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The World, the Future:

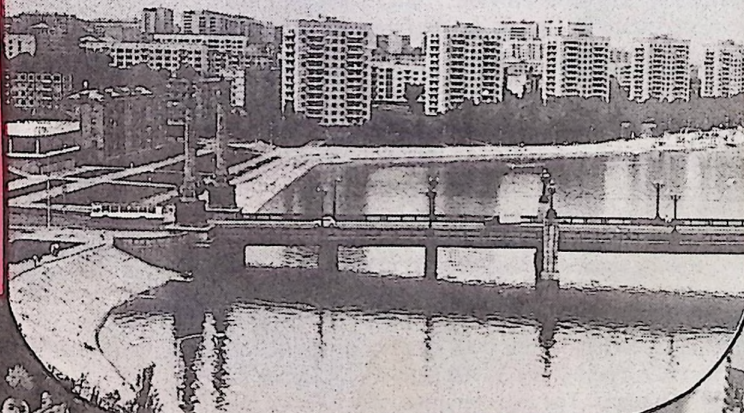
William Pomeroy
Georgi Arbatov
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Howard L. Parsons



Sixty Years That Changed the World

Soviet Life:

Mike Davidow
Sara Harris
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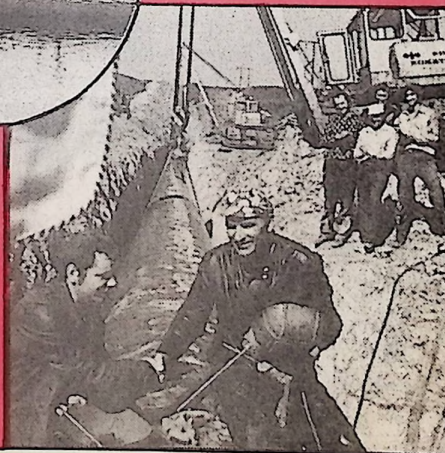
Women, National Minorities:

Angela Davis
George B.
Murphy, Jr.
Alexander
Zevelev



Economy, Politics, Society:

John Pittman
John J. Abt
David Laibman
Lem Harris
Erwin Marquit



The 60th Anniversary: Heroic Struggles, Great Gains

“Comrades, the workers’ and peasants’ revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.”
When Lenin spoke these words sixty years ago, only the most farsighted and optimistic could have looked forward sixty years to guess at the achievements of the developed socialist society which is the Soviet Union today.

The odds against the new state’s survival were enormous. At the time of the revolution, Russia’s economy was ravaged by the First World War. The forces of armed intervention and counterrevolution came perilously close to overturning the new social system, and even after these were beaten back, the internal and external enemies of the Soviet state kept up a constant rear-guard action which slowed recovery and made starting the socialist reorganization of the economy vastly more difficult.

The Soviet Union came close to destruction a second time, just twenty-four years after its birth, when the lightning horror of the Nazi invasion swept through half a million square miles of Soviet land. The people of the occupied zones were subject to murder, torture, pillage and scorched-earth destruction, but they never stopped resisting. The Red Army and the people not only halted the invaders at the gates of Leningrad and maintained the city’s freedom through 900 days of siege and months of dreadful starvation, not only fought the fascists back at Stalingrad brick by bloody brick, but in so doing, turned the tide of the war against Hitler nearly single-handed, and as part of the Grand Alliance US-Britain-USSR, played the biggest role by far in his defeat.

In both these times of great trial the Soviet people displayed an unprecedented heroism, persistence, fortitude, and creativity through the gravest trials and dangers. Why? Because they were fighting for a land which was, in every sense, theirs—where the fruit of their sweat and toil went to benefit the working people. A land where they and their children were guaranteed the best in education, health, housing, cultural participation, and recreation that their society could provide. A land where they made the decisions on which their future depended. A land where the future could not help but be steadily brighter than the present—if only there were no more wars.

How far they were right in their confidence is vividly demonstrated in the new, fourth constitution just adopted by the Supreme Soviet, which summarizes six decades of the most remarkable human progress. Housing, health, jobs, culture, education, the rights to guide society and to criticize one’s chosen leaders—not guaranteed minimally but in all-embracing dimensions. Underlying them, the fundamentals of planned and rapidly growing economy, the necessity of peace, of ending racism and supporting freedom struggles everywhere.

On the eve of the sixtieth anniversary, there are contradictory developments in US policy toward the Soviet Union. On the one hand, both sides speak of progress in the strategic arms limitation talks. The US supported the Soviet Union’s insistence that South Africa drop its nuclear bomb test plans. The two countries have issued a joint statement on the Middle East’s grave problems. On the other hand, the Pentagon seeks to add the MX missile and the FB-111 bomber to the cruise missile and neutron bomb, thus clearly moving to first-strike policies.

As we salute the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution and the forty-fourth anniversary of normalization of US-Soviet diplomatic relations, let us make the great achievements of the Soviet people and their deep hopes for peace as widely known as possible, and help to gather the broadest forces in our country to insist our government adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence agreed at Moscow five years ago. A world at peace offers the only true security for the American people, the Soviet people, and humanity everywhere.

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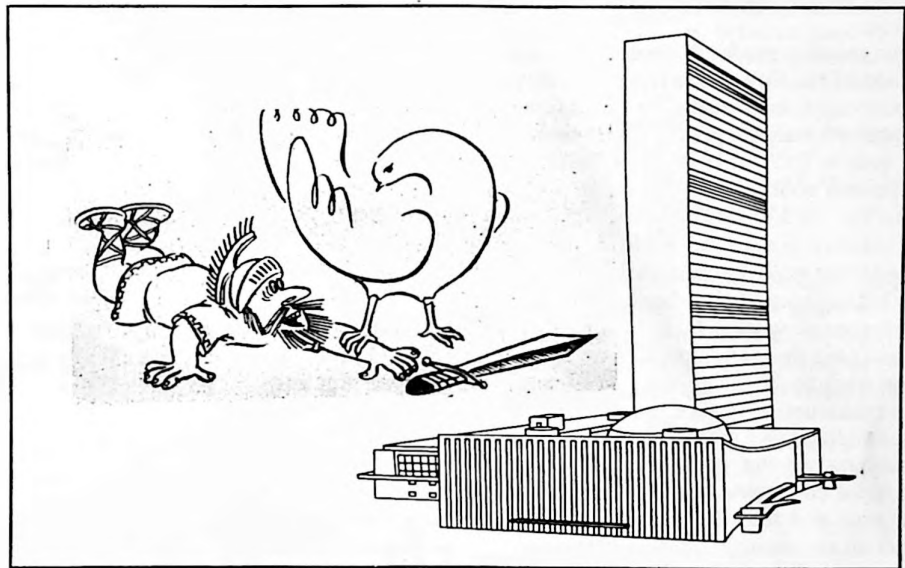
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Gromyko Brings New Peace Proposals to the UN

Year after year Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko has brought new peace proposals to the United Nations—in the last few years alone numbering some 70. The Soviet peace policy has been lifted to a still higher level, if that were possible, by the all-embracing peace proposals, covering all areas of the world's war breeding problems, made by General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and reinforced last year at the 25th Congress. Their implementation has been valiantly fought for by Soviet Permanent Representative to the UN, Jacov Malik, and his successor, Alexander Troyanovsky.

Past proposals continue to be pursued until accepted, both within the United Nations and in bilateral and multilateral relations with other nations. From its first days the USSR has never ceased its struggle for disarmament. Thus it is that the new Soviet proposal for universal and complete disarmament, including, of course,



nuclear disarmament, presented three years ago by Foreign Minister Gromyko, unanimously adopted but delayed by the United States and the People's Republic of China, will be the subject of a special session of the United Nations Assembly in the Spring of 1978.

In his concrete proposals to the United Nations for the present 32nd session, at the Plenary Session September 22, Mr. Gromyko urged a deepening of detente in order to eliminate entirely the risk of a nuclear conflict. Repeating the readiness of the Soviet Union to negotiate complete nuclear disarmament, he urged continuing struggle for the resolution introduced by the Soviet Union five years ago, "On the Non-Use of Force in International Relations and the Permanent Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons." He advocated adherence by all states to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

He repeated the Soviet proposal that the threat of nuclear war could be further reduced by withdrawing ships carrying nuclear weapons from certain areas of the world ocean; turning the Indian Ocean, for example, into a Zone of Peace, dismantling bases already there and prohibiting new ones. He called for a ban on all nuclear testing and announced Soviet suspension of underground tests.

Recognizing the difficulties of immediately putting Soviet peace proposals into effect, Foreign Minister Gromyko urged that steps be taken to facilitate the process. Thus, the Soviet Government offered as special agenda items for the 32nd session of the United Nations the drafts of two documents, "The Declaration on Deepening and Consolidating the Relaxation of International Tensions," and "Resolution on the Prevention of the Risk of Nuclear War."

In Book Form: 1917 in the Lens Of Six Decades

We hope you will agree with the editors that this issue of NWR is a remarkable collection of expert knowledge and personal testimony regarding a milestone in history. Yet almost every article had to be shortened drastically for space reasons.

The book version, however, will have all articles in full — all the historical examples, all the experiences — plus much new additional material. It will be a valuable addition to your library, a unique antidote to the prevalent misinformation about the USSR, about socialism.

Title: *Six Decades That Changed the World: The USSR After Sixty Years*. It will have 256 pages, and cost \$2.95. A perfect inexpensive gift to friends, organizations, school libraries. Watch for announcement of publication date.

Because Mr. Gromyko's remarks on US-Soviet relations present fundamental premises also contained in Academician Arbatov's article in this issue, we present only the barest version of this part. Space limitations also compel omission of many other crucial current issues.

In the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly, September 27, Mr. Gromyko pretty well covered the universe in touching on most of the trouble spots from which dangers of nuclear war might arise today, and proposed steps towards peaceful solutions. We can only, sticking as closely as possible to Mr. Gromyko's own words, give brief excerpts. J.S.

Address of Foreign Minister Gromyko

The growing number of member states of the United Nations is now almost 150. This adds to the political weight of the United Nations and enhances the overall potential of the policy of peace.

Our country made its choice long ago and irrevocably. The essence of the Soviet foreign policy bequeathed to us by Lenin 60 years ago, is to assure peaceful, creative life for our people and peace for all the people of the earth. In this sixtieth anniversary year of the Great October Socialist Revolution the peaceful, human goals of Soviet foreign policy will acquire the force of law and be formalized in the new Constitution of the USSR. Our country acts in the world arena in close unity and fruitful cooperation with the fraternal socialist states.

While in some areas the threat of war is receding, there are still forces at work which do not find detente to their liking, intensifying their attempts to launch an offensive and push the world back to the times of the cold war. These circles promote an unrestrained arms race, and the perpetuation of the remnants of colonialism and racism. Either the world will follow the road to renouncing the use of force, disarmament and mutually beneficial cooperation or it may plunge more deeply into the arms race and find itself on the brink of nuclear disaster.

Yet an increasingly greater number of responsible statesmen are coming to the conclusion that in the nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence. The policy of detente cannot be allowed to mark time and, still less, take a downward turn. It must be constantly nourished with new initiatives and brought within the reach of an ever greater number of states. The United Nations has a weighty say in this respect—all its member nations are called upon to step up efforts to deepen and strengthen detente.

It is necessary above all to protect scrupulously what has already been achieved by detente, such as the multilateral treaties and agreements which are serving the interests of strengthening international security and developing peaceful relations.

Resolute steps to contain the arms race and turn the course of events toward disarmament are imperative. The arms race has been forced on the world by others. At every stage the Soviet Union has proposed an end to the dangerous competition, with war funds diverted to the noble endeavor of improving the life of people. We are prepared to search for new measures leading toward disarmament along with the struggle toward general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Union has made its contribution to some constraints which have been put on the arms race in recent years. The latest was the signing of the convention on the prohibition

of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification technique to which we believe all states without exception should accede.

Yet very little in fact has been done. Armies have not been reduced by a single plane or tank as called for in UN resolutions. Will those who have covertly sabotaged these steps ever give thought to where they are pushing the world by incessantly whipping up war production and the arms race?

How can one propose various "drastic reductions" while at the same time authorizing the development of new and utterly merciless types of weapons such as the neutron bomb? The world literally shuddered when the secret plans to manufacture the weapon became known.

We believe the United Nations must resolutely demand that the plans for production of ever new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, such as the neutron weapon, should be discontinued.

Mobilization of the efforts of all states of the world is essential for concrete results in the field of disarmament. The special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament will provide the opportunity to make practical preparations for the immediate convocation of a World Disarmament Conference and create conditions for its success.

Efforts in favor of detente require actions by states that help eliminate the remaining hotbeds of war, the most dangerous being in the Middle East. Mr. Gromyko declared that the Soviet Union would go on doing all in its power to bring about such a settlement in the Middle East as would establish a durable peace there without infringing on the legitimate rights and interest of any people or any state in the region. He declared that the Arab lands which had unlawfully been taken away from them and still retained by force of arms must "unconditionally be returned to the Arab peoples," while at the same time Israel has a right to exist as an independent and sovereign state in the Middle East.

He said that as Co-Chairman the Soviet Union favored an early reconvening of the Geneva Conference, with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. Gromyko expressed surprise that the United Nations should admit impotence in the matter of withdrawing foreign troops from South Korea which it seemed could easily be solved in the interest of preventing conflict in that part of the world.

The Soviet foreign minister called attention to the frequent violations of the fundamental UN Charter principles, namely: "pursuing a policy of non-interference in internal affairs, settling differences and disputes by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or use of force."

He attacked certain states in Europe which were trying to hold



onto the idea of retaining the old aggressive blocs. He urged that there be a real effort to make progress in the Vienna talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, instead of seeking unilateral military advantages over the socialist countries.

He said that detente created better conditions than ever for completing the liberation of all colonial countries and peoples within the shortest time, for eliminating racist regimes, eradicating apartheid and vestiges of national oppression and discrimination of all kinds.

Citing the favorable prospects for peace in Southeast Asia and the entire Asian continent opened up by the glorious victory of the peoples of Indochina over imperialist aggression, he extended with special warmth the welcome of the Soviet Union to the entry of Vietnam into the United States. He also welcomed the admission of a new African state, the Republic of Djibouti. Recalling the declaration for the end of all forms of colonialism forever placed by the USSR on the UN agenda 17 years ago, Mr. Gromyko urged quick action in ending all colonialism, racism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

Discussing international relations in other parts of the world, Mr. Gromyko said that a major problem which must be solved to make detente irreversible was the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and all possible assistance to developing countries.

Stressing the special importance of US-USSR relations Mr. Gromyko said his country stood for the improvement of relations with the United States, for Soviet-American cooperation in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of peace. But we say with the same degree of definiteness, he went on, that the efforts of one side alone are not sufficient for that. Responding to President Carter's remarks about the desire of the US to develop relations with the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev has said that if there is an intention to translate those remarks into practical deeds we will willingly seek mutually acceptable solutions.

Some time ago, he observed, the US and USSR agreed to a considerable extent on a new strategic arms limitation accord. But the US decision to deploy cruise missiles has called much of this into question. Opening another channel for the strategic

arms race will result in more rivalry, more billions thrown into the bottomless abyss of the arms race which would be used far more reasonably for peaceful purposes. Though reaching an agreement is not easy at present, deployment of a new weapon which is difficult to verify will complicate the situation far more. It is important now to assure successful completion of the talks, and the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to that end in the firm belief that mutually acceptable agreement is quite feasible on the basis of equality and equal security of the sides.

Urging special attention to the Soviet proposal for all nations to start negotiating on a world treaty banning the use of force in world relations, Foreign Minister Gromyko declared:

The draft of such treaty has been circulated among all members of the United Nations. The replies received by the UN Secretary-General to the questionnaire on their attitude to the idea of its conclusion indicate a growing interest in our proposal. We are in favor of an early action on such a treaty.

The joint initiative of the socialist countries advanced last November has to do with the prevention of nuclear war. What we have here is a proposal addressed to the countries that participated in the European Security Conference to conclude a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear weapons against each other. This would be of tremendous significance not only for Europe but for the world at large. We express the hope that the States to whom this initiative is addressed will take a serious attitude. No one should dismiss a proposal which is advanced by life itself. We will continue to work persistently to put on a practical plane the idea of concluding such a treaty.

In conclusion, Foreign Minister Gromyko pledged that his country would work tirelessly for the benefit of peace hand in hand with fraternal socialist states, all its allies and friends, and other realistically minded forces who put the ensuring of peace and the prevention of the risk of war against all other considerations of the moment.



NCASF Holds First National Convention

On September 16-18, the first national convention of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was held in Chicago. Space permits only a few comments in this issue, in anticipation of a fuller report in January-February 1978.

