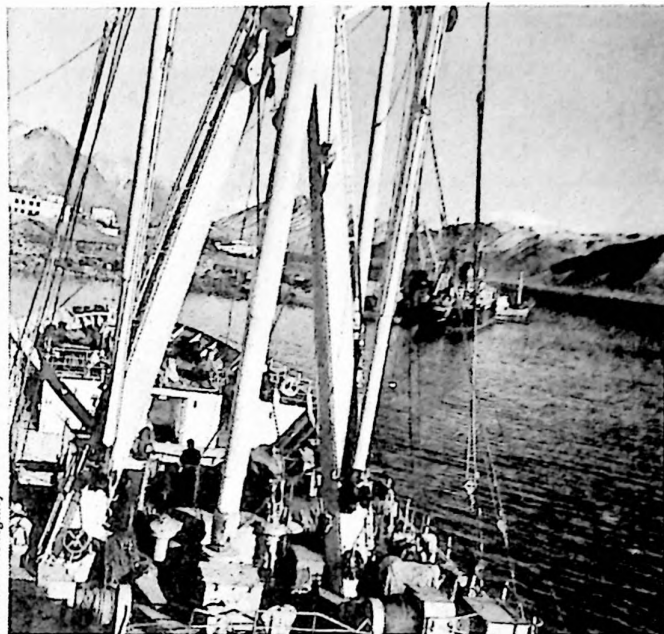
We have special legislation in the USSR to protect and regulate the condition of reindeer grazing grounds, seal and walrus rookeries and birds' nests. These laws are effective: I have seen with my own eyes how walruses returned to the rookeries they were believed to have deserted back in my grandfather's days.

As for the supposed "increased employment opportunities" for the local population in Alaska, the only Eskimo I saw working for the Alaska oil pipeline project was a laundress.

In Alaska just as elsewhere in the world, there are some community organizations fighting for environmental protection and human rights for the Eskimos. When I looked through the first few textbooks in the native language, published quite recently, I found them to be mainly somewhat revised versions of Soviet texts prepared by Yekaterina Rubtsova, one of the first Russian teachers in Chukotka, who worked at Ureliki.



TASS from Sovfoto



Novosti Press Agency

The harbor at Providence Bay

Eskimo newspaper is published in English. An Eskimo woman, Jenny Alowa, has finally earned her teacher's diploma, but there is no job open for her since the education of ethnic minorities is under full control of the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Ever since Soviet power was established our economic and social policy has been framed in such a way as to bring the outlying regions of old Russia inhabited by national minorities up to the development level of the central regions as quickly as possible. This has been successfully accomplished. Here a key role was played by close cooperation among all the nations of the country and most of all by the help we received from the Russian people. "Comrades, there are no backward ethnic outskirts today," Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

My own life and the lives of other Chukchi people illustrate this point. I come from Uelen, from a family of ancestral hunters. My sister, Galya, is a zoologist now working in Chukotka. I wished to become a teacher and so I enrolled at the Herzen Institute of Education in Leningrad. In our country one can sometimes achieve much more than one has ever dreamed of. A woman who graduated in the same year as I did, Vera Analkvasak, is working in Anadyr, writing textbooks for Eskimo schools, which might well be good enough for our brothers across the sea. A Chukcha, Pyotr Inenlikei, is a Ph.D. in philology. He has prepared for publication the largest-ever dictionary of the Chukcha language. I began by translating works by Russian and Soviet writers into my native tongue back in the fifties. In 1952, I offered my first few stories to the editors of *Novy Mir* magazine, which published them. Alexander Tvardovsky was my first teacher in literature. Since then, I have had about thirty books published in a total of more than seven million copies, in seventeen languages not counting those of the USSR.

Now, since they are published and translated, that means that my books, dealing with the life and culture, the past and present of my Chukchi people, are of interest to somebody.

Can one be happier?

□

Nuclear Omnicide: Moral Imperatives for Human Survival



The following is adapted from a talk to be delivered at the XVIIth World Congress of Philosophy, Montreal, Canada, August 21-27, 1983. Dr. Somerville is co-chair of the International Colloquium on Problems of World Peace, which will take place at that congress.

John Somerville is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the City University of New York, and author of numerous books, the most recent being *Soviet Marxism and Nuclear War* (Greenwood Press, 1981). He has long been associated with the intercultural projects of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

In the UNESCO project called Philosophical Analysis of Current Ideological Conflicts there is set down as part of its "central aim" to clarify, in relation to such conflicts, "the divergencies of usage and interpretation; to analyze the normative foundations of these divergencies; and to search for potential sources of reconciliation." In this connection it is emphasized "that all possibilities of reconciliation should be discussed in an unbiased manner before a particular disagreement is judged basic and irreducible." This approach is a positive rather than a negative one. It stresses actual and potential agreements rather than differences, and commendation of respective achievements rather than condemnation of respective shortcomings. It does not fail to recognize shortcomings, but it also recognizes that a constant dwelling upon the sins of our neighbors—and no culture, nation or regime is without mistakes, sins, shortcomings, imperfections, absurdities and inconsistencies—is neither conducive to peaceful relations with them nor to wholesome morality in ourselves.

At the same time the United Nations, at the very founding of

the organization, was forced to draw a certain line. Nazism-Fascism was the only ideology explicitly excluded from the area of mutual acceptability among the member states, which otherwise represent the greatest possible diversity. This is not because it was presumed that the others were without sin, but because there is one sin which will not allow for the possibility of world peace: the deliberate value preference of war over peace, the teaching of the principle that war alone brings out the worth and dignity of a people or an individual. When Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "Mankind has grown strong in eternal struggles, and it will only perish through eternal peace," and adds, "might alone makes right," he was not only laying the groundwork for World War II; he was excluding the ideology of Nazism from any possibility of entrance into a United Nations dedicated to peace. Mussolini did the very same thing when he wrote in his *Doctrine of Fascism*, a work as basic to his ideology as *Mein Kampf* was to Hitler's: "Above all, Fascism, the more it considers the future and the development of humanity, quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy, and puts the stamp of nobility upon . . . peoples."

Thus it was precisely in regard to the evaluation of war itself as something morally superior to peace, as something which *alone* gives true nobility to life, and which *alone* creates what is called right, that Nazism and Fascism set themselves apart from all the other ideologies that played significant roles in the drama of modern history. It was no accident that in World War II and the founding of the United Nations there was an alliance of liberal democracy and Marxist communism against Nazism and Fascism. In terms of the war problem it was an alliance of those who believed that war was sometimes a necessary evil against

those who believed that war was always a supreme good. That common bond, the value preference of peace above war, was and is, in theory and practice, far more important than any of the differences that then divided or now divide liberal democracy from Marxist communism. When wars can be fought with weapons that can put an end to human life, and thereby to all cultures and all ideologies, it is self-evident that military conflict has become the common enemy of all of us, common enemy number one which must first be overcome in order for any of us to have either agreements or differences with anyone else.

One reason this fact has not yet played its proper role in the decision-making processes of so many contemporary political leaders can be seen in the language they habitually use. That is, when nuclear combat is called war, it does not seem possible that it could end the human world, because war has pervaded all human history, and the world has never been destroyed. Psychologically, it is much easier for people to think in that manner than it is for them to reason that, since we now have weapons which can in fact end the human world, a conflict fought out with such weapons should not be called war, but should be given a new name that would more accurately express its new character. I have suggested *omnicide*, as the logical (and terminal) extension of the series of such nouns as suicide, infanticide, homicide, genocide.