Although the National Council has been active since 1943, and one of the present eleven local societies predates that, this convention was the first time a unified statement of beliefs and program, and a national structure, were developed. The 86 delegates represented local societies in Boston, New York, Washington D.C., Chicago, Milwaukee, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington State, San Francisco, San Diego and Los Angeles, as well as the former national board. They projected a program emphasizing active participation in efforts to curb the arms race and return US-Soviet relations to the basis of detente outlined at Moscow in 1972. Also stressed was the indissolubility of peace and the elimination of racism, at home and abroad, and the necessity for the Council to join

wholeheartedly in the fight against racism. The Council will be expanding and deepening its educational and cultural work with emphasis on Soviet peace policies, the elimination of racism and national oppression in the USSR, and its support for developing countries and liberation movements.

A new structure formalizing relations between the national organization and the local societies was adopted.

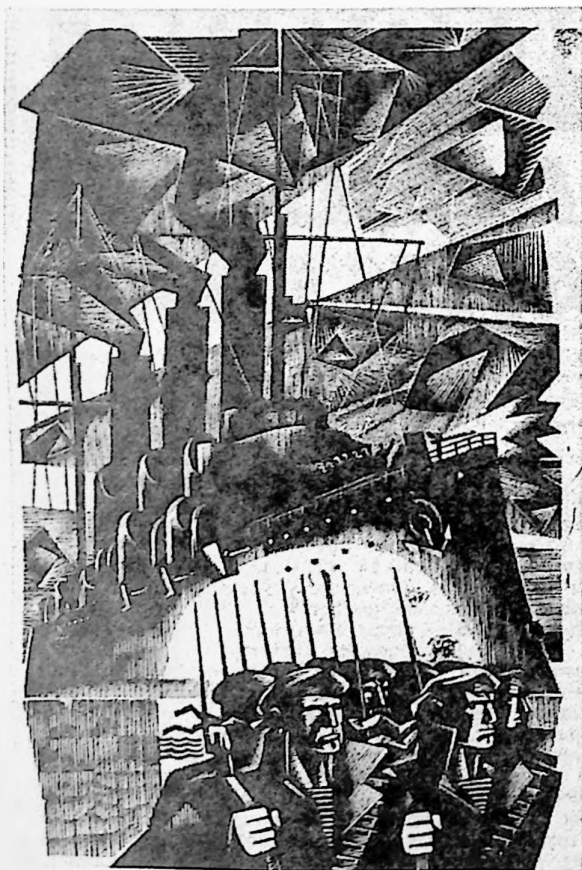
The workshops which projected activities for the coming period included sessions on Policies and Program, Structure, Oppressed Minority Peoples, Trade Unions, Women, Youth, Businesspeople, Field Organizer/Newsletter, and Finances.

The Convention, which opened with a public meeting Friday evening, September 16, closed Sunday afternoon with a resounding tribute by the delegates to the Rev. Richard Morford, who has served with great steadfastness and inexhaustible energy as the Council's Executive Director since 1946. □

Certain historical moments lend themselves perfectly as vantage points for the human perspective, enabling world progress and the prospects for humanity to be seen, past and future, in their broad sweep. One such dramatic moment is November 7, 1977, the 60th anniversary of the revolution that brought into being the world's first socialist state.

Marking a round figure of six remarkable decades of socialist growth and development, this anniversary date is momentous also because of its association with great present-day changes now going on in the world. Those sweeping changes—the crumbling of the last fortresses of colonialism in southern Africa, the casting off of neo-colonialism by developing countries that demand a “new international economic order,” the swing to the left in major capitalist countries that flounder in crisis, and particularly the process of detente that is making a reality of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems after decades of cold war hostility—are, in fact, intimately related to the social transformation of the world that began in the cities and countryside of the old Russian empire on November 7, 1917.

It may truly be said that from that single day onward the world was never the same again. All other eras of social change for humanity—the disintegration of slavery as feudalism arose, the emergence of capitalism to replace feudalism—were processes drawn out over centuries, littered with compromises, without decisive historical dividing moments. November 7, 1917 (October 25 by the old Russian calendar) was utterly clear-cut: on that day for one-sixth of the world capitalism ended, socialist construction began.



USSR and

WILLIAM

Socialism's

From the vantage point of the October Revolution's 60th anniversary it is possible to comprehend the amazing changes that have occurred in the world in that historically brief span of time. The only feature that has not changed, except perhaps in the intensity with which it is carried on, is the campaign of lies and distortions about the Soviet Union, its socialist society and its role in the world that is conducted unceasingly in the capitalist part of the world as it strives to prolong itself by depicting socialism as a system of ineptitude and abuse that is allegedly incapable of real change for the better. With each anniversary of the October Revolution, however, it has become more difficult for its enemies to obscure or to disfigure its accomplishments or its impact.

In 1919, when the Soviet state was fighting for its life against imperialist intervention from all sides, the population of the new socialist part of the world was but 138 million, only 7.8 per cent of the world's total. In 1976 there were 1,317 million people living under socialism, 32.6 per cent of the world's population. The Soviet state in 1922, after the ravages of the interventionist wars, accounted for barely one per cent of world industrial output. In 1976 the socialist countries combined accounted for over 40 per cent of the world industrial output, the Soviet Union itself producing 20 per cent.

It would be erroneous to contend that the multiplying and growth of socialist states has been due wholly to the existence of the Soviet Union. Basically, it has been due to the decline and crisis in the whole capitalist system, and to growth of revolutionary forces for change in each country. However, it is incontrovertible that without the Soviet Union every other single country that has become socialist or socialist-inclined would

WILLIAM J. POMEROY, a frequent contributor to NWR, has written extensively about the theory and practice of socialism and national liberation struggles. Among his many books are *The Forest* (1963), about his life with the Huk guerrillas in the Philippines (where he served ten years of a life sentence for his political activities); *American Neo-Colonialism* (1970), for which he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Science in History by the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; and, most recently, *An American-Made Tragedy: Neocolonialism and Dictatorship in the Philippines* (International, 1974). He is currently working on a book-length study of Soviet life.

the World

POMEROY

Sixty Years

have had their movements for change defeated and annihilated by the counterrevolutionary forces of imperialism.

The existence of a socialist system that now embraces over one-third of the world and its peoples is the most important consequence of the October Revolution, but another sweeping change has occurred in close relation with it and has contributed massively to the radical alteration of the world of 1917: the colonial revolution. When the October Revolution took place the imperialist system stood at the zenith of its extent and power. Today, in the broadening wake of that Revolution, the last traces of colonialism are being eradicated, in southern Africa and in scattered outposts of islands and enclaves.

That the colonial system would have collapsed as a result of its inner crises and contradictions that have given rise to revolutionary movements for liberation and change was inevitable in due time, but the speed and the character of the colonial revolution have been linked in many ways with the October Revolution.

Occurring as it did in the Tsarist empire that had made colonies of many peoples, the October Revolution was pronouncedly an anti-colonial as well as an anti-capitalist revolution. The 15 people's republics that make up the Soviet Union, and the many autonomous republics and regions within them, are the most remarkable of all examples of developing countries striding swiftly from colonial backwardness to advanced industrial prosperity in little more than a generation, including many that have bypassed capitalism to make the leap from feudal or nomadic existence to socialism.

The very least that can be said is that the October Revolution influenced both the national liberation movements and the international climate in which they occurred and developed. Colonial revolutionaries and national democrats, Communist and non-Communist, from virtually all colonies, looked to the Soviet Union as their reliable ally, refuge, base and classroom; eventually, as Soviet strength grew, they could look to it, as did the new socialist countries, as their defender, preventing the old imperialist "gunboat diplomacy" of intervention and aggression from negating their independence victories.

Effects of the Soviet example have been immeasurable. Demonstrating the revolutionary and constructive potential of op-

pressed peoples, posing a socialist alternative to newly-free countries, and increasingly serving as a non-exploitative reservoir of assistance to their development, the Soviet Union and its socialist allies have literally changed the course of history for new nations. In the three decades that have elapsed since national freedom was attained in 1947 by the first large colonial country to be liberated in the post-World War II period, India, the struggle for the future between the world systems of socialism and capitalism has had one of its most dramatic arenas in the 110 or more countries that comprise the "third world."

In the contest between socialism and capitalism in the "third world" a general pattern had developed, in which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have had policies of trade and aid that have fostered a public sector of basic industries that reinforce independence and genuine economic development, and in which the capitalist countries have fostered a private sector, chiefly non-basic in character, along with neocolonial relations that hamper independence and development. The 60th anniversary period is now witnessing the fruit of this contest: the shattering of the pattern by the developing countries' pressure for a "new international economic order," a set of demands voiced with increasing impatience by the Group of 77 (now grown to 103) countries and by the interlocking Non-Aligned Countries. Basically a trend for freedom from new colonial forms of trade and aid that have featured the capitalist side of the struggle for the developing countries, it is supported by the socialist countries. Along with the heavy swing in the line-up of United Nations members on basic questions, toward unity of the socialist countries with the many developing countries against



Graphics on this page are by Soviet artist Vladimir Noskov, part of a cycle for a collection of Soviet poetry, *Great October*.

imperialist positions, this trend is clearly indicative of the forces that are prevailing in the "third world."

Within sixty years the vast majority of mankind has been freed from exploitation, either completely as in the case of the socialist countries or from its most onerous forms as in the case of the once-colonial developing nations. The colonial and semi-colonial countries that won freedom after the October Revolution (not counting those that became fully socialist) contain today 1,981 million people (1974). Together, the socialist and developing countries (in which a large number live under a socialist orientation or non-capitalist forms) now total 3,298 million out of a world population of 4,045 million.

In socialism's 60 years the most critical and decisive period encompassed the years of World War II. Historians are still assessing the colossal impact of that war, which in effect was a tremendous historical catalyst that enormously hastened the process of capitalist decline and of socialist ascendancy. It brought to a powerful head all the revolutionary forces that had been accumulating in the world under the influence of the October Revolution. They delivered a shattering blow to fascism, the most reactionary and aggressive sector of world capitalism, and to the colonial system.

Fascism centered in Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan was a phenomenon that had a dual aim: to conduct an imperialist war for redivision of the world and its colonies, and to destroy the Soviet socialist state that challenged imperialism as a whole. It could have succeeded in the aim of smashing its British and US imperialist rivals if they had not allied themselves with the Soviet Union, but it failed to destroy the Soviet Union with its main blows, and was itself smashed by the powerful Soviet counter-offensives. Millions were able to see clearly the nature and dynamism of a socialist system that could arouse people to such feats of heroism and devotion, and for the first time people of many countries found themselves openly allied in a struggle for democratic interests side by side with a socialist country. Capitalism has since then spent enormous resources and decades of brainwashing to try to remove this understanding and feeling of solidarity that had been generated in whole populations by the clarity of wartime issues.

World War II was a great historical watershed. From an encircled system before the war that had called upon the international working class to unite around the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union," socialism had burst out of the encirclement and was now in a position to defend the struggles and advances of peoples around the globe. Imperialist attempts to restore the former relation of forces, through nuclear blackmail, "containment" and "rollback," and through counterrevolutionary colonial wars, have been to no avail: the world is changed, and history cannot be reversed.

From the vantage point of today's 60th anniversary, a significant lesson of the anti-fascist war stands out clearly. This is the infinite capacity of the Soviet Union to stand in unity with the masses of all countries in struggles against aggression and for liberation. It is a capacity demonstrated repeatedly since then in socialist aid for the liberation struggles of the Vietnamese people, of the Angolan, Mozambiquan and Arab peoples, and currently in support of the liberation and anti-apartheid struggles in Southern Africa. Increasingly, from anti-fascist to anti-imperialist struggles, the unity has grown between the socialist countries, the international working class and its progressive

allies, and the national liberation movements.

The capacity of the socialist system to defend itself and to defend the freedom of others has been a massive check on the war-making tendencies of imperialism. Socialism has had its main impact on world affairs, however, not through its military might but through its peace policies. Peace was one of the main slogans on the banners of the October Revolution, and peaceful co-existence and disarmament were proclaimed as state policies by the Soviet Union from its inception.

In the past 60 years those policies have vastly influenced the well-being of mankind. The Soviet Union was not yet strong enough before World War II to make that influence decisive; its efforts for collective security to halt war-making fascism were suicidally disregarded by the imperialist rivals and nurturers of Hitlerism. In the postwar period, as the socialist system has grown, it has been a different story. The creation of the United Nations in the form that it took was due principally to the Soviet



Union and the anti-fascist forces allied with it, and the growth of the United Nations as a force for peace has been due largely to the work of its socialist members. In addition, the socialist countries have been the moving force of an international mass mobilization for peace, from the Stockholm Peace Appeal to the World Assembly of Peace Forces that met in Moscow in 1976.

Most of all, that World War III has not occurred to dissolve the world in a nuclear holocaust has been due specifically to the firm, tireless efforts of Soviet diplomacy to achieve peaceful coexistence. One of the foremost achievements of that diplomacy, the Helsinki Agreement on European Security and Cooperation signed in 1975, a solid cornerstone of detente, is being extended as the 60th anniversary is celebrated, in its first review conference meeting in Belgrade.

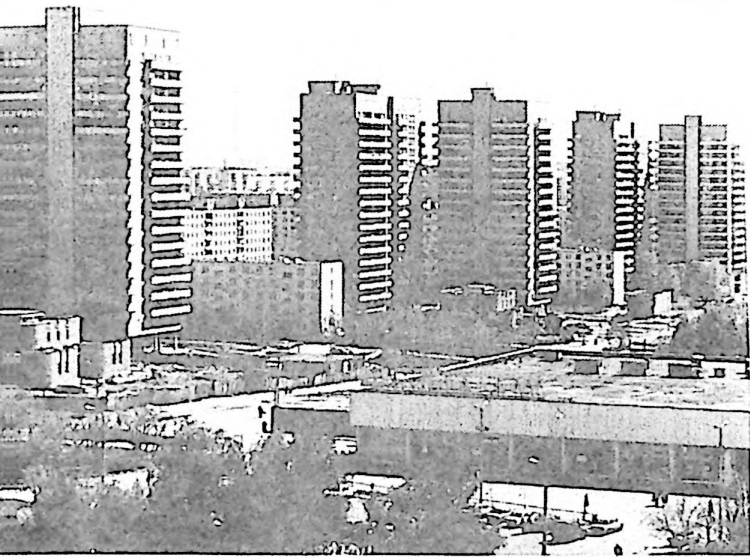
Today, as never before in history, the possibilities of disarmament and of eliminating war from human relations are real and discernable. This is mainly due to the patient, tactful, responsible use of the peaceful negotiating table by the Soviet Union.

For the international working class the gains have been great. Present-day living standards, social security, semi-socialized medicine, unemployment insurance, and a variety of other benefits in leading capitalist countries were not in existence 60 years ago. In the main, of course, these have been won by the

struggles of the working class in each country, but behind the concessions wrung out of capitalism has stood the "specter" of socialist revolution that was carried out by workers and peasants who had been denied concessions.

The New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society, the British welfare state and other programs have all embodied conscious responses to the socialist challenge. Fascism, it has been seen, may temporarily suppress working class movements, but the revolutionary consequences may destroy capitalism itself. In leading capitalist countries today the ruling class hesitates to carry exploitation or rejection of worker demands to the point of causing revolt, aware that the living example of the socialist alternative is ever-present along with international working class solidarity that is the powerful bridge between the peoples of the two systems.

The felt necessity to compete with socialism permeates capitalist policies both foreign and domestic. Anti-Soviet prop-



aganda dominates capitalist media and culture, keeping the socialist challenge, albeit in distorted form, continually before the people. Social priorities are distorted by gigantic expenditures, comprising the major part of budgets, poured out for a proclaimed military confrontation with socialism. The main aspects of foreign policy and of relations with other states are shaped by fear of socialist strength and of people's movements everywhere that regard socialist countries as friends or allies.

Part of the capitalist response to the rise of the new system has been intensified repression, banning, prohibition, or curtailment of freedom and rights of those in the society who advocate or sympathize with socialism or hail the October Revolution and its anniversaries. This, however, has proved increasingly counterproductive, and today capitalism is caught between its repressive character and the need to appear as a proponent of human rights. The sudden human rights stance by the US and other capitalist governments is not merely an anti-Soviet gimmick but is an attempt to get out from under the fact that the capitalist powers have always been intimately associated with inhumane actions and episodes around the world, while socialist countries have been identified with struggles for freedom and democracy everywhere for the entire past 60 years.

The socialist example, and the demonstrations of socialist solidarity with all who fight against exploitation, oppression and racial discrimination, has had one of its major effects in southern Africa where the Carter Administration is now compelled to take a public position against racism and apartheid, although US-dominated multinational firms continue to profit from investments in apartheid. US spokesmen frankly admit that "Africa will go by default to the Communists" unless the capitalist countries take at least a verbal stand against racism, an acknowledgment that socialism is identified internationally with racial and national equality.

There is a story, perhaps apocryphal, of Lenin dancing in the snow of the Kremlin grounds when the life of the new Soviet state exceeded that of the Paris Commune. The spaces between milestones have lengthened since then for the October Revolution. A decade ago, in 1967, its 50th anniversary was celebrated, a great half-century milestone, hailed as an unparalleled achievement of unflagging revolutionary growth.

The decade since then, from our 60th anniversary vantage point, has all the signs of history being speeded up, like accelerated cinema projection. In that time have occurred the staggering Vietnam defeat of US imperialism, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa and looming demise of racist regimes on that continent, the dissipation of the cold war and its replacement by detente, the development of serious disarmament talks and of nuclear weapon curtailment, the end of fascism in Portugal, Greece and Spain, the four-power agreement on West Berlin, the Helsinki Agreement on European Security and Cooperation, the unimpeded advance of socialist economy while capitalist economic crisis deepens and lengthens, the expansion of trade and of economic exchanges between socialist and capitalist countries.

All of these events have been victories or advancements of the socialist countries' peace policy, demonstrations of their economic strength and growth. Each has involved a retreat by imperialism or an adjustment under pressure of its policies. In some case imperialism has struck back—by fascist coup in Chile, by interventions in Africa against Angola and Ethiopia, by intrigue to reverse the Portuguese revolution—but these are short-term efforts to reverse a peoples' advance on all fronts, as are other imperialist strategies and tactics, of alliance with Maoist-led China and efforts to augment Maoist attacks on the socialist countries, or attempts to divide the Communist movement.

It is in the context of this steady advance of socialism and of the world anti-imperialist forces that the latest tactics of the US and its NATO allies need to be viewed. The magnified fakery of the "dissident" and "human rights" issues have to do not with Soviet or other socialist country weakness but with their strength.

A review of capitalist propaganda over the past sixty years provides an interesting if unwitting study of socialist development. At one time, when the Soviet economy was pulling itself up by the bootstraps of its first five-year plans, the Soviet worker's wages, his working conditions, his housing, the commodities he could buy, were all derided, the Soviet worker made to appear like a tattered slave.

The tremendous growth of the socialist economy, which can no longer be dismissed, has erased the portrait of a Soviet worker "slave." Soviet national income increased by seven times between 1950 and 1975. Monthly wages of factory and office workers rose in that time from 64.2 rubles to 146 rubles

and are to be a planned 170 rubles by 1980 (the end of the present Tenth Five-Year Plan). When the tiny rents, cheap transportation, free education, free health services, low-cost if not free holidays in resorts, absence of inflation, and other benefits are added, the real income position of the Soviet worker is an unassailable one indeed.

Anti-Soviet propaganda has the increasingly desperate task of finding a target, and is now switched to intangible, abstract matters like "freedom" and "human rights" which are never really defined or measured. As in the case of the Soviet worker's well-being, the "human rights" propaganda line will collapse as the range of genuine human rights enjoyed by all people under socialism become understood—the right to work, to rest, to leisure, to good housing, to secure old age, to free education, to free health services, to full equality of the sexes, races and

nationalities—all embodied in the new Soviet Constitution, and absent from the constitutions of capitalist countries.

Always on the horns of a dilemma, anti-Soviet propaganda tries on the one hand to talk of the weaknesses of socialism while on the other hand it tries to play up the scare image of a Soviet "threat." On this 60th anniversary of the October Revolution the Soviet Union is no longer pictured on the verge of the collapse that has been predicted from the evening that the Winter Palace fell. Instead it is imaged as an expansionist giant, its navies covering the seven seas, its militarily superior armies poised to sweep over Western Europe and China, its arms reaching to Africa, the Middle East, South East Asia, Latin America, and to every other corner of the globe. The "threat"

GEORGI ARBATOV

Soviet-US Relations Today

What is the situation regarding Soviet-USA relations today is a question that more and more people are asking in the USSR, the USA and around the whole world.

On the one hand, it is evident that a turn from the cold war to detente has taken place in the two countries' relations over the past five years, appreciably pushing back the threat of nuclear war and opening up the way to mutually advantageous cooperation on terms of equality. On the other hand, it is equally evident that progress in resolving many outstanding problems, so necessary if the improvement is to continue, to be consolidated and made irreversible, has slowed down and in some areas even threatens to be reversed.

In this connection mention should first of all be made of a lack of substantial progress in the talks on strategic arms limitation. True, these talks are continuing. But the main issues remain unresolved, while on some points the USA has withdrawn from positions which had already been agreed upon. Especially dangerous is the fact that while the talks are stalled the USA and its NATO allies are stepping up the arms race, deploying new systems of weapons and increasing their military budgets.

A Change for the Worse

The political atmosphere in relations between the USSR and the USA has changed for the worse. This is a direct result of a series of anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns conducted in the USA and of attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries under the pretext of "defending human rights." These actions are being justified by claiming that they are merely part of the routine ideological struggle and that, in fact, according to the Soviet view this is perfectly compatible with detente and peaceful coexistence. But

ideological struggle means debating ideas and facts, debating values inherent in this or that system, and it should not be turned into a deliberate stepping up of distrust and hostility, into falsification of reality and especially into subversive activities. In an interview with the newspaper *Le Monde*, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev correctly pointed out that "the ideological struggle should not grow into a 'psychological war.' It should not be used as a means of interference in the internal affairs of states and nations, nor should it lead to political and military confrontation."

The USA is also to blame for the fact that questions of Soviet-US economic relations, though ready for solution, are not being solved. Nor is anything being done to remove the artificial barriers raised by the American side in the way of developing mutually beneficial cooperation. On the contrary, new obstacles are being put up.

On the whole, it may be said that over the past 18 months (six months of which coincide with the new Administration being in office) the USA has added many new problems and difficulties to those already besetting relations between it and the USSR.

Moreover, certain circles in the USA are delighted with this state of affairs, and their spokesmen are now saying that relations between the two countries have entered a new phase which it would be more correct to describe as "controlled rivalry" rather than detente; the newly coined term for it is "cold detente." But all this is at an unofficial level. Publicly, not one of the top-ranking officials is calling for renouncing detente: the term which President Ford preferred to give up last year has again been given legal status in political practice. What is more, American leaders quite frequently speak of their desire to improve relations with the USSR and to preserve detente, to undertake joint efforts in preventing nuclear war and ending the arms race. Assurances of this kind were recently reiterated by President Carter in his Charleston speech wholly devoted to Soviet-US relations, as well as in an interview with *Time* magazine.

Some of the propositions contained in the Charleston speech

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propaganda unwittingly points to the strength and uncontested development of socialism.

What the seventh decade of the October Revolution means for the people of the world could scarcely be imagined but a few years ago: a curtailment and gradual elimination of war as a means of conducting relations between states and systems, an inhibiting of imperialist aggression and intervention, the complete disappearance of colonialism and racist regimes, a socialist system that decisively excels capitalism in production, productivity, and distribution of goods and services, the cooperation of states for the genuine rapid development of the "third world," and for the overcoming of hunger, pollution and major diseases.

Considering the distance that mankind has traveled in the past sixty years, these prospects are not at all unrealistic. □

can be assessed as positive. In particular, this concerns the confirmation of the great importance of Soviet-American relations for the prevention of war and the solution of a number of major world problems. It also concerns the President's statement that, for all the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States, the two countries have vital coinciding interests, and under these conditions it is preferable to lay emphasis on peace and cooperation, not on hostility and differences.

But there is another aspect to Mr. Carter's speech, namely, to absolve the United States from all responsibility for the difficulties that have developed in its relations with the USSR and to let these difficulties boil down to "certain negative comments coming from the Soviet side." In this connection, President Carter has stated that "if these comments are based on a misconception of our motives, we will redouble our efforts to make them clear; but if they are merely intended as propaganda so as to put pressure on us, let no one doubt that we will persevere."

In the light of what has happened lately in relations between the two countries, this statement by the President evokes surprise, to say the least.

With regard to the talks on strategic arms limitation, the proposals brought to Moscow by the Americans in March of this year, which signified a departure from the Vladivostok Agreements, were rejected not because they were not duly understood and evaluated in the USSR: on the contrary, they were turned down precisely because their essence was understood perfectly as an attempt by the United States to gain unilateral advantages.

Also almost beneath criticism is the "propaganda-to-put-pressure-on-the-United States" thesis. Activity of this kind was undertaken not in the Soviet Union but precisely in the United States, which tried, under threat of developing new arms systems, to impose on the USSR unacceptable terms to an agreement. And if, instead of searching for mutually acceptable solutions, Washington's policy is to "persevere" in its present attitudes, this naturally will not make agreement any easier to reach.

Obviously, all this does not mean that an explanation of a number of questions by the American side would not be in order. For instance, how does the declared desire of the United States to work for cardinal limitations and reductions of arms square with its recent decision on the development of strategic cruise missiles and the production of the neutron bomb? Here clearly is a decision on launching a new, dangerous round of the arms race. It would also be useful to explain how to reconcile the call for laying emphasis on peace and cooperation, and not on hostility and differences, with the activation of anti-Soviet propaganda and with the new allocations for the subversive Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe organizations, specially set up in the cold-war years for such propaganda, and with other activities of this kind.

No, Soviet comments apropos US policy are not "intended as propaganda." They reflect something else entirely, namely, genuine concern over the present state of affairs. This concern is fully justified, because here one is not dealing with small points, but with serious problems affecting both the essence of, and the political climate in, relations between the two countries, and, furthermore, the prospects for strengthening or impairing peace and security on a broad international scale.

Lack of Continuity in American Politics

From US actions in some areas and lack of action in others, and from individual statements on some questions and silence on others, one gains the impression that the problem of continuity in American politics is still unresolved. It would seem as though the fight over it is still going on, that those forces have become more active in the United States which would like to "correct" detente, to see it turn into something else—something that yields greater advantages to the USA.

Many cool-headed American observers well understand that such schemes are unrealistic and that the Soviet Union will not accept relations on conditions that would run counter to its legitimate interests. A lively debate is going on in the United States as to the causes of the present situation in Soviet-American relations. There is a widespread view that under existing American conditions it is no easy task to deal with any new administration (the experience of the previous presidencies bears this out) but that in time the US Government may act more



F. Reshetnikov, "The Heroic Five." Watercolor, 1975.

thoughtfully and take a more realistic stand on major international issues. Well, we shall wait and see, as the saying goes.

Still, we do not believe that all this justifies the present situation on the American political scene. One must not forget that the Carter Administration came into office under altogether different conditions than its predecessors, at a time when the ice of the cold war was already broken and when as a result of much effort on both sides a firm political and legal base was already created for new relationships between the two countries and when the Soviet-American dialogue at all levels had substantially broadened.

It would seem that the attempts to "modify" detente (emasculate it, to be more exact) have deeper roots than either the inexperience of the new administration, as some American observers point out, or the peculiarities of the President's "political style," or even the views of some of his closest associates. These roots lie in the ambitions of the US ruling class, which was also responsible for the cold war, its political, ideological and even psychological sources, the giant machinery designed to promote it, and the strength and political influence of the monopolies and political groupings that came into being at that time and include certain representatives of military circles and other echelons of the government machine.

The United States went through a hard time before recognizing the idea of detente and the need to revise the principles of the postwar brinkmanship policy—it has lived through the crises and upheavals that so frequently shook that country in the past decade. Although the idea of detente expressed the objective nature of the profoundest processes of world development, including the incontrovertible facts of existence in the nuclear age, many people in the United States seem to have accepted detente as something forced upon them by extraordinary conditions resulting from the upheavals experienced by the country, and, consequently, as something temporary.

One such upheaval was the Vietnam war, which gave a powerful impulse to the worsening of the social and political crisis in the country and to the upsurge of massive democratic movements in the late sixties and early seventies. The Watergate scandal, which erupted into a serious constitutional and political crisis, is now gradually becoming a thing of the past. People are also saying in America that in spite of the vast army of unemployed and rampant inflation, the United States is beginning to move out of the cyclic crisis which broke out in 1973. In short, there has come a time which some people in the United States call "normalization" or "recovery."

There is reason to believe that all those who were never able to accept detente or the need to bring political appetites into line with real possibilities interpret these changes as their chance for

HARRY BRIDGES

US Labor's Stake in Detente

Ido not believe that there is any rational alternative to detente—that is, the relaxation of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. There will always be competition between our two fundamentally different social and economic systems. But the existence of nuclear technology capable of destroying civilization as we know it makes war between the US and the USSR absolutely unthinkable.

Over the last five years, there has been substantial progress toward a relaxation of tension. The conclusion of the war in Vietnam, the signing of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, the Helsinki Accords and the recent relaxation by the State Department of restrictions on travel between the US and socialist countries have all been steps in the right direction.

However, we want to insure that progress continues. Hardline cold warriors who are attempting to push the Carter Administration into a tough stance are well organized and well financed, and have considerable strength in Congress and the Administration. More realistic groups, such as the Trilateral Commission, are still committed to US economic expansion, although they have come to understand some of the limitations on US power in the world. Detente is still shaky.

Negotiation of a new SALT treaty as soon as possible is extremely important. This is the precondition for further progress. In the absence of a new SALT treaty, both sides will

resume the arms race making future progress that much more difficult.

Repeal of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act is another priority. This amendment denies the Soviets Export-Import Bank credits for purchases of US goods. It also denies to Soviet exports the "most-favored-nation" tariff treatment accorded to our trading partners. It is an inept effort to force the USSR to change its internal affairs and to adopt what the US Congress considers to be more liberal policies on emigration. All it has done, however, is drive Soviet business elsewhere. Increased Soviet trade could produce as many as three to five million jobs in the US, and also serve as a potent force for increased understanding between our two countries.

Also vital is reduction of the soaring US military budget, which is not only wasteful and harmful to the US economy, but serves as a signal of US intentions. The Coalition for a New Foreign Policy estimates that a cut of some \$13.6 billion would have no effect on the ability of the US to defend itself.

I think that the working people of the US have a clear interest in furthering such policies—from the point of view assuring the survival of civilization and from the narrower point of view of assuring the economic health of the US. □

revenge. One current theory has it that the balance of forces in the world may once again change in favor of the United States, that therefore the USA may now pursue a policy of strength in relation to the USSR and other countries.

Does the above-mentioned "upbeat" mood of the opponents of detente correspond to the real state of affairs? Well, hardly. It has been induced not so much by real facts as by euphoria, by illusions that history can be reversed to suit the interests of US imperialist circles.

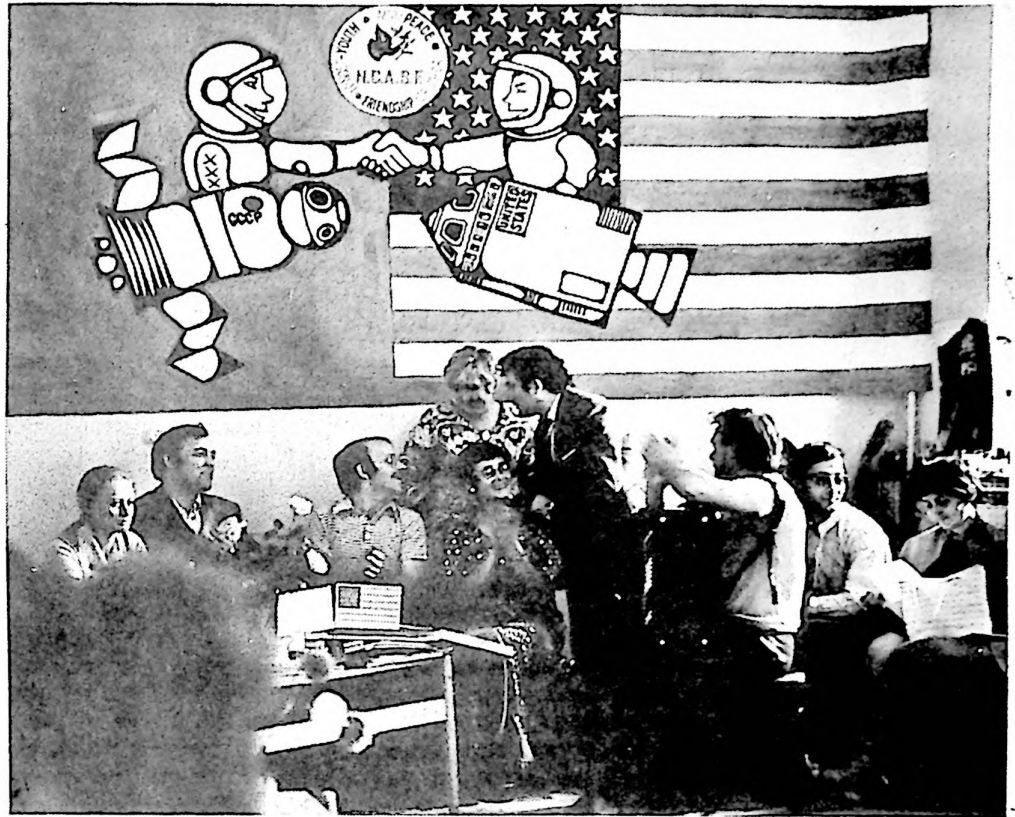
Militarists' Hopes for New Positions of Strength

The changes that have occurred in the political and economic situation in the USA are rather relative. The problems that have been accumulating for decades continue to be complicated and acute. Inside the USA itself, many are expressing the view that the country's objective interests are ever more imperatively calling for switching over the resources now used for the unrestrained and pointless arms buildup to the struggle against unemployment and for curbing inflation, for solving the energy crisis and ecological problems, for improving the lot of Black Americans and the millions of poor whites, for overcoming the crisis of big cities, for improving the system of education, public health and social maintenance (in this field, the rich USA remains flagrantly backward even in comparison with many West European capitalist states). By and large, the lack of bright prospects is in its own way admitted by the new Administration, too.