A realistic approach to this subject today will recognize that the most urgent objective must be not the prevention of war in general but the prevention of nuclear omnicide in particular. We might survive war, but we cannot survive omnicide. Someone could win a war, but no one could win omnicide. There is such a thing as a just war, but there is no such thing as a just omnicide. There can be a war of liberation, but there cannot be an omnicide of liberation. A human being could argue that there is, on occasion, a right or even a duty to wage war, and still be considered a sane human being, but if a human being argues that there is a right or a duty to wage omnicide, he will have to be considered insane by definition. We human beings have created the practical possibility of omnicide, and now we must make ourselves face the reality of that possibility in order to prevent ourselves from implementing it in practice. The extreme urgency of this problem can be felt in the single fact that at the 1982 United Nations Special Session on Disarmament it was impossible to obtain agreement to a resolution condemning nuclear war as a crime against humanity.

These facts define the objective context, the historically given conditions of the kind of dialogue that must take place between contemporary cultures in order for human history to continue. The most difficult aspect of our problem is that contemporary cultures are in very sharp competition with one another, a competition that has not only an ideological dimension but a military dimension, which today means a nuclear weapons dimension. The most portentous dialogue that has taken place between cultures since the end of World War II, the dialogue on which more depends than was the case with any preceding dialogue in history, began as "cold war," became, for a short time, "detente," and now seems to have returned to "cold war." This dialogue has been carried on not only in popular media like the press, radio and television, but in the most dignified scholarly, ecclesiastical, governmental and diplomatic surroundings, by personages of the highest rank and authority, all of whom have to pretend that they are not only sane, but

wise, prudent and virtuous. All this has given rise, in certain psychological circles, to a discussion of the need for a new concept, a concept of "normal madness," a concept which expresses the fact that being out of touch with reality where it concerns the ending of the human world has become normal, habitual and official.

Scientifically or rationally speaking, this reaction of psychologists is in no way strange. For the objective reality is that we all know perfectly well that the two nuclear superpowers which are necessarily engaged in cultural-political dialogue possess arsenals of omnicidal weaponry capable of annihilating all human-kind. In these uniquely fateful circumstances it is the most elementary demand of sanity that the dialogue between the two nuclear superpowers should, in tone and substance, be the very opposite of quarrelsome, provocative, resentful or insulting. These negative qualities, which define the "cold war," are precisely those which most easily lead to physical conflict.

Has any positive step been proposed at any authoritative, decision-making level that would ameliorate this enormously frightening situation, and lay a basis on which we could build further? Such a step has indeed been proposed, and has been partly implemented. I wish I could say it was proposed by my own government, but the fact is that it was opposed by my government, entirely in the spirit of the cold war. At the U.N. 1982 Special Session on Disarmament, although no progress was made on actual disarmament, the Soviet government pledged itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and proposed that other governments follow its example, pointing out, with incontestable logic, that if there is no first use of the omnicidal weapons, there will be no use of them at all. It also pointed out that, while its own pledge of no first use was being made unilaterally, and was not conditional on the pledge of anyone else, it was a pledge only of no *first* use. I am not saying anyone has the right to demand that the Soviet government should have gone any further than it did in its unilateral step; I only want to make clear what that step was.

I also want to make clear that I am convinced every government in the world, beginning with my own, ought to take that same step. The plain truth is that any government which today is unwilling to say it will not be the first to use omnicidal weapons must, by all logic, be considered a government that has no right to membership in the United Nations. In fact, would it have any moral right at all to exist as a government? Is there any country in the world in which an individual has a right to toss a lighted match into a powder keg under a wooden house where an innocent human family dwells? If no individual has the right to do that to a single family, how could any government have a right to do the same thing to the entire human family? First use of nuclear weapons today is like the first toss of the lighted match because any government making first use of such weapons must expect the same weapons to be used in reply, and must therefore expect omnicide to follow, as surely as the pyromaniac who tosses the lighted match into the powder keg must expect homicide to follow.

If governments are unwilling to pledge themselves not to be first to use the weapons that will end the human world, we people who are still sane have the clear duty to remove such governments, in order that human culture and human history may continue, and that the possibility of human progress may be preserved. □

A Visit To Kemerovo in Siberia

For five days during November 1982 I had the good fortune of enjoying a rich legacy of warm feeling toward Americans that has been accumulating for sixty years in the Western Siberian city of Kemerovo, USSR. This is a very special area in the history of the American and Soviet peoples, because it was here that some 500 Americans established an industrial colony in the early days of the Soviet Republic as a means of contributing with their skills and experience to the development of Soviet production in a time of desperate need.

The idea of founding such a colony originated in 1921 in discussions held in Moscow among two American workers, Herbert S. Calvert and William (Big Bill) Haywood, and a Dutch engineer, Sebald Rutgers, who had been one of the founders of the Communist International. These three presented a bold plan to Lenin, who gave it his full support.

The area chosen for the location of an "autonomous industrial colony" of American workers, engineers and their families was the Kuznets Basin on the Tom River some 2,400 miles east of Moscow, about midway between Moscow and Vladivostok in Western Siberia. The outlines of this historic initiative were embodied in an agreement negotiated between Lenin, representing the Soviet government, and the "initiator group" of American workers and the Dutch engineer.

Once the agreement was concluded, it was Herbert Calvert's assignment to return to the United States to create an American Organizing Committee and launch a campaign to recruit volunteers with the skills needed for building industry in a backward and devastated country. With a keen sense of excitement from the grandeur of the Siberian challenge and the sudden opportunity to meet it through the founding of a new international enterprise, Calvert set to work in December 1921.

Due to quirks of fate the full history of Calvert's recruiting effort and the resulting colony that lived and worked at Kemerovo from 1922 to 1927 has never been published. Few Americans now living have ever heard of the "Kuzbas Colony," that is, the autonomous industrial colony in the Kuznets Basin. Readers of *NEW WORLD REVIEW* may recall the series of three articles by former colonists published in the Fall of 1971. These accounts made it clear that there was much drama, political and human, in this early collaboration between American and Soviet peoples which deserved full research and exposition.

With the Reagan administration today doing everything it can to isolate Americans from friendly contact with the Soviet people it seems particularly important to explore the history of this promising initiative from an earlier time. It should be a better known piece of our heritage. Many documents had already been assembled by Mellie Calvert, wife of Herbert Calvert, and by Ruth Epperson Kennell, a member of the colony and a talented writer. They had planned to publish a history of Kuzbas, but unfortunately both died before it could be completed. When Jessica Smith asked if I would like to examine the boxes of materials they had accumulated with a view to com-

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J.P. Morray receiving the traditional welcome gift of bread and salt from a student at the Girls Technical School in Kemerovo. The school occupies the building which served the Colony as general headquarters in the 1920s.

mencing work on my own history of the colony, I was very pleased.

An outline of the book I envisaged together with some of the opening chapters was submitted to Novosti Publishing House in Moscow. Editors there agreed that this was a project that promised to contribute positively to a tradition of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and offered help in furthering my research. This included an opportunity to visit Kemerovo at the invitation of Novosti.

When I arrived in Moscow on November 15, 1982, I was met by a Novosti staff editor, Natalya G. Derevianko. She had been given the task of making all arrangements for my visit, including assembly of documents, transportation and accommodations, advance notice to local authorities and establishing contact with colonists still living in the USSR. She speaks excellent English, and I was happy to learn she would be traveling with me as research assistant and interpreter.

Thus it was that we arrived in Kemerovo in the early morning darkness after an overnight flight from Moscow aboard an Aeroflot plane. This was Siberia, and I knew temperatures in late November could well be dropping into a range below zero Fahrenheit. Fortunately, winter was late in arriving, so that my American topcoat (a "fall coat" they called it) was enough to protect me from a temperature that was around the freezing point. Ice was beginning to form in the Tom River, and there was a foot of snow on the ground with more falling each day. Everyone was commenting on the mild weather and hoping for my sake it would last. When I left five days later I was glad to have been spared the trial of a true Siberian winter.

One of the questions I had wanted to explore was, what is the importance attached to the American colony in the Kemerovo consciousness of today? The welcome accorded me was a part of the answer to that question. The memory of the colony lives in a permanent display in the local historical museum, in plaques on buildings, in the names of streets, in a monument to Sebald

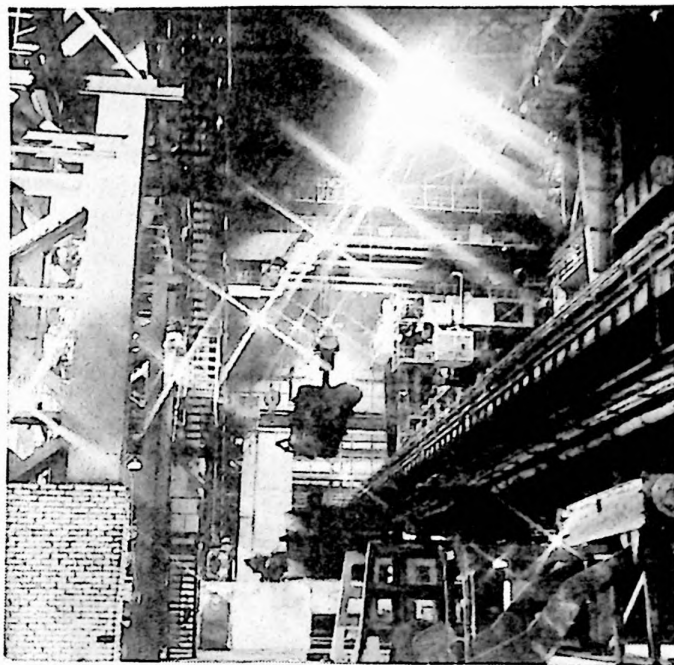
Rutgers, the founder who became Director of the colony, in schoolroom history lessons, in commemorative articles in newspapers and magazines, and in research, lectures and publications at the University of Kemerovo. Everyone with whom I talked had some familiarity with the history of the colony, and without fail, intense pleasure was expressed on learning that a book about the experience is being written for American readers. The population of Kemerovo today feels a unique bond with Americans, generated by the powerful presence of the colony in the 1920s, an unforgettable period for the 10,000 people who then lived in Kemerovo, and transmitted to the population of today, more than a half million, by memories, instruction, displays and the media.

I was the beneficiary of that accumulated fund of memories and good will. My visit was made the occasion of several celebrations, each with something of the warmth of a reunion with old friends. We were related through a shared interest in the colony and an agreement on its importance and value as a symbol and precedent.

The local newspaper, *Kuzbas*, with a daily circulation of 250,000, assembled some 70 reporters from the region for a press conference which focused first on the colony but then shifted to questions about my previous books, about life in the United States, about American perceptions of the Soviet Union, about relations between the two governments. At the TV studio they said I was the first American ever to be interviewed on their screen. The Rector of the University of Kemerovo, founded in 1974, invited me to meet with him and several professors with special interests in American history. This morning visit ended with a luncheon at which the conversation turned to the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956. We compared opinions as to why the invaders had been forced to withdraw. One Kemerovo professor stressed the importance of the Soviet ultimatum as "decisive." I attributed equal importance to a condemnation of the invasion by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Another professor cited votes of condemnation in the United Nations. We then agreed that the world benefitted on that occasion by mutual support between the USA and the USSR in implementation of a policy with majority approval in the United Nations. We drank a toast to an instructive precedent that might well serve as a standard.

The Mayor of Kemerovo, Vladimir Veselov, had received us in his office on the day of our arrival. He is a former coal miner and graduate of a technological institute in the Siberian city of Tomsk. Hearing that I wanted to learn how coal mining (a primary activity in the life of the colony) had developed since the 1920s, he took a half-day out of his busy schedule to escort us personally to Kedrovsky, a new mining town of 10,000 people located about 20 kilometers from Kemerovo. There we chatted with the mine manager, inspected the mining operation and visited some of the community facilities, including a Palace of Culture and health resort which specializes in preventive medical care for miners and their families.

I had also come to do research, and with Mrs. Derevianko's help and the unstinted cooperation of local libraries and museums, the days available produced much valuable material. Anything I wanted in the way of documents and photographs they were willing to copy and give me. Preparation for my visit included an advance search for materials by an experienced librarian with a special knowledge of Soviet writings about the



TASS from Sovfoto

Converter shop at the West Siberian Metallurgical Works.

colony. These had been assembled for me in a tall stack with book markers to speed up examination and selection of those materials I wanted to have copied and added to my files. One book displayed was a biography of Rutgers written by his daughter. It is an extremely valuable source of information about the colony, long since out of print and very hard to find in the United States. I had been using a copy borrowed from Professor Dirk Struik, brother of one of the colonists. I jokingly remarked to the librarian in Kemerovo that I might steal that book if not watched. She was apologetic, their only copy, etc. But at the conclusion of that working session she told me with a happy gleam that permission had been obtained from "higher authority" for the library to make me a present of their copy. It was a supreme gesture, expressive of their intense interest in a project that will tell the story of the Kuzbas colony to American readers.

By correspondence during the preceding months I had established contact with Professor Eugenia A. Krivosheeva of the University of Kemerovo. She has written extensively about the colony and continues her research in the field. We were eager to meet each other for an exchange of views and information. She has had access to Soviet materials not reached by my research, and I, on the other hand, had something for her in the form of copies of documents from the Kennell-Calvert collection. These, she said simply when I delivered them to her, "are without price." We are friends for life.

One of the colonists, Eugene Preikshas, still lives in Kemerovo. I met with him and with two other retired coal miners, men who had worked alongside the colonists and who today enjoy recounting their impressions of the personalities and the trials of that eventful period. From them and from others, such as the Mayor and the Rector, I learned about the different phases in the history of Kemerovo since the 1920s.

The colony had given impetus to a planned development that proceeded rapidly in a few decades to the emergence of a busy, modern, attractive urban center of industry, culture, parks, broad avenues and commodious apartment complexes. The



US workers who helped build Moscow's Gorky Auto Plant in 1930. They were part of a broad movement which brought thousands of US workers and experts to help Soviet counterparts build projects throughout the country.

development of Siberia from wasteland into advanced centers of civilized work, education and leisure, of which Kemerovo is one among many, adds enormously to the depth of Soviet resources and the security of their future. In Kemerovo it is taken for granted with all due appreciation that the Kuzbas colony made a substantial contribution to the origins of this development.