Apparently sensing the weakness of their positions, the authors of the concept of the alignment of forces changing in favor of the USA are attempting to base themselves on yet another anti-Soviet campaign, reiterating old inventions to the effect that the Soviet Union is a "colossus with feet of clay," that it is more interested in detente and good economic relations with the West than the West is, and that this means the West can and must "squeeze out" from it as many unilateral concessions as possible. This myth has more than once collapsed in the past. It is even less valid today.

In summing up his impressions of his recent tour of the USSR, Joseph Kraft, a prominent American journalist, wrote that it is a fact that Russia is a colossus, but not one with feet of clay; it possesses arms, manpower, resources, technology and an ability to grow. It can neither be ignored, nor blackmailed, nor buried, he added. He went on to say that the USA has no choice but to coexist with the Soviet Union and that the essence of any US foreign policy has to be a strategy that includes coexistence as well as competition with it.

The most important point is that no changes whatsoever have



US and Soviet youth meet in a factory club in Togliatti, USSR, 1975. The trip was organized by the Youth Division, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

taken place in the basic realities of the international situation, which means that the paramount national interest of all countries, the USA included, lies in the prevention of nuclear war and the establishment of such a system of international relations as would guarantee a lasting peace and favor the development of international cooperation. The Soviet Union is a reliable partner in the promotion of such relations, but only on condition of equality and reciprocity.

In all fairness let it be said here and now that the attempts to emasculate the content of detente commenced long before the advent to power of the new Administration. A crusade against improvements in Soviet-US relations was the keynote of last year's election campaign. A brazen propaganda campaign was launched whose aim was to intimidate the American electorate with a "military threat" allegedly emanating from the USSR, and also slanderous campaigns concerning domestic conditions in the Soviet Union.

Such actions only create difficulties in the field of Soviet-US relations.

One sometimes hears it said that the policy conducted by the US Government would be far more positive, were it not for the general situation on the American domestic scene. But it is the enemies of detente in the USA, rather than the Soviet Union, who are responsible for the aggravation of that situation. How things will develop in the future depends to a considerable extent on the US government. It is not possible to fan hostile sentiments toward the USSR and simultaneously conduct a policy of detente. Nor is it feasible to step up the arms race and

have successful talks on arms limitation.

Unceasing anti-Soviet campaigns have certainly made an impact on part of the American public and have to some extent weakened the opposition, resulting in inflated military spending. At the same time, recent public opinion polls have shown that American sentiment in favor of maintaining detente and improving Soviet-American relations remains stable. Between 70 and 80 per cent of those polled share this sentiment. Thus, according to the latest Harris Poll, 77 per cent of Americans expressed themselves in favor of the early signing of a Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons, whereas a mere eight per cent were against it.

There is no ignoring the objective realities. It is likewise very difficult to try to separate them from politics for any length of time. That is why one can say that the consolidation and deepening of detente in Soviet-American relations has a future.

This does not mean, however, that fluctuations and zig-zags occurring in the American policy are not fraught with danger. They result in lost time, which can be very costly.

The Soviet Union has done and continues doing everything in its power to break the current impasse in relations between the two countries. The policy conducted by our country is consistent; restrained, principled and purposeful. The Soviet state is firmly following the course worked out by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, which is aimed at strengthening peace and international security. Leonid Brezhnev said the following in his message of greetings to President Carter on the occasion of the US national holiday, Independence Day:

"I would like to express the hope that by using the positive experience accumulated in recent years we can ensure a stable development of relations between the USSR and the USA along the road of cooperation and interaction in the interests of strengthening peace and deepening the process of detente."

All the necessary preconditions exist for such a development, which accords equally with the interests of the American and Soviet peoples and of the other peoples of the world. It would be good if the policy-makers in the United States finally realized this. As distinct from a quarrel, peace and good relations require determination and realistic efforts on both sides. □



MARILYN BECHTEL

US-Soviet Relations:

The single most critical relationship between nations today is that of the United States and the Soviet Union. What takes place between these two will determine whether the world must continue to suffer ever-escalating arms race and increasing threat of nuclear disaster, or whether progress toward a genuine and lasting peace will bring all the world's people increasing opportunity to satisfy their basic needs and build a rich, rewarding, humane life.

Five years ago, Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev signed an agreement of great historic significance, for it said that the two countries will "proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Differences in the ideology and the social systems of the United States and the USSR are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage."

Over the period of 60 years, relations between the two nations have run the gamut from US participation in the interventionist invasion of Soviet Russia, through the Grand Alliance in the heroic struggle against fascism during the Second World War, the cold war and subsequent "thaw." The 1972 agreements placed their relations on a new basis, establishing peaceful coexistence as the norm in international law, and setting the stage for progress not only in arms limitation and toward disarmament, but also for new developments in economic relations, science and technology, and cultural exchange, broadening and deepening contacts between the peoples of the two countries.

Since that time, relations have taken a less favorable turn. Strategic arms limitation negotiations sagged and then were given a rude jolt by the Carter administration's proposals, so one-sided as to be totally unacceptable to the Soviets. President Carter opened his administration with a salvo accusing the Soviets and the rest of the socialist world of all manner of imaginary sins while ignoring the massive human rights violations at home and among many of the US' closest allies. Under a barrage of pressure from the military-industrial complex about Soviet "drive for world domination" and "massive arms build-up," there has been increasing US arms escalation, a turn toward cold war policies and renewed emphasis on first-strike strategy. Despite these ominous signs, the majority of the American people continue to express their concern for better US-Soviet relations.

Matters have reached a critical point. Recapturing the momentum of detente which built up five years ago, and turning the present dangerous course in international relations, is in large part up to the American people, for it is the US government which has failed to live up to the spirit and the letter of the Moscow accords. Looking at the history of US/Soviet relations can be a great help in analyzing our present situation and considering what is necessary for the future. The occasion of the

Roots in History, Present Problems

60th anniversary of the October Revolution is an ideal vantage point from which to do so.

The Bolshevik Party took power on November 7, 1917, in a Russia exhausted and drained by the First World War. Recognizing the urgent need to end that war in order to build the new society, Lenin, as the first action of the new government, set forth the Decree on Peace, calling on all the warring nations to start talks at once for a peace without seizure of foreign territory and without reparations.

"The government of Russia," Lenin said, "proposes this kind of peace be immediately concluded by all the belligerent nations, and expresses its readiness to take all resolute measures now, without the least delay." Thus was expressed a fundamental plank of Soviet foreign policy which has remained valid ever since. Of course, nobody in the belligerent countries' foreign offices listened (except the Germans, who anticipated shutting down the Eastern front). The ordinary people, war-weary themselves, listened very well, however, as the many rallies for peace and in support of the new Bolshevik government in the US, France, Germany and Britain showed.

The young Soviet state proceeded to conclude the peace of Brest-Litovsk, though its terms were harsh, as a necessary

measure in order to concentrate on overcoming the vast economic and social problems it faced. Alarmed at the birth of the world's first working class and peasants' state, the Western allies including the US used the pretext of keeping the Eastern front going to launch a brutal invasion of Soviet Russia. Their purposes became crystal clear when they joined the Germans in attempting to strangle the new government while continuing to fight the Kaiser's forces in the West.

By 1920, the worst onslaught of counterrevolution and intervention had been beaten off, at great cost to the Soviet people. Though the land still lay ringed around by capitalist hostility, Lenin saw forward to the day when the continuously sought goal of diplomatic and economic relations on an equal basis would become a reality:

There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us.

And he was proven correct, though in the case of the United States, it took until the mid-30s.

The Decree on Peace was no one-time, desperate act, but the expression of a fundamental position of Soviet foreign policy. The reasons were not hard to find—the mainspring of the

socialist society was improving the well-being of its people, and expenditures on arms, except under circumstances of absolute necessity, were intolerable hindrances to that process. In addition, with the elimination of private profit, no individual or group could benefit from arms manufacture.

There were many in the US who sought speedy normalization of diplomatic and economic relations. Among them were Colonel Raymond Robins, who headed the first American Red Cross Mission; Senators Joseph France and William Borah; Dr. Corliss Lamont. Of great significance were the thousands of American workers who sprang to the assistance of the new government, helping to start production at several large Moscow factories, at the Donetz and Kuznetsk coalfields—the last the site of the Kuzbas Autonomous Industrial colony in which "Big Bill" Haywood and H. S. Calvert played a leading part. In ag-



Red Square, May 1, 1918: Celebrating the first May Day after the Revolution.

riculture, one of the most fruitful of many efforts was Russian Reconstruction Farms, headed by Harold Ware, accompanied by his wife, Jessica Smith.

Despite the opposition of AFL leaders Samuel Gompers, William Green and Matthew Woll, a number of US unions were supportive. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers under Sidney Hillman helped restore, equip and operate Moscow garment factories. The American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia was comprised of national, state and city bodies and had a total membership of 2.5 million (or half the AFL total of that time!)

In the early 30s, forward-looking businessmen were becoming restive at the opportunities they were missing.

Finally, in 1933, under these domestic pressures and motivated by an increasingly tense international situation, President Franklin Roosevelt did normalize diplomatic relations. But the first formal trade agreement didn't come till two years later, and—shades of recent dealings—credits were denied because the US was still trying to force the Soviet Union to pay up the Kerensky regimes's debts.

Meanwhile, Soviet Foreign Minister Chicherin went to the world economic conference at Genoa in 1922, proposing diplomatic and economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, as well as complete and general disarmament. Rebuffed, the Soviets negotiated the Treaty of Rapallo with the equally isolated Germans on the basis of abrogation of any territorial or financial claims.

Though kept from League of Nations membership, the USSR presented three peace plans to the League's World Disarmament Conference, and though not invited to the conference which brought forth the Kellogg-Briand Pact, they not only adhered to its terms but induced seven of their neighbors to do so as well.

When the Soviet Union was at last admitted to the League in 1934, Foreign Minister Litvinov warned of the looming danger of war and the disaster it would bring on all nations. The Western capitalist countries, however, saw in Hitler's eastern ambitions the golden opportunity they awaited to do away with the menace of socialism in power. Through this entire period, the Soviets tried in every way possible to form alliances and press for united action to stop the march of Hitler. Their pleas were met with temporizing and inaction. Finally, after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia at Munich in 1938, and after a last-ditch effort to form a binding alliance with Britain and France to save Poland failed, the Soviets concluded the non-aggression pact with Hitler which bought them two years' precious time.

In June 1941, the Nazis swarmed to the east in a brutal drive which ultimately overran half a million square miles of Soviet land. The Soviet people fought back heroically, defending their great gains of the previous 24 years with unmatched staunchness, finally turning the fascist tide at the great and bloody battle of Stalingrad.

Response to the invasion in US ruling circles included statements such as that by Senator Harry Truman: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible," and Sen. Robert Taft: "A victory for communism would be far more dangerous to the United States than a victory for fascism."

Underneath the Grand Alliance between the US, Britain and the USSR the seeds of a new struggle to rid the world of socialism were being planted. While he publicly praised Soviet

heroism, Winston Churchill secretly wrote: "It would be a measureless disaster if Russian barbarism overlaid the culture and independence of the ancient states of Europe." And in the US General Leslie R. Groves took charge of the Manhattan Project that built the atom bomb with the express understanding that "Russia was the enemy." The same forces of reaction delayed opening the second front until it was apparent that the Soviets could free all Europe single-handed if necessary.

President Franklin Roosevelt represented a different view—one which saw cooperation and friendly relations with the Soviets as vital for a lasting peace once the great cataclysm was over. Despite foot-dragging by conservatives and isolationists in the Congress, he moved quickly to establish lend-lease aid to the embattled Soviet ally.

Large segments of the American people expressed their great admiration and gratitude to their heroic Soviet allies through efforts like Russian War Relief, which involved millions of people and organizations such as religious bodies and trade unions. The sponsors and participants in the great 1942 Congress of American-Soviet Friendship ranged from the Vice President, Secretary of State and Secretary of Commerce through important members of the diplomatic community, Congress, state and city officials, trade union and religious leaders. From the process it started, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship developed within months.

The US emerged from World War II with her industries not only undamaged but much stronger than before. By contrast, the Soviet Union, which had played the major role in beating back the fascist onslaught in Europe, had lost 20 million people, over 1,700 cities and towns and 70,000 villages, and suffered great damage to industry, agriculture and transport in the areas occupied by the Nazis. The US had also improved its position relative to its Western European allies, and most significant of all, it alone had the atomic bomb.

The war had entrenched the arms manufacturers and others benefiting from high military spending firmly in control of the US business community. These most reactionary ruling class elements projected their vision of "The American Century" of world domination. The existence of a social system based on premises of peace and the well-being of its people was an obvious threat to these ambitions. Thus the vigorous attempts of the US and its allies to scuttle decisions taken jointly by the Big Three concerning the necessary shape of a peaceful postwar world—especially decisions about the future of Eastern Europe. This was the meaning of Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech of March 1947, the meaning of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the growing network of US "forward bases," consolidated and expanded by the NATO, SEATO, CENTO and ANZUS pacts.

The most fundamental issue, however, was atomic energy. In a United Nations almost entirely hostile to the Soviet Union and the nascent socialist world, the US called for all atomic energy developments to be controlled by an international authority whose actions would not be subject to veto. The Soviet plan to ban and destroy the bomb was rejected.

The Soviets were understandably dismayed. They had little reason to trust their erstwhile allies. Their only recourse, as they saw it, was to break the monopoly, which they did in 1949, and seek to ban the bomb and all subsequent mass destruction and terror weapons. Thus was set a pattern which persisted for many

years—attempt after attempt by the Soviet Union, assisted by the Eastern European socialist countries as they became UN members, to secure agreement on the principle of commitment to disarm and to destroy nuclear weapons. The West always countered with insistence on exchanging intelligence information first and establishment of “collective security” and control systems before disarmament could begin.

In 1955 the stalemate came closer to being broken than it was to be until 1972. The Soviets accepted British, French and Canadian proposals for a staged reduction in manpower, nuclear and conventional weapons. The US response, in line with John Foster Dulles’ dictates, was the “Open Skies” proposal for complete exchange of military information. The relation of this proposal to the theories of “preventive war” endemic in US military circles at the time is obvious.

During this time significant shifts were taking place in the relative position of world forces. By 1950 the Soviets had just about recovered from the war, and a planned, crisis-free economy was yielding steady growth. The peoples of the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, North Vietnam, North Korea and China were building socialism. The Cuban revolution would follow at the end of the decade. The first great postwar wave of independence and liberation struggles, inspired and aided by the existence of socialism, had freed former colonial possessions including India, Indonesia and the northern part of Vietnam. With this developed the group of “non-aligned” nations which saw their own great need for economic and social development as best served by a world at peace. Soviet aid enabled former dependencies to start building their own industrial base; trade with the socialist countries was developing on a mutually-beneficial basis, in contrast to the neocolonialist policies of the US and its allies. The potential of the non-aligned movement was obvious not only at the UN but also at the 1955 Bandung Conference of 29 African and Asian countries which vigorously protested nuclear testing and called for banning the bomb. This process grew stronger during the 1960s, as dozens of former African colonies won their freedom and several young nations began taking a non-capitalist path of development.

All these factors, plus the regrouping of peace and progressive forces in the US and Western Europe after the wave of postwar repression, combined to make possible the first postwar peace breakthrough. Despite setbacks in US-Soviet relations with baring of US spy-plane flights over the USSR in 1960 and the near-catastrophe over Cuba in 1962, the forces for peace at home and abroad secured in 1963 the signing of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty forbidding tests in the air, on land and under the sea. (Negotiations are now in progress for a complete ban, and the Soviet Union has just announced a unilateral cessation of underground tests).

The 1960s also brought successes for peace initiatives in Europe. In 1966, President DeGaulle, searching for an independent French role and seeing good relations with the Soviets as important to that process, withdraw French forces from NATO and concluded the first of a series of agreements on peaceful relations and economic cooperation with the Soviets. The same year, the Warsaw Treaty nations activated a 1955 Soviet recommendation and called for an all-European conference on security and cooperation, thus planting the seed which bore such magnificent fruit nine years later at Helsinki.

In 1970 the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany concluded a treaty in which, for the first time, two

countries with different social systems agreed on the inviolability of post-World War II frontiers. This was followed the same year by a treaty between Poland and the FRG, in 1971 by the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, in 1972 by the treaty between the FRG and GDR, and in 1973 by the FRG-Czechoslovak agreement which at last nullified Czechoslovakia’s dismemberment at Munich. Central to all was the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Impelled by the continued arms escalation of the US and its NATO allies, the Soviet Union had continued developing its own strategic forces. As Richard Nixon put it in 1970:

The last 25 years have also seen an important change in the relative balance of strategic power. From 1945 to 1949, we were the only nation in the world possessing an arsenal of atomic weapons. From 1950 to 1966, we possessed an overwhelming superiority. . . . From 1967 to 1969, we retained a significant superiority. Today, the Soviet Union possesses a powerful and sophisticated strategic force approaching our own.

Since the early 1960s, the US government had been sinking deeper and deeper into the Vietnam war. The American people’s protests cost Lyndon Johnson a second term, and made Nixon try to hide his unprecedented savagery behind talk of withdrawal. The great growth of the peace movement, combined with the emergence of more realistic forces in the business community, caused Nixon also to reopen the strategic arms limitation talks begun with the Soviets during Johnson’s time.

Speaking before the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1971, Leonid Brezhnev summed up the situation:

For more than 25 years now, our people have lived in peace. We regard this as the greatest achievement of our Party’s foreign policy. For a quarter-century now, mankind has been safeguarded from world war. This is another historic achievement of the peoples to which the Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a considerable contribution. However, the forces of aggression and militarism may have been pushed back, but they have not been rendered harmless. In the postwar years, they have started more than 30 wars and armed conflicts of varying scale. Nor is it possible to consider the threat of another world war as being completely eliminated. It is the vital task of all the peaceable states, of all the peoples, to prevent this threat from becoming reality.

There followed a far reaching program for world peace, including peace in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, recognition of postwar territorial changes in Europe and making that continent a zone of peace, banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, halting the arms race, ending colonialism and developing cooperative relations between nations. Impressive progress was to be made in the next six years in fulfillment of these propositions.

A part of this progress was the signing of the 1972 Moscow agreements between the US and USSR, which ushered in a new stage in the process of strengthening peaceful coexistence. In addition to the historic agreement on the principles of relations between the two states, the two countries agreed to limit anti-ballistic missile systems, decided on interim measures to limit strategic arms, and looked forward to the more definitive second round of strategic arms talks. These provisions were accompanied by an agreement on trade which was immediately rendered inoperative by the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and far-reaching agreements on exchange and cooperative programs in science, technology and culture which have been mutually beneficial.

That May 1972 did not mark a sudden change in the funda-



Soviet trade unionists Maria Sadova, Ludmila Semyonova and Victor Zhylovski, at a New York press conference sponsored by Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, October 1977.

mentals of US foreign policy was evident from the continuation of the Vietnam war. Nonetheless, Nixon received Leonid Brezhnev in the US in 1973, and they concluded a strong agreement on prevention of nuclear war. At the Vladivostok meeting between Gerald Ford and Brezhnev in 1974, fundamental outlines of the new strategic arms limitation accord were worked out.

The long-awaited Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe, in which the US and the Soviet Union participated along with 32 other European countries and Canada, completed its work with the signing of the Final Act at Helsinki on August 1, 1975. The Final Act marked the end of the long, step-by-step struggle of the peace forces of Europe led by the Soviet Union, to establish the basis for a secure peace. Its terms included recognition of Post World War II boundaries, respect for territorial integrity and equality of nations, prohibition of the use or threat of force by one nation against another, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights, and cooperation among nations. The Final Act was an important step to lay to rest the revanchist aims of reactionary forces in the FRG, and set the stage for unprecedented growth of peaceful cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries in science, technology, mutual economic relations and culture. Its role in putting yet another spike in the plans of aggressive circles in the US and Western Europe is proven by the consistent, if contradictory attempts on certain forces in this country to call its conclusions meaningless, and to claim noncompliance by the socialist countries.

Taken all together, the agreements of the 1970s ushered in a new stage in the struggle for peaceful coexistence—the stage of *detente*. Henry Kissinger put it this way:

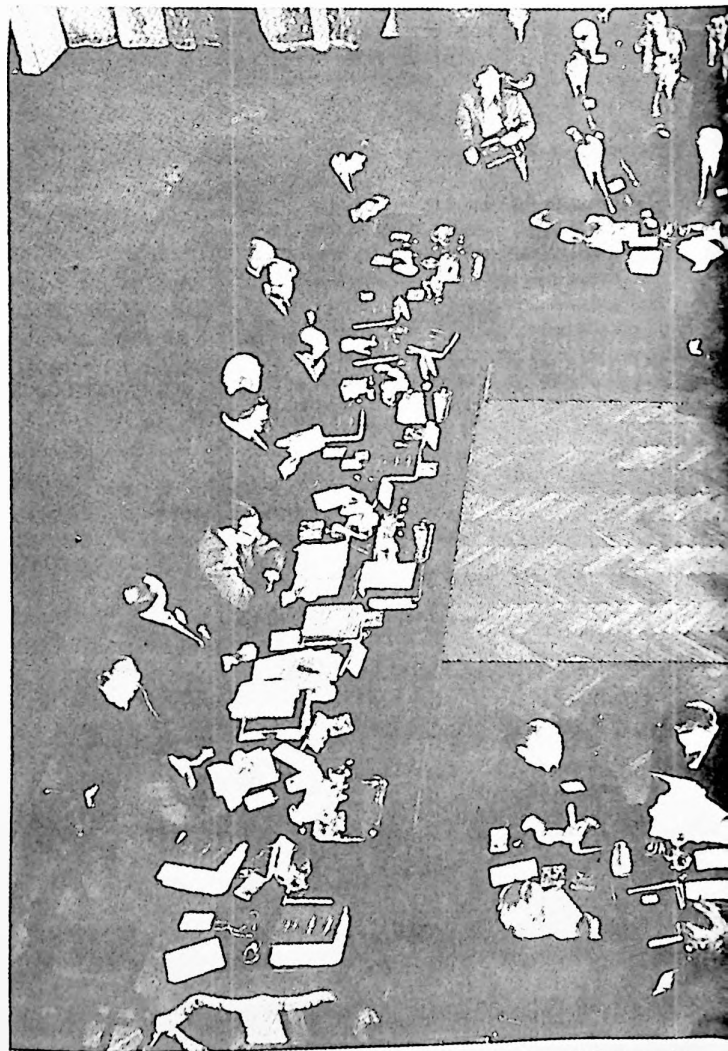
However competitive they may be at some levels of their relationship, both major nuclear powers must base their policies on the premise that neither can expect to impose its will on the other without running an intolerable risk. The challenge of our time is to reconcile the reality of competition with the imperative of coexistence.

And Leonid Brezhnev:

We make no secret of the fact that we see detente as the way to create more favorable conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction. This only confirms that socialism and peace are indissoluble. And when we are rebuked for this, we can hardly help thinking that those who rebuke us are not sure that capitalism can survive without resort to aggression and threats of force, and without encroaching on the independence and interests of other peoples. . . . Faithful to the revolutionary cause, we Soviet Communists are fighting and will continue to fight for peace, the greatest of all boons for all peoples and an important condition for the progress of mankind in our time.

The prime aspect of that struggle for detente, now at the top of the agenda for American people because the most reactionary elements of the US big business community pose the greatest obstacles, is making the process irreversible and extending it to the military sphere. And the most urgent current task is ensuring that the Carter administration returns to the path of the 1972 agreements and proceeds quickly to conclude an equitable new SALT agreement. In recent weeks, the Soviet Union has redoubled its constant efforts to conclude the talks successfully, including a special visit by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Washington at the end of September.

Despite the reports of progress in the talks, evidence of a



A view of the plenary session of the US-USSR Trade and Economic

fundamental change in the Carter administration's position has yet to be seen. To bring about a change will require a concerted drive by masses of people who recognize the damage ever-higher arms budgets are doing to their daily lives as well as their chances of survival. Despite his campaign promises, Carter gave in to the arms merchants and increased military spending by \$10 billion. On top of the "human rights" campaign, he sent his secretary of state to Moscow in March with SALT II proposals violating the fundamental agreement on equivalence of forces reached at Vladivostok in 1974. He refuses to admit that the cruise missile is a strategic weapon, though its nature is clear in conjunction with US forward bases, submarines and B-52 bombers. One might well ask, where are the "equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage" so solemnly agreed to five years ago?

Over the summer, Carter revealed plans for the neutron bomb, which as a tactical weapon would make nuclear war vastly more likely. He opted for mass production and deployment of cruise missiles. The Mark 12-A warhead is scheduled for deployment in October. The MX mobile missile waits in the wings. All these are obviously first-strike weapons. Carter has called for increases in conventional weapons, too, in prepara-



council meeting, November 1976. Courtesy *Soviet Life*.

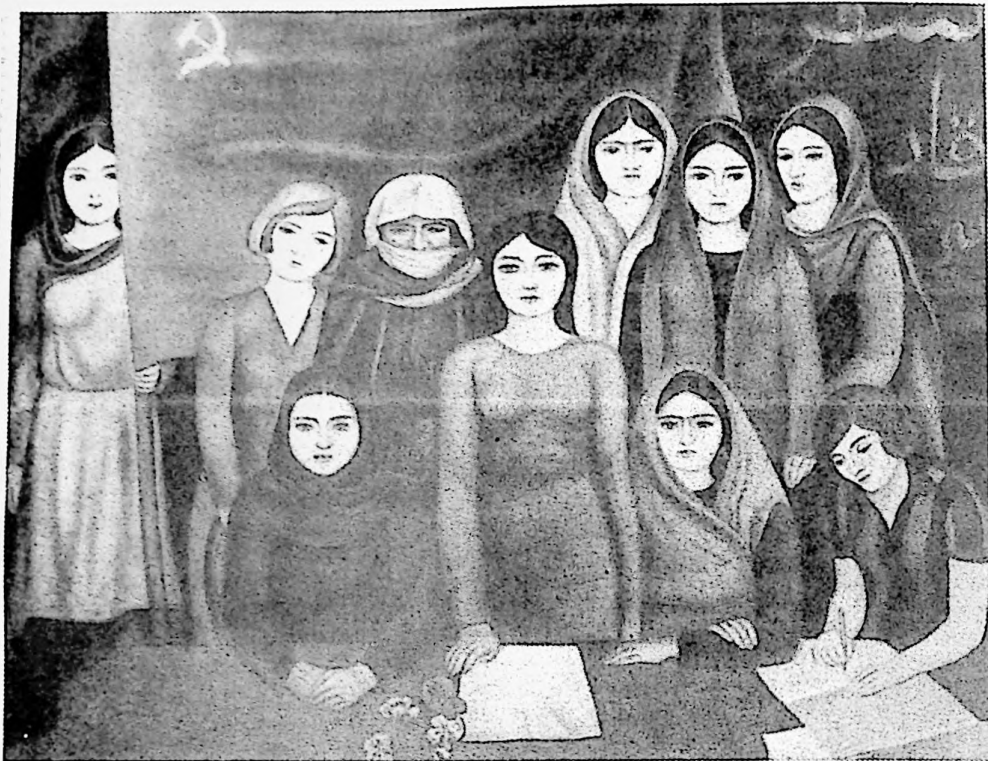


US-USSR youth meet at Togliatti, USSR, summer 1976.

tion for future "limited wars."

As in other periods, contradictory forces are at work within the ruling class. The ongoing debate between the most reactionary elements and those able to perceive the longer-range necessity of turning away from continual arms escalation and threats, broke out with new vigor as soon as Carter was elected. The ultraright grouped around the Committee on the Present Danger, the Pentagon and CIA continue to present a mix of claims concerning overwhelming Soviet arms superiority (coupled, ironically, with tales of Soviet economic difficulties and dwindling power resources). More realistic forces call for an end to the cold war and the necessity and possibility of limiting both strategic and conventional arms. A great many US business people are eager for normalization of trade through repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment in order to get their share of the billions of dollars now pouring into the coffers of firms based in other Western countries.

These forces of realism are an important factor in the struggle to turn back the arms race, in which SALT II is but a vitally needed first step. But they can never replace the role of a mass peace upsurge by the American working people. The Carter administration is in deep trouble with organized labor over the minimum wage and continuing high unemployment and with millions of Black Americans for its refusal to recognize and deal with the legacy of four centuries of racist discrimination and oppression. The task of peace forces in the period ahead is to see that the administration hears just as forcefully from the millions of Americans who are unemployed or under-employed because the arms industry provides substantially fewer jobs than does peaceful production, from the millions whose education, housing, transportation, health, environment and old age benefits are swallowed up in the great maw of ever more destructive weapons of war. There is no segment of the population, other than the arms merchants, Pentagon warriors and CIA, that doesn't have a personal stake in the consolidation and extension of detente, and peaceful coexistence. □



Women,

S. Namitkova-Manafova, "First Congress of the Women of the East." Oil, 1972.

ANGELA Y. DAVIS

Women's Promise for Freedom

The subjugation of women is one of the most persistent forms of oppression known to humankind. Although its contours and structures have varied from one historical epoch to another, it has remained a seemingly constant feature of human society. Some feminists in the capitalist world have concluded, in fact, that male supremacist attitudes and behavior emanate from inborn and inalterable traits in men. The dominant forces in capitalist countries certainly encourage such a superficial analysis, for it obscures the inextricable connection between the inferior status of women and the existence of social classes.

The link between class society and the oppression of women was dramatically confirmed in one of the monumental lessons of the October Revolution. For when the Russian working class demonstrated that class society could itself be expurgated from history, they also taught the world that male supremacy could be rooted out of the institutions of human society.

If we use the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution to review the enormous strides Soviet women have made in only six decades, we can glean from their experiences knowledge that will assist us to advance the cause of women throughout the world.

Despite immense technological progress—which ought to benefit women in the first place—working class women in the

capitalist countries are largely excluded, even more so than their men, from the benefits of their societies. In the United States, not only are women still locked out of key areas of the economy; they can hardly claim equal wages for performing the same or comparable work as their working class brothers. Moreover, if equal opportunities were at all available, the lack of social services and job benefits, such as child care and maternity leaves, would deter women from taking advantage of them.

In the US, Black women and other women of oppressed nationalities bear the onus of institutionalized sexism. More than one-third of all Black women are single parents. Jobs, social services and special job benefits are therefore absolutely essential for survival. Yet, high unemployment rates, low wages, a degrading and racist welfare system, and forced sterilization of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana and Native American women continue.

The socialist response, on the other hand, to women of all races and nationalities has been full employment and a constantly expanding network of social services and job benefits to facilitate women's participation in the economic and political life of their country. Moreover, in conjunction with these vast material improvements in the status of women, ideological campaigns against male supremacist attitudes—lingering in the minds of both men and women—are conducted on a continual basis.

Within a relatively brief historical period, the Soviet Union has leaped light years ahead of the most advanced capitalist

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National Minorities

countries. Engels said that the first precondition for the emancipation of women was the introduction of the entire female sex into public industry. This has been virtually achieved in the Soviet Union. In pre-revolutionary Russia, the women who worked for wages were confined primarily to household and farm work. According to the 1897 census, of the women who worked for a living, 55 per cent were domestic servants and 25 per cent were farm laborers. Only 13 per cent had jobs in industry. Today, women constitute 51 per cent of all industrial and office workers, which almost exactly reflects their proportion in the population at large.

This feat was not accomplished simply by proclaiming that women had the right to equal jobs and equal pay. A complex system of special provisions had to be created in order to bring women's duties as mothers and their economic role into harmony. The full integration of women into the economy presupposed, in the first place, a vast network of creches and child care centers and special measures guaranteeing expectant mothers and women with infant children equal rights on the job. Today, expectant mothers enjoy fully paid maternity leaves consisting of fifty-six days prior to delivery and fifty-six days afterwards. When they return to work, they have the right to nurse their infants during working hours, the minimum time allotted for this being thirty minutes every three hours.

When Lenin reflected upon the conditions for women's emancipation, there was one point about which he was adamant:

women had to be released from the household drudgery, for *petty housework* crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades (the woman), chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive and crushing drudgery. The real *emancipation of women*, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its *wholesale transformation* into a large-scale socialist economy begins. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 429.)