An American presence continues in the libraries, where dozens of American authors in Russian editions are popular with readers. The amplified discotheque music played by a four-piece rock group with some vocals in English, some in Russian, accompanied a dance floor scene at my hotel that was hardly different from Denver or Chicago. Deafened by the standard decibel level of this international musical *genre* the young people of Kemerovo were doing their mating dances like any college crowd. The authorities tolerate this influence from the bourgeois world, though not the drugs that commonly go with it in the United States. Socialization was being promoted with wine, champagne, cognac and vodka. I was told that young workers, male and female, were here mixing with young students in one of the more expensive dining and dancing restaurant-cabarets. By the end of the evening a cloud of cigarette smoke filled the room, and couples were dancing somewhat closer together, just as in Portland, Oregon. How much alike we are, I thought, both in our virtues and our foibles.

At the numerous Palaces of Culture the emphasis is on folk dancing. I was entertained one evening by groups of young amateur dancers dressed in colorful native costumes performing spirited routines from their repertory of dances from each of the fifteen Soviet republics. These talented young workers and children of workers highly appreciate the disciplined training they receive from professional teachers in these centers. Standards are high, and the resulting performances are brilliant,

enthusiastic and surprising in their energy and precision. They are dancing to impress and please each other as well as the audience. This, too, is an opportunity for recreation, socialization and courtship. The Palaces of Culture, with strong support from the Communist Party, are holding their own against the lure of the discotheque.

Another surviving colonist whom I wanted to interview was Anna Preikshas, who was twelve years old when she arrived in Kemerovo from the United States in 1922. She had married in Siberia, become a Soviet citizen, borne children and worked in different schools and institutes as a teacher of English until her retirement in 1980. She is now living in the city of Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine with her daughter, who is a professor of physics at a metallurgical institute. Her health did not permit her to travel to Moscow, so in preparation for my visit Mrs. Derevianko had made arrangements for us to travel to Dnepropetrovsk, primarily to give me an opportunity to interview Anna Preikshas and examine the documents about the colony she has accumulated over the years.

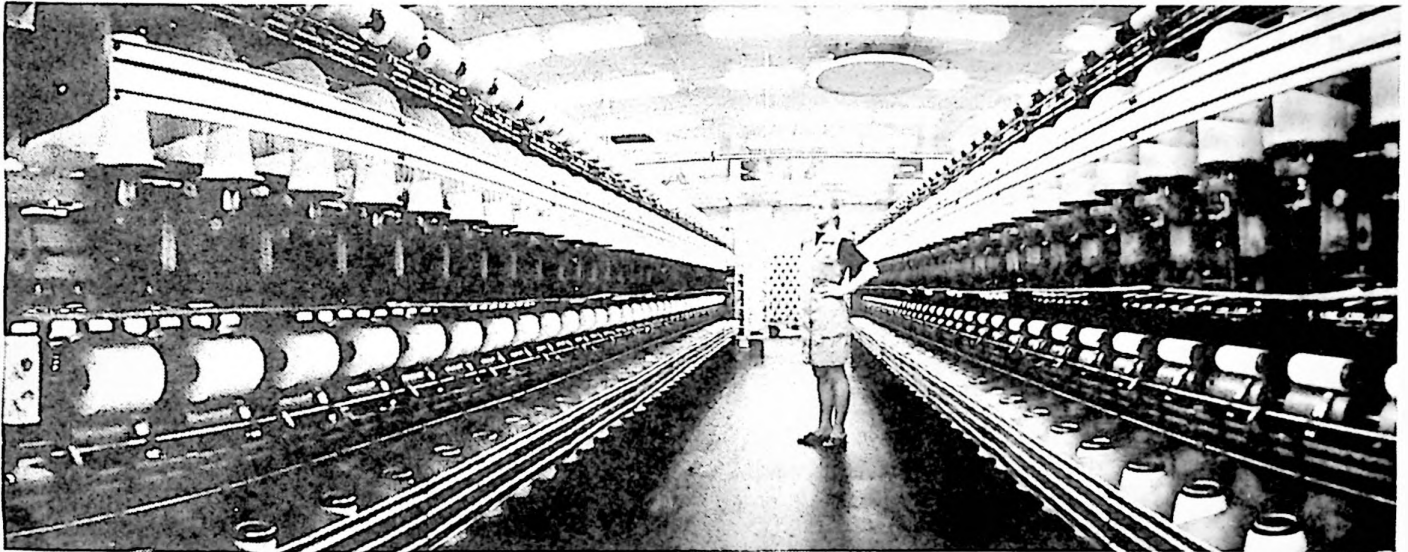
Again, the authorities received me with overwhelming cordiality. Their interest in the Kuzbas colony was not so direct, but they nevertheless were eager to assist my research in any way possible. This included a midday meal catered by the hotel where I was lodged and served in the Preikshas apartment where we were holding our working session. Then came tours of the city with Zoya Sumina, a representative of the Mayor, and a meeting with approximately thirty members of the Writers Union. In this session with creative writers I suggested that some new Sholokhov could find themes for a great novel in the history of the Kuzbas colony. The head of the Writers Union, Sergey Burlakov, a poet who owes much to inspiration from Walt Whitman, was particularly glad to welcome an American writer to a meeting with Ukrainian writers. In our hour together we shared much talk about the American contribution to universal literature, talk made more poetic and lucid by toasts of vodka and cognac and the keen perceptions of our skillful interpreter, Mrs. Derevianko. On our departure he presented us copies of a volume of his poetry, mine inscribed in English by his wife. There were other gifts as well, including beautiful needlework to be presented to my wife. I could say truthfully I was very glad that Anna Preikshas had drawn us to Dnepropetrovsk.

By the time my visit to the USSR ended I was burdened with a box of books accumulated along the way. As a final gesture of good will, Aeroflot waived the charges due for my excess baggage, a sizeable item I would have had to pay out of my own pocket. All this puts me under an obligation to finish the book quickly in the hope it will contribute another link in a chain of history that binds us together. □



The contemporary scene: housing for workers of the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works.

Moscow Diary



Novosti Press Agency

A Trip to a Textile Town

Ivanovo is not considered to be far from Moscow but it takes a whole night in the train to get there, which was good because I had a full night's rest before trying to take in the city and a bit of the region in the all too brief space of two days.

Though Ivanovo is often called the "Russian Manchester" (it produces a quarter of all Soviet textiles), no two cities could be less alike. The continental climate brings hot summers and cold winters and the day I arrived was typically bright and clear, with a pleasant freshness in the air. The freshness may also be due to the fact that half the region's 9,000 square miles are still thickly forested and, so the planners told us, are going to stay that way.

It was not a soft, humid climate that encouraged the textile manufacturers to come to Ivanovo, but the ravaging of older centers, such as Smolensk, by Napoleon. The two villages of Ivanovo and Voznessensk, northeast of Moscow, offered a safer haven for the young industry, and the poor soil of the surrounding country promised a steady influx of peasant labor for the looms.