Since the Revolution, in fact, the actual time spent on housework has been reduced by 20 per cent. Moreover, campaigns are continually conducted to persuade husbands to share equally in the performance of household tasks. At the same time, Soviet women and men alike understand that the equal distribution of housework is by no means the ultimate solution, which as Lenin pointed out, lies in the industrialization and socialization of the most onerous aspects of housework.

Pending the automation of housework, however, it is essential that men share in the household tasks that have been relegated, for so long, to women. In a recent Soviet sociological survey, it was discovered that half of all husbands play an equal role in caring for their children. From one-third to more than one-half join their wives in the cooking, dishwashing and everyday housekeeping. In some Central Asian republics, newly married men and young fathers participate in conferences during which they compete in demonstrating their ability to perform household tasks such as cooking and cleaning.



Scene in the corridors at the University of Tashkent, Uzbek Republic.

Creating the foundation for the emancipation of women in Central Asia in general demanded herculean efforts. In those areas previously under Moslem influence, the woman's place in society was hardly more significant than that of an animal—or, at best, a slave. If any single achievement establishes the absolute superiority of socialism with respect to the liberation of women, then it is the prodigious transformations in the condition of women in Central Asia.

Some decades ago, a visitor to Central Asia described what had been a very common scene in Uzbekistan. First, she said, you might have seen an Uzbek man

dressed in his bright-colored long mantle, unfastened and thrown open and glittering gaily in the sunshine. (He) rides on a wretched little mule . . . that is almost crushed beneath its load.

Some ten paces behind this man walks a human figure, funereally wrapped round from head to foot, whose age and sex cannot be determined. The face is covered with a thick, black net of horsehair; the body with a shapeless garment, thrown over the head and falling to the ground, and only the feet are visible. On the head, in rhythm with the steps, a bundle sways gently, and beneath the somber coverings, which cover even the hands, a second stirs in the arms: a living bundle.

What is the meaning of this group, with its strange contrast? Not so easy to guess: a married couple going on a visit. The husband rides on the donkey, but the wife walks at a respectful distance behind him. On her head she carries the flat loaves intended as a present, and in her arms—her baby. (Fannina W. Halle, *Women in the Soviet East*, p. 65.)

The unmitigated inferiority reflected in this everyday scene was all-pervasive in such areas as the present-day republics of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. Perpetually under the control of a man, women were considered biological appendages to their fathers and husbands. In Uzbekistan, the garments worn by women—the long robes and the coarse, unsanitary horsehair veil—were indicative of the segregated life they led, for after they reached a certain age, no man, outside their husbands, was allowed to look upon their faces.

A proverb often repeated during those days conveys the tragic predicament of women in Central Asia: "There is only one God in this world, but man is a second for woman." Indeed, men's power over their women was so absolute that husbands who suspected their wives of adultery could kill them with impunity. The husbands, after all, had purchased their wives in the same way that they would purchase a cow.

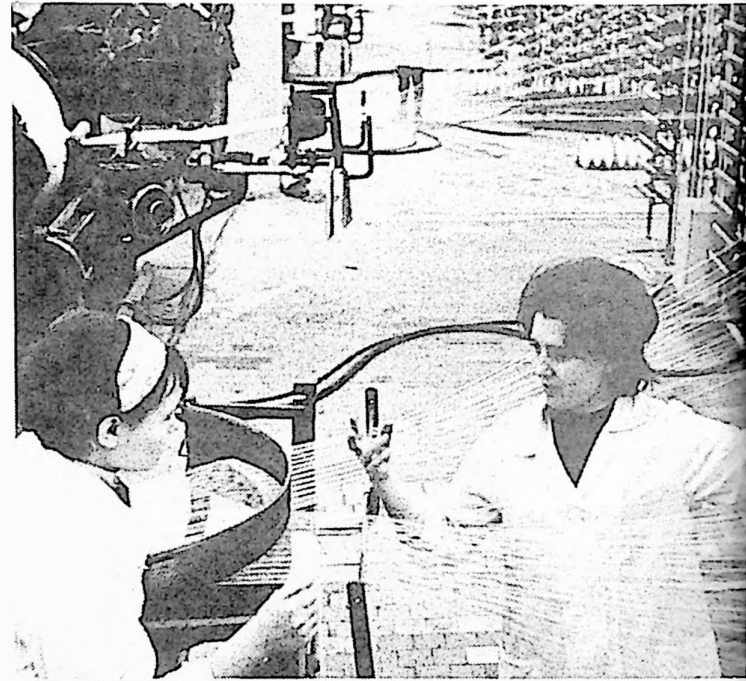
The pre-revolutionary isolation of women in Central Asia did not, however, prevent them from playing an essential role in agriculture: In the words of Fannina W. Halle, "They reap and grind the corn, gather the cotton flowers, milk the cows, tend all the other animals, shear the sheep, clean the wool, and tan the leather. They cook and even make the family's shoes, mind the children, prepare the felt for the nomad tents, weave textiles and carpets . . ." While women's work was far more burdensome than men's, it was the men who controlled the products of women's labor.

That women were virtually slaves of men is not, of course, to say that in Central Asia men themselves were free. Given the prevailing feudal system or the nomadic existence led by some peoples, combined with the deleterious impact of Russian colonialism, the lot of most men was hardly enviable. Yet the situation of women was far worse. They were literally slaves of slaves.

Poverty, disease, illiteracy, cultural oppression—these were the problems of everyday life and were reinforced by the na-

tional subjugation of the peoples of Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, for example, only four per cent of the people could read and write prior to the revolution. Women, however, were four hundred times as illiterate as men, only one out of a thousand women having had access to any form of education. It was clear to Lenin and the leaders of the Russian Revolution that national liberation in Central Asia depended, to a great degree, on a concerted battle for women's emancipation. The solution of the woman question was integrally related to the solution of the national question.

The enormous difficulties presented by the task of emancipating women can never be overestimated. Today, visitors to Uzbekistan or Tadzhikistan or any of the Central Asian Republics can see women active and playing leadership roles in every aspect of society: women industrial workers, women trade



Left: Instructor Yekaterina Osokova, training an apprentice in the Astrakhan Fiberglass Factory.

union leaders, women professors, etc. But six decades ago, in Uzbekistan, one could not even encounter a woman who was not shielded from public view by the *chachvan* and the *paranja*, the long robes and the thick, black horsehair veil. Sixty years ago it would have been a bizarre and outrageous dream to predict that a woman from Uzbekistan—Yadgar Nasriddinova—would one day preside over the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, a leader, thus, of fifteen republics.

During the early days, there were few Moslem women activists. Russian women Communists had to provide the backbone for the struggle for women's emancipation in Central Asia. In fact, for the Russian women to have access to Central Asian women, they, too, had to don the veil. In Uzbekistan, Russian women wore the *chachvan* and the *paranja* in order to initiate the arduous process of persuading Moslem women to break out of their centuries-old isolation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union had no historical precedents in mapping out the movement for women's emancipation in Central Asia. Socialism had just broken onto the historical scene—and now, it was not only necessary to leap from feudalism to socialism in the former colonies; women had to be persuaded to repudiate centuries and centuries of tradition. Resistance was fierce and violent. Husbands murdered wives who cast away their veils. Activists literally risked their lives in organizing and agitating for women's liberation. During the most difficult period, over four hundred women activists were murdered in Central Asia.

At first, it was almost impossible to persuade women to attend mass meetings or even the schools established for the eradication of illiteracy. Gradually, however, by excluding men from gatherings involving women, it was possible to

induce the women of the East to overcome the timidity in which they had been brought up for centuries. Only when they knew that they were



Right: Anna Ladani, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

safe from the eyes of strange men did they come in constantly growing numbers, uncovered their faces, and opened their hearts freely in the circle of fellow women about their sorrows and cares. (Halle, p. 242.)

Throughout Central Asia, women's clubs were established. Two of the salient issues in the beginning were wife bartering and marriage capture; the women's clubs played a major role in informing women about their new legal rights and in implementing the laws regarding marriage. Later, the clubs became learning centers; the imparting of basic reading and writing skills was indispensable to the furtherance of the liberation struggle. Finally, once the drive toward the elimination of illiteracy was underway, the emphasis shifted to teaching women the skills that would permit them to enter into industrial production.

If one thing was clear, it was that the liberation of women was an organic ingredient of the overall fight for the national and economic liberation of the peoples of Central Asia. The essen-

tial feature of this fight was the industrialization of the Central Asian republics and thus the creation of an industrial working class. The creation of the working class, as the conditions for socialism were being established, did more than anything else to hasten the emancipation of Central Asian women. The economic independence women workers achieved became a dramatic challenge to the old patterns of subordination within the family.

Women who worked in factories discovered new encouragement among their class sisters and brothers. Solidarity at the workplace was, for example, an indispensable incentive for the final, mass rejection of the veil. Women could also rely upon the support of their co-workers when they resisted tradition within their families. If a woman, for example, refused to accept a marriage arranged by her parents, she was often assisted in her challenge by the women on her job.

Today, women in the Central Asian republics constitute a large proportion of all industrial and office workers. They are 48 per cent of the work force in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia; 42 per cent in Uzbekistan; 40 per cent in Turkmenia and 39 per cent in Tadzhikistan. (In the USSR as a whole, of course, women are 51 per cent of the work force. The lag can be explained by the vestiges of the old traditions which still, understandably, exist.) The massive introduction of Central Asian women into social production did not occur automatically. Without the establishment of programs consciously designed to attract women to industry, it could not have been accomplished.

In the United States today, we are witnessing a concerted attack on affirmative action programs for people of color and women. The indispensable role played by similar programs in bringing masses of Central Asian women into production should act as a powerful incentive for forging a strong defense of affirmative action in the United States.

As industry itself developed in the Central Asian republics, minimum percentages were established, guaranteeing that women would fill a substantial number of the job positions available. Numerous training programs for women were also devised. For example, in the 1930s while textile factories were being built in Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan, two hundred Tadzhik and Uzbek women received training in industrial cities like Moscow and Ivanovo.

The new role of women in social production had extensive repercussions throughout the society. For how could women assist in creating social wealth without also sharing in the political and cultural life of their republics? Parallel programs bringing designated numbers of women into Communist Party and government positions were therefore established and the long suppressed cultural yearnings of women in Central Asia were allowed, at last, to achieve fulfillment. In Uzbekistan today, "there are 88 female governors, mayors, county managers and heads of the Communist Party at those levels, 50 district attorneys and assistant district attorneys, 4,415 heads of labor unions. . . . They are 45 per cent of members of legislative bodies from the village up" (William Mandel, *Soviet Women*, p. 177-78). And throughout the Central Asian republics, women are acknowledged for their many outstanding cultural contributions. Not too many decades ago, actresses were murdered for showing their faces on stage. Today, women not only perform on stage, they are playwrights, novelists and poets.

Although women in Central Asia, like women throughout the

Soviet Union, are still forging ahead on the road to liberation, the stunning achievements of only six decades are an eloquent confirmation of the potential socialism holds for the women of the world. The vision in these lines penned by a woman poet and political leader in Turkmenia about forty years ago has already moved from hope to reality:

*O women! Tear the yashmak from your face!
Submit no more in silence to disgrace!
Lift up your voice: you will not speak alone!
Millions now make their aspirations known:
To work for peace and happiness of all,
No longer abject, no more serfdom's thrall!* □

In the struggle waged by world peace forces, led by the Soviet Union, to rescue humanity from the growing threat of a nuclear holocaust that would destroy the human material resources of our earth, the urgent need to stop the insane spiraling arms race and to make detente irreversible is mankind's number one imperative.

This fact is recognized by millions of working people throughout the world and peoples of all nationalities, races and creeds fighting for national liberation, independence, an end to racist oppression, and for democracy, equality, security and a better life.

Nothing defines more clearly the common sense role of detente in this perilous state of affairs than the astounding announcement by our government that it is giving serious consideration to the immediate production, stockpiling and deployment of a monstrous new "people-killer" weapon, the neutron bomb. With supreme racist arrogance our government declares, without shame, that the neutron bomb is a "clean" bomb because it does not destroy property, only people!

Thus US imperialism, in open defiance of the majority of the American people, the United Nations and world opinion, places its seal of approval on the concept of man's inhumanity to man as a natural, normal condition of life on our planet, in the name of monopoly capitalist greed.

The genocidal racist implication of the announcement becomes clearer when one remembers it was the US government that exploded the first atomic bomb over the Japanese people in Hiroshima. Our government introduced bacteriological warfare in the war of aggression against the Korean people. It was the US army that murdered, maimed and burned the heroic, freedom-loving people of Vietnam with napalm bombs in a futile effort to deprive them of the fruits of their victorious revolution.

In concert with the multinational corporations and the Pentagon, the US government is pouring billions of war-investment dollars into the African continent in a vain attempt to save racist apartheid, and fascist white minority government rule over the brave African peoples fighting for independence and self-determination in their own land in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Northern Rhodesia) and Namibia (South West Africa).

But, there is another, positive side of this coin. The tremendous economic power, enormous prestige and world influence exercised by the Soviet Union is by no means ignored by world imperialism whose center is in the United States, where inhu-

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GEORGE B.

Peaceful Coexistence Struggle

man racism based upon the capitalist-created myth of white supremacy has poisoned the atmosphere of social relations in every nook and cranny of our country for the past four hundred years.

In conjunction with its socialist allies the Soviet Union, where the capitalist roots of racism have been destroyed long ago, stands first and foremost among the world forces working for detente, in its untiring efforts to promote mutual respect, equal and beneficial relations among states based upon the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between nations and states with different social and economic systems.

Guided by the principles of internationalism proclaimed by Lenin in his historic appeal for unity between working people of the world and all oppressed peoples, the Soviet Union fulfills its international obligations in giving unstinting all-round economic, military, moral and cultural support to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for freedom and independence against imperialism's racist aggression.

In August 1971, I was able to realize a long-held dream to visit the Soviet Union (other trips have followed). I organized an eleven-member delegation, mostly Blacks. We all had similar motivations. We wanted to learn about the life of the peoples of the world's first socialist state where the working class is in power and the nightmare of genocidal racism, unemployment, repression of minorities no longer exists; where life is secure, there are jobs for everyone and assured care from the cradle to the grave.

We visited two national republics—Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan—whose people had endured slavery under the tsars. It was a great delight for us to see darker peoples, who had known only slavery but leaped over the brutality, arrogance and exploitation of man by man under capitalism and moved into socialism. This, to us, was the meaning of Soviet power because these peoples were able to make that leap with the loving interest and concern of Soviet power.

We saw that women in these republics, who for centuries had been semi-slaves to men, in addition to being slaves of the shahs, the emirs and the landowners, were walking with unveiled faces, beautiful faces! They were equal to men in their work, occupied positions of influence in the government, in medicine, power development, heavy industry, construction; in short, in the building of a new society. We also learned a lot from watching people, seeing with our own eyes how workers conduct themselves in a socialist country where they are in full control of their lives. It made us understand that working people can control a government they elect themselves, can build a new

MURPHY, JR.

and the Against Racism

nation and a new society when they are the owners of the means of production.

One of the high spots of our trip was an illuminating conference with a group of Soviet specialists in African affairs at the Africa Institute in Moscow. The Institute is a member of the world-renowned USSR Academy of Sciences. It is also a collective member of the Soviet Association for Friendship with Peoples of Africa, a division of the USSR's All-Union Association for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. It does a great deal to make Africa well known to the Soviet people through books, exhibits, numerous exchange projects, celebrations of "Africa Day," etc.

This conference gave us a vivid demonstration of the approach Soviet scientists take to their work. These Soviet scientists, in striking contrast with our scientists in the West, in their attitude to the study of African countries and their problems, are completely free of the racist, pseudoscientific concepts which make it possible for Western social scientists to serve the interests of American imperialism. True to the humanist principles of the Soviet peoples, they are convinced that all oppressed peoples have the right to independently determine their own destiny.

Some of our group were familiar with an essay written twenty years ago by the distinguished Black American historian, John Hope Franklin. He gave a vivid description of how US capitalism, during our country's period of slavery, employed American scientists and historians to manufacture, out of thin air, a steady stream of pseudo-scientific racist concepts to justify keeping our people in bondage in order to conceal the fact of enormous profits derived from the unpaid labor of Black slaves.

In an article that appeared in the April 1957 issue of the *Journal of Negro History*, official publication of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, Dr. Franklin noted that a century ago one of the South's most distinguished scientists wrote a lengthy treatise on dreptomania, a malady that gave Negroes a compulsion to run away. It appears that whenever Negroes disappeared from the plantation it was not that they were unhappy or dissatisfied, but because they were afflicted with this dread disease that compelled them to run away! The scientist insisted that this was a historical fact, running back into the history of Negroes for centuries. This, and many similar unsupported and fantastic claims became a part of the written history of the Negroes of the United States.