To anyone who has lived in Manchester, Ivanovo would seem still rather a countrified place. Trees and unmown grass grow

ROBERT DAGLISH, a Briton long resident in Moscow, is a writer, critic and translator, and also plays English and American parts in Soviet films. A profound observer of the Soviet cultural scene, Mr. Daglish is a correspondent of the *Anglo-Soviet Journal* in England; his writing appears regularly in NWR.

everywhere along the immensely wide streets and boulevards, traffic is light, shopping centers few and far between. Since the revolution the city has developed rapidly both industrially and socially, but not commercially. It was no surprise to learn that most of the workers rely for supplies on orders at the factory food shops, made when they arrive at work and ready to take home when the shift is over.

This arrangement is convenient, particularly as after the bad harvests of recent years the ordinary state food shops are poorly stocked and prices at the free market correspondingly high.

Ivanovo has some striking monuments commemorating the revolution, but not many outstanding buildings. Most of the unusual ones formerly belonged to rich manufacturers. The elegant headquarters of the Regional Party Committee, we were told during our visit to it, was originally built for a textile king's prospective Italian bride, who demanded the kind of mansion she was used to. It was built but she never came, and a very different mistress, the proletariat, took over instead.

Ivanovo people are proud of their revolutionary traditions. There was Russia's first-ever Soviet of Workers' Deputies. Set up during the general strike of 1905, it later became the first brick of the pyramids of urban and rural councils (Soviets) that now govern all the republics of the USSR. In a local museum I saw an old newspaper listing the workers' 1905 demands—20 rubles a month minimum wage, no searches, the right to read newspapers, full pay during strikes, full sick pay and two weeks' maternity leave, and universal free education.

The conditions enjoyed by Ivanovo workers today with their 40-hour week kindergartens and out-of-town recreation centers for children, low rents, two months maternity leave, ample pre- and post-natal care, and no fear of unemployment, would undoubtedly seem ideal to the strikers of 1905. They would also be impressed by advances in education. But it was a hard struggle in the twenties and thirties to achieve the high standards that pertain today. The region had no higher schools in the old days and the teacher training institute set up in 1918 had to be closed down in 1923 because of cuts under the New Economic Policy and lack of teachers and facilities. It was not reopened until 1932, when universal compulsory elementary education had become a feasible proposition, and only in 1974, having trained thousands of secondary-school teachers, did it acquire the status of a university. Now its graduates include many eminent figures in the scientific world and there is a large contingent of foreign students, particularly from the GDR. There are also two professional repertory theaters, a puppet theater, and a people's amateur theater. All told, Ivanovo has a student population of 40,000.

My main impression of the city and its people was their sturdiness and calm. At the huge worsted mill we visited none of the girls on the looms was wearing any protection for her ears, although the noise level reaches 83 decibels. I was told cheerfully enough that earpads are a hindrance to the work, and I expect they are trying to break records by handling six looms at once (as heroine of Socialist Labor Valentina Ejolubeva does), so I was glad to hear that the management is currently spending five million rubles to bring the noise down to a safer level. The air, on the other hand, was good by any standard, thanks to the humidifiers moving to and fro continuously along the top of each loom.

Hostel living is common among single members of the staff, but a woman I spoke to who had been at the mill eleven years told me her room had its own separate kitchen and she was paying "next to nothing" for her accommodation. The mill has an order book of some 800 customers at home and abroad and thanks to its successes in keeping up with the world cloth-making trends, it has considerable funds for subsidizing the housing program.

Ivanovo once had the reputation, like several other Soviet cities in post-war years, of being a city of women, but the setting up of new plants, particularly to the mobile crane workers, has brought the percentage down to below 60. Perhaps the connection with Tashkent in Uzbekistan, discussed later, will also be a balancing factor.



"See? It's quicker and easier this way!" A young worker gets a tip from her teacher.



TASS from Sovfoto

The village of Palekh. The Krestovozdvizhensky Cathedral houses many ancient icons in Palekh art.

A Village of World Renown

Apparently we owe the delights of those exquisitely painted boxes, illustrating the legends and fairy tales of Russia, that adorn homes all over the world, partially at least to the decay or closure of many churches that followed the revolution of 1917. It was the former ikon-painter Ivan Golikov, roaming the country in search of an application for his skills, who saw papier-mache for the first time in a Moscow photographer's studio and had the idea of painting miniatures on it. At first no one in those days of shortage would supply him with the material but he made an impression by illustrating folk themes on the back of the photographer's trays, and in December 1924 he and six fellow artists set up a workshop in Golikov's home village of Palekh. Now, vastly expanded, it earns the country a million rubles' worth of hard currency a year.

To Palekh from Ivanovo it was about two hours' drive through gently undulating woods and fields with only one sizeable town on the way. At the studio museum, where the works of the founder craftsmen are on show, I was struck by the individuality of each painter within the general canon of Palekh art—the black background, the gold tinting, the slender figures, the folk or fairy-tale theme. Golikov is all fantasy and movement, but his miniatures cannot be enlarged. On the other hand, the work of Markichev, a master of composition, lends itself readily to larger dimensions and may have given the impulse to the present "monumental" trend, which has resulted in many decorative projects, such as the panels for the Children's Opera Theater in Moscow. N. M. Zinoviev, who died recently at the age of ninety, the first People's Artist in the applied arts, could even cope with a social message, and so much so that his last work, "Sick Artists," has caused some controversy. Zubkov paid infinite attention to landscape. In 1934 his daughter became the first of the women Palekh artists, who now outnumber the men.

The basic techniques of Palekh art are no secret. To this day the papier-mache consists of ordinary cardboard pasted together and boiled in linseed oil for twelve hours. After being covered with black oil lacquer, the casket is pummed and the initial sketch applied with a mixture of tempera and egg yolk (another Golikov invention). The gold tinting is done with an emulsion of gum arabic, crushed gold leaf and water, the finest strokes being

applied with a brush made from a single hair of a squirrel killed in August. For silver tints aluminum is used. The final polishing is done with a wolf's tooth (best enamel). All these techniques were evolved collectively by the founding seven, and most of their methods survive today with some improvements in the quality of materials (although the problem of cracking surfaces has not yet been fully overcome).



A Palekh illustration to the epic Sadko, by artists Kalery and Boris Kukuliev.

One of Palekh's leading artists, Alexei Kochupalov, told me he felt the Palekh style still had unlimited possibilities and cited his own work on the Children's Opera Theater. Though this art is essentially collective a great deal depends on individual imagination. Every work is unique and signed by its author.

Palekh now has about 230 artists. For those who want to join the school there is a stiff examination and only one in fifteen applicants gains admission. Basic earnings average about 215 rubles a month, but may rise to five or six hundred and more for artists engaged in special projects. The studio is a flourishing enterprise but the village remains genuinely rural with few made-up roads, cows nibbling the grass round roadside wells, and sturdy log houses with firewood stacked in the yards. The boxes and brooches are sold (for high prices) at an ordinary general store alongside tape recorders and haberdashery, but there is a fine new restaurant with delicate wood carving and Palekh panels inside, where the specialities were "mushroom caviar," pike-perch soup, and a delicious hot-pot.

Back to the Land?