Dr. Franklin had written: "The effect of this kind of written history has not only been far-reaching, but deadly. It has provided the historical justification for the whole complex of mischievous and pernicious laws designed to create and maintain an unbridgeable gulf between Negroes and whites."



George B. Murphy, Jr. (fifth from left), with delegation he led to the USSR in 1973. In background, Mt. Paul Robeson, Kirghizia.

As my mind focuses again on the picture of those friendly scientists working in Moscow's Africa Institute, their outgoing warmth, their eagerness to give honest answers to our questions, a new fact emerges. It becomes clearer than ever that, in the context of the struggle for world peace, there is an organic unity that links the struggle to make detente irreversible, to the struggle against capitalist-created racism. The two struggles fertilize and thus strengthen each other.

Detente is the peace weapon that the Soviet people place in the hands of the national liberation forces on the African continent, enabling the African freedom fighters to conduct winning struggles leading to eventual victory, instead of nuclear annihilation.

Our government fully recognizes the powerful, life-preserving logic of detente, even as it continues to employ the communications media to unleash a steady barrage of anti-Soviet, anti-communist propaganda, to conceal from the American people the truth about detente in relation to the Soviet Union's undeviating efforts to relax tensions and to solve international problems through peaceful negotiations.

The US-inspired anti-Soviet propaganda barrage is also aimed at trying to make the world forget that the Soviet Union, playing the leading role among the victorious Allied Powers, lost over twenty million citizens and one-third of its industrial resources in World War II to save humanity from Hitler fascism and its genocidal, white supremacy, master race theories.

Nevertheless, despite all disclaimers, the inescapable reality operating in world affairs is that there can be no final solution to the problems of world peace without the full and equal participation of the Soviet Union.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union. It is also the year when the Soviet people will ratify their new constitution. Discussions have been going on in every type of peoples' organization, in every city, town and village Soviet in all Republics of the USSR, as the Soviet people make ready to pronounce their final judgment on this historic document.

Two articles of the Constitution spell out the guarantees of equal rights of all Soviet citizens without regard to nationality, race or sex. Article 34 declares: "Citizens of the USSR shall be equal before the law, irrespective of origin, social and property status, nationality or race, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type or character of occupation, domicile, or other particulars." Article 36 provides that: "Soviet citizens of different nationalities and races shall have equal rights. The exercise of these rights shall be ensured by the policy of all-round development and drawing together of all nations and

nationalities of the USSR, education of citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, and socialist internationalism, and the opportunity for using their mother tongue as well as the languages of the other peoples of the USSR.

"Any and all direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on

grounds of race or nationality, and likewise any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, shall be punishable by law."

Sixty years is but a minute according to the clock of human history. Yet, in this short span of time, the Soviet Union, overcoming unbelievable obstacles, has risen from the status of

ALEXANDER ZEVELEV

How the National Question Was Solved

Historically, prerevolutionary Russia had developed as a multinational state. Settled on her vast expanses were more than 100 nationalities, large and small, the combined population in 1917 being 163 million, of whom Russians were 43 per cent. The people differed, both in nationality and in the level of their social and political development.

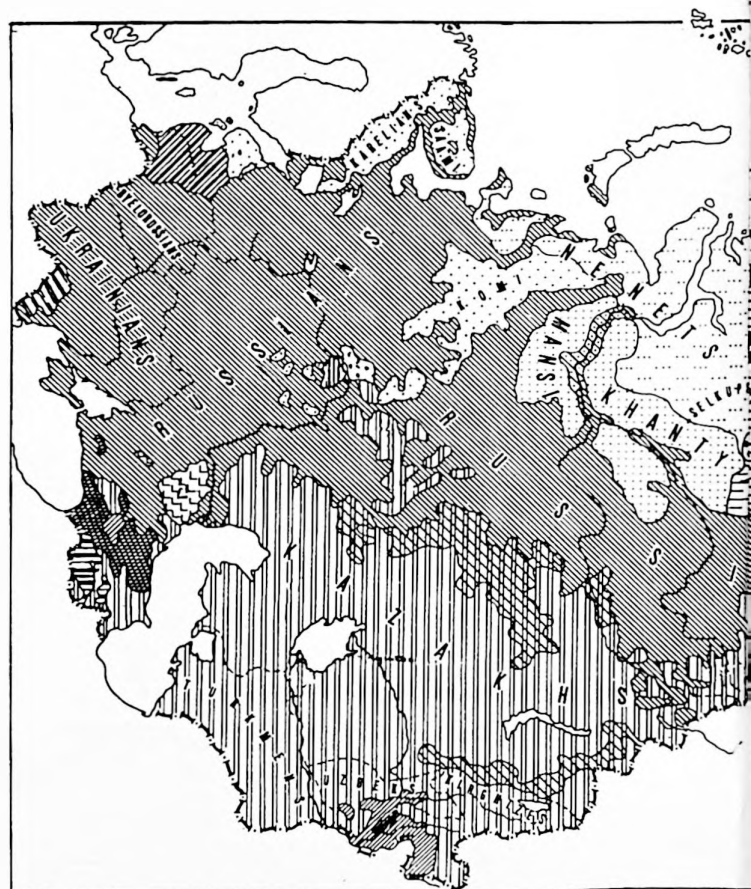
By the beginning of the 20th century, Russia on the whole had reached a mid-capitalist level. On the one hand, she had a high degree of concentration of monopoly capital and industrial production, and on the other, she was an agrarian country with predominantly rural population and with remnants of serfdom in the economy and political system.

The Russian nation had reached a mid-capitalist level which, to a certain extent, was also true of the Ukraine and Poland, forming parts of Russia. The peoples of Transcaucasia were at the initial stage of capitalist development, while those of Central Asia stood at a pre-capitalist level. There were ethnic groups which completely preserved patriarchal-feudal relations. Others had tribal forms of organization typical of hunting and cattle-raising nomads, and in some places even retaining vestiges of slavery.

The non-Russians were also oppressed by exploiters from among their own people—local feudal lords, *kulaks* (rich peasants, exploiting others), and local businessmen who owned, themselves or with Russian factory owners, enterprises for processing raw materials, small power stations, mineral deposits, etc.

Political inequality was aggravated by economic and cultural inequality. Economically, most of the outlying national areas were turned into agrarian and raw material appendages to the metropolis, and areas of investment for Russian and foreign capital. Foreigners controlled coal-mining and metal-making in the Ukraine, oil production in Azerbaidzhan, ore-mining in Kazakhstan, and cotton-processing in Central Asia. The tsarist administration tried to settle as many Russian *kulaks* there as possible, to secure these areas for its great-power ventures. Industry was embryonic in most of the outlying areas, represented, as a rule, by cottage crafts and small primitive enterprises.

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In 1914, only 8,137,200 pupils, one-fifth of all children and adolescents, attended schools throughout tsarist Russia. The country had 91 institutions of higher learning, but none in Byelorussia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Kirghizia, or Tadzhikistan.

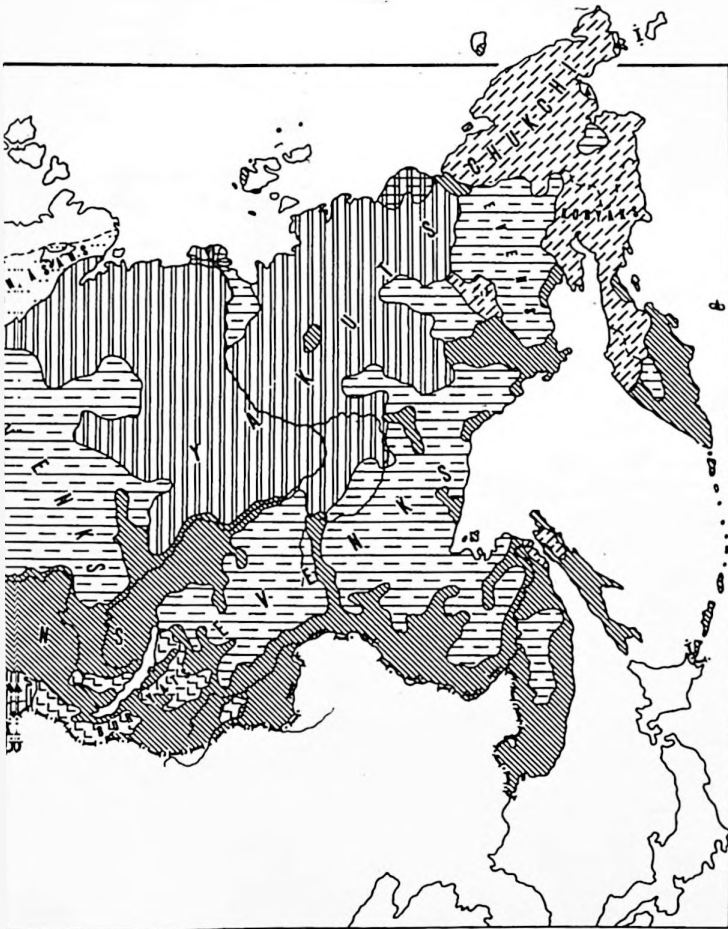
Over 40 nationalities had no written language of their own. In Central Asia and Kazakhstan before the revolution 98 per cent of the local population were illiterate, while in Kirghizia literacy stood at a shocking 0.5 per cent. Women in Central Asia and Kazakhstan were universally illiterate.

To fortify its power, tsarism cultivated reactionary religious

a poverty-stricken, illiterate, backward country to the position of a great world power occupying one-sixth of the earth.

The 60th birthday of the Soviet Union is also the 60th anniversary of the emergence of a new, historic world phenomenon, a united family of peoples of all races and nationalities, building a communist society, as they march confidently into

in the USSR



and nationalist prejudices, sowed enmity among nationalities, and organized pogroms. An analysis of the great-power, chauvinistic policy of tsarism and of the relations which had developed among the nations gave Lenin the ground for calling Russia "a prison of nations."

Before the proletariat emerged as an independent political force, Russians and non-Russians had on many occasions risen together against tsarism. Despite their chaotic character and lack of coordination those rebellions weakened serfdom and rallied the masses in the face of their common enemy.

Democratically-minded Russians had always sided with the

the future under the sturdy banners of detente and peaceful coexistence.

Each new victory against racism, wherever it may appear, is also a victory for peaceful coexistence. Each new advance of peaceful coexistence and detente advances the struggle against racism. They are inextricably woven, part of the same struggle. The solution of the nationalities question in the USSR, as it breaks through the wall of anti-Soviet lies, will open the eyes of more and more Americans, the working class in particular, to the roots of American racism. As we intensify the struggle to make detente irreversible, this will create more and more contacts between our people—and the people are invincible!

This is the birthday message that the Soviet people, through thought, word and deed, bring to the people's forces fighting for freedom, justice and peace. It is a message that tells them they are not alone, that the people's right to life, security and happiness is not an idle dream, but an attainable achievement open to all humanity. □

oppressed. With the appearance of the Bolshevik Party, the national-liberation movements acquired a powerful ally and leader. The 1905 revolution stirred the oppressed nationalities to action against tsarism, local feudal overlords, landowners and capitalist.

The Communist Party's revolutionary program on the nationalities question was an integral part of the ideological, tactical, organizational and theoretical principles on which Lenin had worked so hard and so fruitfully. He put in the forefront the necessity of full equality of all the nations, irrespective of the level of their development, as essential for the achievement of self-determination. Full equality also meant the inadmissibility of setting Europeans against Asians, white-skinned people against black-skinned people, and so on.

Lenin connected this with ending mutual enmity and mistrust, and strengthening friendship among peoples.

Other propositions of the Party program included a ban on all national privileges or restrictions, the rejection of a single state language, full equality of all languages with schools conducting instruction in all local languages, and recognition of the existence of elements of democratic and socialist culture in every national culture.

In questions of state structure the Communist Party advocated broad regional autonomy for people who inhabited definite territory.

On the very first day of Soviet government the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets in the *Appeal To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants* announced that the government would guarantee all the nationalities inhabiting Russia the genuine right to self-determination.

The historic *Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia*, proclaimed on November 2 (15), 1917, listed the following principles:

1. Equality and sovereignty of all nationalities;
2. The right of nationalities to free self-determination, up to secession and formation of independent states;
3. Abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions;

4. Free development of national minorities and ethnic groups.

These provisions were also to be found in the *Appeal To All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East*, the *Manifesto to the Ukrainian People with an Ultimatum to the Ukrainian Rada*, and others.

The Constitution of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), drafted under Lenin's guidance and adopted July 10, 1918, legalized freedom and equality of nations. It declared that any privileges and advantages of citizens because of race or nationality, as well as any oppression of national minorities, would not be tolerated.

Another signal event took place in December 1922 when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formed. Prior to this the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Republic (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan), the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics existed independently.

In the years of intervention and Civil War these republics formed a close military and political alliance, which strengthened contacts between the peoples and was decisive in the victory of Soviet power. It also provided for joint efforts in major economic sectors which led to mobilization of all potentialities to repel the enemy.

The drive toward unification intensified after the victory over external and internal counterrevolution. The joining of all the Soviet socialist republics into a united state was necessary to facilitate pooling of material, financial and other resources for the speediest rehabilitation of the country and successful development of the socialist economy.

The republics were building socialism in a situation of hostile capitalist encirclement. The unification of the republics was not only necessary, but objectively logical. For all of them had a common goal—the building of socialism; the same political system, Soviet power; and the same socio-economic structure—public ownership of the basic means of production and socialist organization of economy.

Today the USSR comprises fifteen equal union republics: The RSFSR, and the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaidzhan, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tadzhik, Armenian, Turkmen, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics. Each republic is multinational.

After the founding of the USSR, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government began to carry out their policy to enable economically backward peoples to bypass the capitalist stage and go directly to socialism. This problem was of great importance since a third of the nations of prerevolutionary Russia lived under the feudal system.

The decisive social force which was able to set the peoples on the path of building socialism was the alliance of the Russian working class with the peasant masses of the former colonial peoples. As Lenin said, "internationalism on the part of oppressors . . . must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation . . . that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice."

Overcoming economic inequality meant carrying out a stupendous program to raise the outlying national areas to the level of the country's central regions, setting up industrial centers and development of large-scale industry, training workers from among the local population, reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines, establishing and strengthening national

statehood, and developing culture, national in form and socialist in content.

Lenin emphasized the importance of establishing correct relations between the Russian people and the formerly oppressed peoples. In *The Question of Nationalities or "Autonomization,"* he said, "In one way or another . . . it is necessary to compensate the non-Russians for the lack of trust, for the suspicion and the insults to which the government of the 'dominant' nation subjected them in the past." He particularly emphasized that every consideration should be given to all the characteristics of a given nation, the specific features of its daily life, religion, and customs, and that each, even the most backward, working person should be helped to see the socialist tasks as his vital cause. He laid special emphasis on electrification and irrigation, considering the former as one of the decisive conditions of going over to socialism.

The First Five-Year Plan (1929-1933) gave special attention to raising the economy and cultural level of backward national areas and regions.

The 16th Party Congress (1930) pointed out that setting up the country's second coal and metal-producing center in the East was of vital importance for the industrialization of the USSR. The Congress also considered it essential to speed development of other industries relying on local raw material resources, in the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The Second Five-Year Plan allocated nearly half of investments in new heavy industry for the eastern regions. Out of 15 cotton mills, ten mills were to be built in Central Asia, Siberia and Transcaucasia. Thus the production of cotton fabrics in Central Asia was to be increased by 1,500 per cent as against a 100 per cent increase for the whole country. The 17th Party Congress (1934) stressed the need for intensive development in education, health service, art and the press in the national republics and regions.

As a result of these policies, during the Soviet years industrial output in Kazakhstan has gone up 600 times, in Tadzhikistan more than 500 times, in Kirghizia more than 400 times, and in Turkmenia more than 130 times. In 1940, on the eve of their joining the USSR, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were not backward national regions. Yet, in 1972, for example, Latvia's industrial output increased 31 times compared with the 1940 level, Estonia's 32 times, and Lithuania's 37 times.

There are two trends operating in the nationalities question after the victory of socialism and in conditions of building communism.

The first is the rapid and all-round progress—economic, political and cultural—of each nation, strengthening of sovereignty, and expansion of rights of constituent and autonomous republics.

The second is that socialist nations are drawn closer together on the basis of working class internationalism. The two trends operate simultaneously without excluding each other. Progress of national languages and cultures of peoples who prior to the Revolution had no opportunities to consolidate nations has been unprecedented. Forty-eight nationalities developed a written language of their own in Soviet time.

Territorial integrity of the socialist nations has been considerably strengthened.

The population of most of the Soviet nations has increased in recent years. The Central Asian nationalities and the Azerbaid-

zhanians grew by 50 per cent in the course of eleven years (four per cent a year, one of the highest rates in the world). As a result the percentage of Central Asian nationalities in the country's population has increased from six to eight per cent.