Not many miles from Palekh is the Iskra Collective Farm, which I was also able to visit during our trip. Since the March 1965 Central Committee Plenum on agriculture the farm has been going from strength to strength. But Mr. V. A. Kulagin, the editor of the Ivanovo Region newspaper *Rabochiy Krai*, who accompanied us, suggested that the farm's advance also owed a lot to the personality of its chairman, Mikhail Bredov, a war veteran, who lost a leg defending Moscow but bravely turned to agriculture and, in his own words, has never regretted it. Walking without a stick he proudly showed us around the farm's new general school, built this year, which has its own indoor heated swimming pool, fully equipped mathematics teaching lab, and workshops with metal and wood-turning lathes. It has 46 pupils at present but expects a hundred next

year. There is a community center with a stage and auditorium seating 600, and a large kindergarten.

To an inexperienced eye the rolling meadows all around look highly fertile, but our hosts shook their heads. Ivanovo Region is not in the black earth zone, which means that for effective cropping the soil needs doses of 11 tons of organic manure per hectare, whereas in neighboring Suzdal-Vladimir there is soil so rich that even a stick will grow in it. Here the loamy soil retains little moisture and, unless irrigation is available, crops are quickly destroyed by drought.

No wonder the friendly editor of *Rabochiy Krai* was enthusiastic about the twinning of Ivanovo and Tashkent. When the Uzbek capital was hit by an earthquake some years ago, Ivanovo was quick to send equipment and help to the stricken city. Now from Uzbekistan, where irrigation is highly developed, specialists, labor and technology are coming to help improve Ivanovo's farm land. To be quite honest, the very day we set out on our trip around the region the local paper carried a report of the exposure of someone with a very Uzbek-sounding name who had come north with a whole wad of forged documents (scientific degree, record of war wounds and decorations, marriage certificate) and used them to get himself a lucrative post in agricultural construction and a large flat in town. But the typical thing, I am sure, is not the antics of individual adventurers but the benefits of knowhow and labor accruing from this kind of inter-republic cooperation.

Shortage of labor in rural areas is still the main problem. So the Iskra collective farm with its new flats with hot and cold running water and ample facilities for children is something of a model of attraction for young couples. Mr. Bredov gave us frank answers to our questions about the farm. Yes, his farm probably is ahead of other collective farms in the locality, but we should remember that the recent cancellations of all collective farm debts to the state has given even lagging collectives a chance to make a fresh start. How could one join his farm? Iskra has over a thousand applications from people who would like to become members, so the chairman is in a position to set a probationary term to make sure he gets people with the skills and perseverance to be good collective farmers. Even now all his top personnel have a higher education. Cash earnings on the farm average 220-300 rubles a month and, except last year, when there was a drought, the farm has been able to supply all its member's needs for meat. Since 1965 its herd has increased by 250 to 1,200 head of cattle.

Was there anything that Chairman Bredov needed but had not yet got? Yes, the farm needs more fertilizers and a higher price for its wheat, for which the state at present pays only 13 kopeks a kilo. Under the new Food Program, with 233,000 million rubles being invested in the agro-industrial complex for the current 11th five-year plan, he will probably get it. □



IMPRESSIONS & COMMUNICATIONS



SUSAN KLING _____

Gagra: Pearl of Abkhazia

Not long ago my husband and I stayed at a vacation spot on the Black Sea, called Seventeenth Party Congress Sanatorium — “sanatorium” meaning a rest home with medical facilities — in a resort area called Gagra and known as “the pearl of Abkhazia.” (The Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic lies within the Georgian SSR.) From the limited vantage point of 20 days, one cannot really say how the mass of Soviet people play and rest on their vacations. But from our stay together with Soviet workers in this particular rest home, and from our excursions into other nearby vacation homes, we obtained an interesting picture which we would like to share.

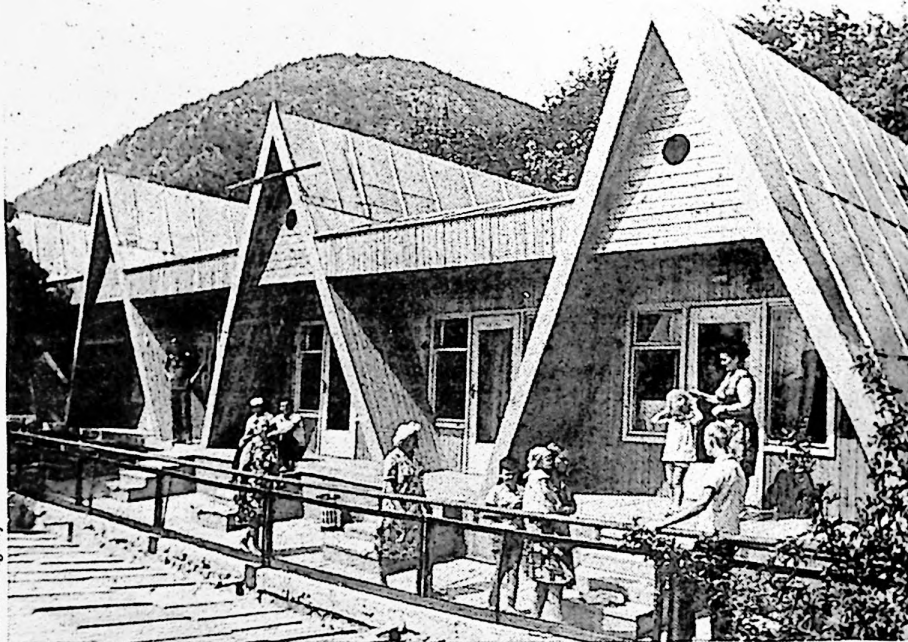
Gagra, about 60 miles south of the world-famous resort of Sochi, is a narrow strip of subtropical land, with the Black Sea and the beach its huge front yard and the towering, snow-capped Caucasus Mountains its back yard. Layered into the mountains and strung along the strip facing the sea are rest homes, sanatoria and rooming houses. The temperature year-round is 80-85 degrees Fahrenheit. Vegetation has been gathered from the continents of the world and planted in gigantic formal and informal gardens along the length of the seacoast, in a rainbow of cactus, agave plants with five-foot spreads, stories-high cypress and royal palm trees, flowers and flowering bushes.

Our sanatorium, with its marble columns, wide curved stairs and laid-out gardens facing the sea, looked like the back of the White House. In our room we found fresh flowers, Oriental rugs on parquet floors — common in the Soviet Union — and a balcony looking out at the water. Plants and flowers were in all corners of the atrium-type lobby. A statue of Lenin with chin in hand stood in the lobby, a light over it and fresh flowers next to it.

The Black Sea is a huge inland sea, salty and crystal clear, with a stony beach it took courage to walk on. If I had ever committed a

sin, I surely did penance as I stepped gingerly from stone to stone to reach the water. At noon and at 5 PM daily, an announcement came over the loudspeaker at the beach: “Comrade vacationers, tea is served!” And it was, hot and fragrant and spicy, with lumps of sugar and fresh limes. Free, of course.

The first order of business in the mornings at the sanatorium was medical: complete physicals, cardiograms, blood tests, urinalyses. Then into the dining rooms for breakfast, and the rest of the day was free.



Novosti Press Agency

A vacation resort for parents and children in the Crimea.

Our sanatorium was equipped to handle 250 vacationers. To care for the sanatorium population there was a staff of 17 full-time doctors, 30 registered nurses, 30 practical nurses, two dieticians who consulted daily with the vacationers on special needs, a staff of technicians, food and cleaning personnel, and an entire floor of “treatment” rooms: cardiology, lung and breathing, including oral and nasal apparatus for congestive problems, blood, bone, neurological, massage, mineral baths, and a special “cocktail” room where people lined up each morning for oxygenated drinks that looked like whipped egg white dispensed from soda fountains and spiced

with various herbs according to one’s ailments, and which you ate with a spoon. One taste and we settled for good old Georgian wine!

The institute arranged for regular excursions. One day we went for a ride into the mountains, along narrow winding roads, houses clinging to cliff sides. Cows, pigs and chickens sat placidly in the middle of the road and moved leisurely to one side as we honked and threaded our way slowly past them. At last we came to an experimental botanical garden and were introduced to a botanist who raised papayas and avocados for medicinal purposes, and corn that would reseed itself for 10 successive years. He had been working in his field for 40 years, and even while the country was battling for life with the fascists, this visionary was experimenting with seeds. “We had to think of providing food for the day when my country would be at peace,” he said.

On the way home, I asked a matronly grey-haired woman in the bus where she was from. She said she was a retired mechanical

engineer from Stalingrad. When she said the word, floodgates opened, and she began to recount what the fascists had done to her city: gutted it 100 percent; set fires that could be seen at night from 60 kilometers away; corpses piled so high the living did not know what to do with them; corpses floating free from shallow graves when the area flooded with heavy rains. She told of eating only once in 24 hours, of living until the 1960s in a little dirt house dug deep into the ground during the war to avoid the bombs and shrapnel. So many years later, this gentle elderly woman, remembering the inhumanity of the fascists, shuddered and wept.

Finally we asked the sixty-four dollar question: what does it cost to stay in any of the sanatoria or vacation buildings? The answer: the same as a vacation anywhere in the Soviet Union: 200 rubles for a 24-26 day stay, which includes apartment or room, linens, service and three meals per day. In addition, anyone who has worked for a year at one place gets a paid 26-day vacation. This writer worked for 15 years at one place before receiving a 15-day paid vacation. And then, there was no trade union or doctor to help me plan where to go, even if I were suffering from any one of a number of diseases or ailments. I went, according to my means, where the advertise-

Not so with a worker in this land of continual surprises. After your year of working, with your 26 days' pay in your hand, if you wish, you go to the poly-clinic attached to your field of work and get a free physical exam. Then the doctor suggests a vacation area. Each work place has its own rest homes and sanatoria which provide to its employees board, lodging and recreation facilities, plus complete medical care, for the flat sum of 200 rubles. But each trade union has a vacation fund, and picks up the tab for 70 per cent of the cost, so that the employee actually pays only 60 rubles plus transportation. And if he/she happens to work in heavy or hazardous industry or in the health field, a bonus still further reduces the cost of the vacation. If the doctor suggests a sanitorium, treatment is free.

If you don't want to stay at the sanitorium or the union's rest home, you take your money, hop a plane or bus to anywhere, and stop in at the local travel information center, which furnishes information on rooms and apartments. Rent for a room runs about 3-5 rubles per day. This sounds ridiculous, but it is true, because no one holds a mortgage on the building, no one is a landlord to make profit on rents. Rent is for upkeep and improvement only. Restaurants, snack bars, cafes and groceries are everywhere, as are camp grounds and grills all over the country.

We paid a visit to a "different" sanitorium — a massive 12-story curved complex built smack into the mountains, called 'Solnechni' — Sunny. This one caters to families with children, but gives the parents a chance to vacation alone during the day. There is a separate, complete children's all-day program, with two dining rooms for 500 children, full of tiled picture walls, displays of sea finds and children's creations, and walls of special menus for various children's needs. When we exclaimed about the massive scale on which the Soviets do things, our translator waved a hand and said, "This is nothing — we have many such!" I replied, "Would that we had even a few such!"

At our sanitorium our cultural director not only arranged outside excursions, but also movies, dancing and programs on the grounds. One evening I danced an outdoor

polka with him, and he whirled me around until I cried, "Enough!" Watching the Russians, young and old, dancing the tango, waltz, rhumba and most surprising, disco and rock and roll, with steps right out of a John Travolta movie, I said to the director, "I thought Russians knew only shop talk, Marx and Lenin, and production!" He laughed and waved an arm at the dancers. "Maybe they know a little more!"

And if some naive questioner downgrades the part Soviet Jews play in the Soviet Union, this director happens to be Jewish, has been in charge here for 25 years, speaks Yiddish and has a non-Jewish Russian wife who also works here, and also speaks Yiddish. He served in the army, was wounded three times, has a younger brother who heads a factory in Kiev, an older brother managing a large tool-building machine shop in Moscow, and another brother in a military musical ensemble. Asked, he said he has no interest in going to the United States to live.

When we returned to the States and reported our experiences to a group, one woman said, "There's not a country in the world that would do that much! They must have put it on for show, for foreigners like you!"

Well, if that were true, it would have to be the greatest continuous show on earth, with so many millions of workers going to so many thousands of vacation and rest areas day after day, week after week, year after year. And everyone in the entire country would have to be in on a giant conspiracy to keep this kind of show going.

To this we can only say: Dear Soviet friends, please keep the show going; have your trade unions from farm and factory and enterprise keep sending their workers on paid vacations to rest and have fun and be treated by the best doctors, and have them come back healthy and ready to resume work — and let the travelers from all around the world keep coming and marveling at this tremendous show — put on just for them! □

SUSAN KLING's articles have appeared in periodicals in the US and abroad, including *Soviet Woman*. A chapter from her book, *Fannie Lou Hamer: A Biography*, is included in an anthology entitled *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Non-Violence*.



The Algerian Revolution

Socialism in Islam: A Study of Algeria, by J. P. Morray. The Institute for Theoretical History, 1980. 169 pp. \$8.95 (paper).

Algeria became an independent state in 1962, concluding a successful war of independence against France. For reasons of underdevelopment and historical colonialist exploitation, the leaders of the revolution drafted a "socialist" path for the new country; it was, however, a socialism coexisting with Islamic thought and traditions. Since the success of the bloody struggle for independence, the Islamic world has seen other major revolutionary upheavals (e.g., Iran and Afghanistan), necessitating a serious evaluation of the Algerian example. A sympathetic, yet critical analysis, is presented by the author within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. The comprehensive account of the Algerian model is revealed in chapters on the background to the revolution, the drive to develop production, socialism without Marx, socialism with religion, socialist management of enterprise, the agrarian revolution, and socialism with nonalignment. In addition, for the serious student, the book also contains an invaluable translation of excerpts from the National Charter adopted by the Algerian people in 1976.

To understand political developments in Algeria, one must comprehend the legacy of underdevelopment. For example, at the close of the 1960s Algeria's illiteracy rate was still 74 per cent (e.g., compared to 26 per cent in Mexico). The entire history of the colonial experience was one of political oppression and economic exploitation fundamentally rooted in French racism. It is to the honor of the French Communists that they remained reliable allies to the independence movement despite all contemporary chauvinism aimed at stilling their voices. The book outlines the principled historical contribution of the Communists in the struggle for independence.

In a very basic way, Algerian attitudes toward capitalism are rooted in the history of colonialist exploitation. Laissez-faire became simply another term for the exploitation of the

poor and disorganized by French capitalists. For Algeria, history spoke starkly and succinctly: Laissez-faire does not promote development but perpetuates backwardness. The desire to develop and become more productive was based on a national consensus which cut across class lines, and planning was seen as an aid to speed development. Despite obstacles, many production achievements can be heralded. These obstacles to development included the departure of most French-trained personnel, and starting out with a mostly illiterate population base. In this context, Boumediene's call for a new international economic order must be seen as a measure of the commitment of the Algerian revolution to the socialist path and internationalism. This plan called for the nationalization of natural resources, an integrated process of development, a spirit of solidarity among peoples, easing the burdens which hinder development, and special help to poorest countries.

"The Algerian State is socialist," says Article 1 of the constitution. Yet, this statement challenges definitions rooted in Marxism-Leninism. First, an industrial proletariat did not exist in Algeria. Thus, the leadership of the revolution did not emerge from below, but is frequently identified by origin and education with the Algerian bourgeoisie. The "classless" character of the Algerian socialism has robbed the revolution of the vitality of the class struggle. "When socialism is advocated as a secular religion beneficial to all classes and respectful of bourgeois rights, the promise of equality becomes as hollow as the promise of paradise" (p. 39). It is a major weakness that organizations which are designed to mobilize the masses function primarily within an ideological framework which denies the reality of the class struggle. The result is an Algeria in a prolonged period of democratic populism in which unjust or archaic social practices are allowed to continue without serious challenge. The NFL program is paralyzed ideologically by idealism.

The Algerian National Charter proclaims that the people are Moslems and indeed the integral position of religion can be seen by such factors as the building of new mosques in most villages, towns, and cities. This, in turn, is perhaps a manifestation of the national spirit, and reaction to the oppression of the national religion during the colonial period. The role of Islam has been a matter of some debate since it was not included as a state religion in the original draft of the National Charter. A debate at this stage of development would have been divisive, and would have isolated the leadership from the great majority of the Algerian people. This approach is quite consistent with Marx's view that "The religious world is but a reflex of the real world"

(and when this real world changes, then religion will also). Further, the author perceives no overwhelming contradictions between scientific socialism and the social context of Islam. Nevertheless, the ideological struggle can only be abandoned at the peril of permitting an ideological base for the counterrevolution.

The struggle for the socialist management of enterprise, endorsed by the Charter of Algiers, was supposed to manifest a conscious struggle by the laboring classes against the owners of the means of production and the bureaucrats. Unfortunately, the Charter has not been implemented because "an advanced leadership is attempting to revolutionize a backward society, feudal, pastoral, capitalist, religious, and apathetic. It wants to do this without disturbing social peace" (p. 54). Although there is much which is hopeful (from a socialist perspective) in the nationalization of industries, the mode of operation reflects central government bureaucracy and worker advisory roles. The author detected a sense of skepticism among the workers reflecting an overreliance on economism and materialist goals.

The agrarian revolution was an initiative based on the peoples' hatred of colonialism. Initially, all lands possessed by Europeans were nationalized (decree of October 2, 1963). Then followed the three phases of the promised revolution: 1) nationalization of the public lands; 2) land to those who work it (against absentee landowners, and also with limitations on land owned; and 3) the transfer of title to herds and livestock to those who worked the animals. The entire process, however, is based on voluntarism and is administered in some cases by the landowners. One hundred thousand families or individuals have received title to land and 6,000 cooperatives and 95 socialist villages have been established. But this is in a population of 9 to 10 million, and leaves half of the land privately owned. Unfortunately, many loopholes exist, and the aversion to class struggle has left many peasants skeptical of the eventual outcome of the agrarian revolution.

Algeria's nonalignment is not without principle. Clearly, national independence is at the center of consciousness. It is perhaps in the area of internationalism that the Algerian revolution shines at its best as manifested in unequivocal support for the Palestinian and Sahraoui peoples. Algeria has consistently insisted that the peoples of the world have a right to self-determination.

Nonalignment, however, does not mean an agnostic posture toward the capitalist and socialist world. Imperialism is the enemy, and with the socialist world "a policy of cooperation is constantly developing and widening in all domains" (Algerian National Charter, p. 168).

The foregoing should indicate both a measure of optimism and skepticism in the analysis

of the achievement of the Algerian revolution. If the author advocates one central criticism, it concerns the abandonment of the class struggle rooted in materialist considerations in favor of the idealist solutions of persuasion and volunteerism. The consequences are potentially serious for the outcome. The final page of history is far from written. Despite prohibitions in Article 9 of the constitution, private interests are a determining factor in policy. "Some of the leaders of the Algerian revolutionary state are wealthy from their private ownership of interests in real estate and business enterprises" (p. 26). The ideological role of foreign capitalist-trained professionals serving in Algeria, and the practice of sending students abroad to the capitalist countries for study, cannot be underestimated. A weakness of leadership and ideology can also be detected by the bourgeois class origins of many personalities, and the key role of religion. "Religiosity is still at the center of the Algerian inner nature; his world still revolves around the illusory sun of Allah, the All-Powerful" (p. 51). The end result is a revolution running on only half its cylinders and a continuation of populism at the expense of thorough socialist reconstruction.

However, there are also positive aspects to this story. While Algeria is not a working class dictatorship, there is freedom for Marxism, and Marxist concepts are familiar to Algerian authors. There are throughout the book, repeated clues that the NFL leadership hopes to see, in time, a reception of Marxist-Leninist ideology. For example, the genuine warmth and demonstrations of friendship for Fidel, the fact that Algerian army officers are trained in the Soviet Union, suggest to the author "if circumstances compel Algeria to give up the convenience of nonalignment and choose a camp, there is little doubt as to where it will plant its flag" (p. 89). This book is essential to those who wish to understand political theory and development in the Islamic world.

KNUD S. LARSEN

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Human Betterment

(Continued from page 17)

machismo, underdevelopment and unemployment. *Cederistas* acknowledged that *machismo*, centuries old, is still a problem and is examined by each CDR.

For having survived all the trials of their long struggle for liberation and grown stronger, the Cuban people are heroes. In a pioneer mobilization, they have built a little model of democracy and comradeship, an island freed from dark poverty and exploitation, where no one wants for the means to live and thrive, and where people live in dignity, solidarity and the bright hope of human betterment. □

While in Cuba the US philosophers invited their hosts to send two philosophers to a US symposium, "Marxism in Cuba." Sponsored by the Radical Caucus and the Society for the Philosophical Study of Marxism, it would be held at Baltimore on December 28, 1982 at the 79th annual convention of the eastern division of the American Philosophical Association. The Cubans accepted. Invited by the APA as well, Dr. Arnaldo Silva León and Dr. Florentino Cosme Cruz Miranda applied for visas. The visas were denied. "They are both officials of the Communist Party Central Committee," said a State Department representative. Immigration laws exclude "aliens whose activities could be prejudicial to the interests of the US." The US philosophers immediately called a press conference to protest the ban and circulated a petition charging the government with "prior censorship, infringement of free speech, violation of academic freedom and scholarly inquiry, and blockage of international communication between citizens of different countries." They asserted the right of scholars "to have dialogue with their counterparts regardless of ideological differences." The petition won wide support, and the APA business meeting ordered a mail ballot on a motion of remonstrance against the State Department's ban. H.L.P.

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