The flourishing of nations united in a single socialist state is the result not only of the potentialities inherent in any single national republic but of cooperation between all the national republics, which has led to the emergence of a single socialist national economy. This, in turn, encourages a rational utilization of all the country's natural riches.

The Uzbek socialist nation is a good example. In Uzbekistan the material and technical base of socialism was built by overcoming the inequality of the Uzbek people through help from all the Soviet peoples. In the prewar period (1928-1941) whole new industries—engineering, metal-making, cotton, silk, food, etc.—emerged. Industrial giants such as the Chirchik Electrochemical Plant, Tashkent Textile Mills, Kuvasai Cement Works were built. By 1940 gross output of Uzbekistan's large-scale industry increased 4.7 times as against 1913. Today Uzbekistan has a highly-developed industry and an advanced agriculture. There are more than a thousand big industrial enterprises and over 100 branches of industry with up-to-date technical facilities.

The level of agriculture has gone up sharply, chemicals and comprehensive mechanization are widespread, and irrigation has been conducted on a gigantic scale. Former arid wastelands like the Hungry Steppe are now blossoming areas known for their abundant crop yields.

A genuine socialist revolution has been carried out in the sphere of culture. The number of students per 10,000 of the population in Uzbekistan is nearly double that of France, nearly three times that of Great Britain.

Uzbekistan's 7,000 schools enroll 2.5 million students. It has become one of the biggest research centers of the Soviet East with an Academy of Sciences and about 200 research institutions staffed with more than 20,000 researchers.

In prerevolutionary times the Uzbek people had only oral folk tales and translations from Arabic and other languages. By the late thirties the Uzbeks already had a richly developed prose and poetry. Before the revolution the Uzbeks had no modern symphony music. In the 1930's national operas, ballets and big symphonic works began to appear. Like other peoples of Central Asia, the Uzbeks did not practice easel painting before the October Revolution. Socialism laid the conditions for the flourishing of all the fine arts.

The Uzbek working people have a wide network of cultural institutions. In 1913 the total number of books and magazines in all of Russia's libraries amounted to 9.4 million. In 1964 Uzbekistan's libraries alone had 19.7 million books.

The drawing together of nations inside each republic is the result of the multinational character of all Union republics. The work force of each plant, factory, state or collective farm, the student body of educational institutions, and the staff at research institutions, are multinational.

Internationalization is making particular headway in big industrial centers. Tashkent's population includes 106 nations; that of Kiev, 89; and Dushanbe, 80. People of diverse nationalities inhabit the new cities of Siberia, the North, the Far East, and other regions. Even the most out-of-the-way rural areas are becoming multinational. This has been promoted by industrialization of agriculture, its growing mechanization and electrification, and the development of agricultural labor into a

variety of industrial work.

The drawing together of nations has greatly increased the number of mixed marriages. In the USSR at least 100 such marriages per 1,000 couples are concluded and in big cities the figure goes up to 200 and even 300.

Mutual cultural influence and enrichment are an important means of drawing nations closer together. One factor in this process is the translation of Soviet, Russian classical and foreign literature into the national languages. Days of national literatures and arts and film festivals which enable each republic to show its cultural achievements in the other republics do much to promote fraternal relations among peoples and increase their cultural influence upon each other. The reciprocal influence and enrichment of Soviet peoples' cultures led to the emergence of a single communist international culture, the embodiment of the best of national cultures and world culture.

As regards the role of the Russian language, a common language is required not only by the multinational character of the country. The USSR's single economic and social system and constant economic and cultural cooperation of the closest kind make a single language indispensable for effective economic and cultural progress.

The USSR Population Census of 1970 showed that 141.8 million people or 58.7 per cent of the Soviet population (Russians constitute 129 million) named Russian as their native language. Sociological data show that 90-95 per cent of the Soviet population know sufficient Russian to communicate in this language. A total of 41.9 million non-Russians give Russian as the second language which they speak fluently. This bilingualism is typical.

Non-Russian people study Russian along strictly voluntary lines. In the Union republics the bulk of the national population (over 90 per cent) gave their national language as their mother tongue. This fully refutes the allegations that a "forcible assimilation" and "Russification" is under way.

There are no economic or social grounds in the USSR for chauvinism or nationalism. This does not do away automatically with all manifestations of nationalism. Unfortunately, one still comes across cases of national arrogance among individuals who lack political knowledge. There are also cases when national interests are put above those of the whole state. Nationalist leftovers may also crop up when there is lack of a tactful attitude to the peoples' national life and national peculiarities.

Whatever the forms of these vestiges of nationalism they run counter to the true interests of all Soviet peoples. That is why the Communist Party always opposes all manifestations of nationalism.

All the Soviet people, regardless of their nationality or the language they speak, are proud of the inspiring work carried on by millions of Soviet people who have built a new and truly just and free society and formed an unbreakable fraternal alliance of many peoples. They take pride in the feat performed by millions of heroes—the sons and daughters of these peoples—who gave up their lives in the struggle for these attainments. They are proud of the great results achieved by the peoples' unhindered effort, their scientific achievements and the flourishing of culture in a multitude of national forms, and of the entire way of life of the Soviet people who have opened up new horizons before mankind and given it new moral values and ideals. For it has absorbed all of the best that has been produced by the courageous effort and creative genius of the millions of Soviet people. □

Economy, Politics,

JOHN PITTMAN

Socialist Democracy in the USSR

The year 1977 is rich in events embodying concrete manifestations of the developing process of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. Such events in this 60th year of Soviet power bring into focus all the main components of the USSR's political system—the working people headed by the working class and its industrial front-rankers, their vanguard party, their state and public (mass) organizations.

Underlying every political system is an economic basis. The political system of the USSR functions on an economic basis of socialist (public) ownership of the means of production. These include state property, the property of collective farms and cooperatives, and the property of public (mass) organizations. The system of public ownership guarantees the equality of all citizens in relation to the means of production as co-owners, and

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is the material foundation of socialist democracy. On this foundation the political system operates through the ever-growing participation of and control by the working people.

The leading force of this on-going, all-encompassing democratic process is the multi-national, multi-racial working class. Working people of capitalist countries may well regard with envy the many tokens of Soviet society's esteem for its working class—statues and paintings of workers everywhere; parks, streets and institutions named for workers; government, party and public organizations headed by workers; the country's highest honors and awards bestowed on workers. And all for good and sound reasons! From the beginnings of the revolutionary upsurge leading to the capture of state power, from the formation of the first Soviet government headed by Lenin, and the first acts of the new government—the decrees on peace, land, workers' control, nationalization of the banks, and the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People"—to the events of this year, working class hegemony has prevailed in the struggle to build socialism. So also has the profound democratic content of this hegemony.

One democratic measure of the new workers' state inaugurated a new epoch in the development of human society. The



Society

expropriation of the country's wealth by the producers and its transference to the whole of society was itself a democratic act of a transcendent magnitude never before achieved. By establishing this cornerstone of the material foundations of equality, the working class simultaneously ended the ages-old process of humans exploiting humans, and made labor the only source of livelihood. By asserting the human need to work it proclaimed work to be a paramount human right. Freedom from exploitation and freedom from unemployment are indeed the preconditions for all human freedoms, since deprivation of employment and security from impoverishment is a denial of the freedom to live, without which all other freedoms cannot be realized.

The capture of state power by the working class, which launched the transitional stage from capitalism to socialism, was also a supreme form of democracy. It was a practical rather than a verbal referendum and involved the conscious participation of the broadest masses. Moreover, the tasks of constructing socialist foundations at that stage, far from reducing the necessity for mass participation, could not have been accomplished without its constant enlargement.

As the political leader, organizer and educator of the working masses, the CPSU's role in the development of socialist democracy is a third, and decisive, factor. How is this role realized?

First of all, it is realized through ideological work, through dissemination among the people of the democratic, humanistic teachings of Marxism-Leninism. These teachings assert that the



Top: Voting in Sverdlovsk. Below: Turkmenian artist and Supreme Soviet Deputy Issat Klychev, sketching the proceedings of that body. Left: The Sverdlovsk election commission at work.



working masses, the majority of the people, are the real creators of history. And this emphasis underscores the class essence of democracy and humanism. The party furthers the trend to greater democracy also through political and organizational leadership and guidance. These involve determining political policy on all domestic and foreign questions and proposing measures to implement it. Organizational leadership involves direction of all state and mass organizations through the day-to-day activity of Communists working in them, through helping to select and train their leading personnel and control their performance.

Owing to the party's great authority, the steady improvement of democracy entails strict observance of the delineation of party, state and mass organization functions, and corrections of party assumption of administrative functions and tutelage of mass organizations whenever they occur. Corrections of past mistakes and deviations from this norm, such as emerged during the latter years of Stalin's leadership, have strengthened guarantees against the party's exercise of state power and replacement of other organizations, while enhancing its political, organizing and educating role.

Besides the delineation of functions in the fundamental law of the USSR, the CPSU itself has a built-in system of guarantees for promoting the trend toward ever-increasing democracy. This is the system of inner-party democracy. Its supreme principle is collectivism, since a party of voluntary members can function only through collectivism in policy-making and implementation. First place in the practical realization of this principle belongs to democratic centralism. This enables the party, through centralized leadership, to act as a united, disciplined force for influencing social processes, and, through the broadest involvement of party members in the formation and execution of party policy, to choose, instruct, direct the party's leading bodies and officers and control their activity. Democratic centralism implies the equality of all party members without exception in regard to the rights of criticism and making proposals for policy and action, the electivity of all officers and leading bodies on all levels, and the subordination of individual members or a minority to the will of the majority.

Democracy and collectivity are also promoted by the regularity and frequency of meetings, by the obligatory reports of party leaders to their organizations and to higher party bodies, and by the practice of criticism and self-criticism. This important corrective practice is aimed at eliminating shortcomings and errors and preventing their recurrence. Its exercise reinforces the equality of party members and the process of control and verification of the implementation of party policies.

The party's numerical strength and composition are important assets for the realization of democratic goals. CPSU membership (15,694,000 on the eve of the 25th Congress) is equivalent to one Communist for every 16 inhabitants among all sections of the population (41.6 per cent workers—six million, nearly 20 per cent technicians, 13.9 per cent collective farmers, 24 per cent workers in science, education, public health, management, literature, the arts and military spheres), with an organizational network grounded in 390,000 primary branches (150,000 in material production).



Of course, the definitive criterion of how the party improves democracy is the people's response to its initiatives and proposals. The traditions established by the first generation of Soviet workers are carried on in the movement for socialist emulation in the societies of rationalizers and innovators, and in front-ranking production brigades. This year's events give indications of what has become a way of life in the Soviet Union. November 7 is targeted by 16,000 of the country's collectives of working people for fulfillment of the first two-year goals of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. In April the Central Committee of the Young Communist League announced progress of the campaign of millions of young workers to fulfill two years' plans for the November 7 jubilee.

The scope and depth of popular enthusiasm for the party's initiatives and recommendations is striking, when compared to the situation in the capitalist countries. What party representing corporate monopolies and the super-rich formulates its policies through discussion and the active participation of all its members, proposes a program complete with ways and means of ensuring its implementation, regularly elects its officer and leading bodies, and controls their performance through the members' exercise of the rights of criticism and recall?

Continuous improvement of the state apparatus is essential for the development of socialist democracy because of the state's role and powers under socialism. It is both a political and economic organization. More importantly, the socialist state is not a special organism standing above and outside society as under capitalism, but an integral part of the masses and society and its main embodiment and generator of democracy.

State power in socialist democracies is used to defend and consolidate the system of public ownership of the means of production. The crucial question regarding democracy and freedom is also applicable to the state: for whom, for what class?

The evolution from the temporary, transitional stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the *state of the whole people* implies democratic changes in both the coercive and the developing, organizing coordinating functions of state power. With the abolition of the exploiting, oppressing classes, the coercive function is increasingly assumed by the people themselves (volunteer public order squads, comrades courts, various forms of public control bodies). The state's coercive apparatus becomes gradually reduced to the punishment and prevention of serious crimes and offenses.

Likewise in relation to the state's organizing and developing function, its management of the economy and administration of social development, the increasing role of the public and mass organizations leads society toward public self-administration. Specific in Soviet society at this stage of its development is the simultaneous increase of this function of the state and the growth of the administrative, organizing functions of the public organizations, a preparatory stage for communist public self-administration.

Contrasting trends of the democratic process in capitalist and socialist states are sharply delineated in the contracting social base of state-monopoly capital's political system compared to the expanding social base of states of socialist democracy. A number of characteristic features of the state system of the USSR helps to explain the cause of these contrasting developments.

Structurally, the system of Soviets enhances development of

the democratic process.* Its salient features are the combination of legislative and executive powers, the electivity of all its members without exception, their obligation to fulfill mandates of their constituents within a specified time, the obligatory accountability to their constituents, and their constituents' control of their performance. There is no separation of powers by means of which a legislative branch may escape responsibility for the implementation of its legislation, or the executive may evade accountability to the electorate and act behind the people's back and against the will and interests of all to serve the interests of a few.

Mandatory duties of a Soviet deputy on all levels include the initiation, control of implementation, and accounting to constituents of proposals to fulfill explicitly stated requirements of his or her electors. Dereliction or malfeasance in the performance of these duties may evoke instant recall by a mere majority vote. (More than 4,000 deputies have been recalled in the past 10 years, including 11 of the USSR Supreme Soviet and about 100 of the Supreme Soviets of Union and Autonomous Republics. Control over a deputy's performance is exercised through obligatory accountability and by special organs of control formed by Soviets on all levels, combining state control with public control by the working people. Moreover, these features are uniform for all Soviets and are grounded in the USSR's fundamental law and in the laws of each of its territorial subdivisions.

Furthermore, instead of distributing powers between a "lower" and "upper" chamber, with the "upper" chamber empowered to decide major questions and to override decisions of the "lower" chamber, the two houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet are distinguished according to whether they serve all people without regard to national differences, or whether they serve specific national interests of the different peoples of the USSR. This principle stipulates equal rights of the two chambers, which the electoral system guarantees.

The requirement that a deputy of the Soviet of the Union represent 300,000 inhabitants is a numerical guarantee of equality. The election of deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities, based on fixed quotas of 32 from each Union Republic, 11 from each Autonomous Republic, five from each Autonomous Region, and one from each National Area, ensures that numerical differences among nations and nationalities do not prevent the realization of their actual political equality. This enables nationalities of only a few thousands to have their own deputies. It is noteworthy that this structural organization of the highest organ of state power exemplifies and implements the CPSU's policies for realizing the practical as well as the legal equality of the different nations and nationalities among the USSR's population.

Democratic centralism, explained above with reference to the Party, applies in the functioning of state bodies as well.

The USSR's electoral system also makes clear fundamental differences between capitalist and socialist democracy which explain why popular enthusiasm and support of capitalist state systems is declining in contrast to its expansion in countries of socialist democracy. The elections on June 19 this year to

* For a recent eye witness account of the functioning of Soviets on all levels, of which this writer was a co-author, see *World Marxist Review*, No. 5 (May), 1977.

50,602 local Soviets in 2,229,785 electoral districts of the USSR provide up-to-date evidence of the people's participation in and control of elections throughout all its stages, including the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, the counting of ballots and the announcement of winners.

Election commissions manage and control the entire process. These numbered 2,254,869 comprising 9,228,397 representatives of mass organizations of the working people.

The nominating process involves, first, majority approval of a single candidate at a general meeting of not less than half of the workforce where the candidate works; second, the candidate's campaign after nomination at meetings, in the press and by television and radio; and third, approval of the candidate by an absolute majority of the voters at the election. Thus, the candidate who emerges successfully during the first nominating stage generally receives the endorsement of the entire electorate. Of the 166,200,403 voters registered by the election commissions, 166,169,714 or 99.98 per cent actually voted last June 19.

As a result of this process as many as 2,229,641 deputies were elected to two-year terms (two and one-half years under the new Constitution) in local Soviets. Of those elected, workers accounted for 42.3 per cent, collective farmers 26.1 per cent, women 49 per cent, young people under 30 years of age 32.4 per cent, Communists 43.2 per cent and non-party people 56.8 per cent. New elections were ordered in 144 election districts where candidates did not receive an absolute majority of the voters, where violations of the election procedure occurred, or where candidates were not ready to begin their work.

An important feature of this process is the unpaid work of everyone involved, all receiving only their usual wages or salaries at their places of employment. This practice obtains also for deputies, who receive only the remuneration paid at their places of employment. Even in the USSR Supreme Soviet, only the president and secretary of the Presidium and the chairpersons of the two chambers receive compensation for full-time employment. Politics in the USSR is neither a source of income or enrichment nor a springboard for future highly lucrative posts as corporation or bank executives.

Another important feature is the continuous renewal of the composition of Soviets. More than 44 per cent of the deputies elected on June 19 had not been elected to previous Soviets. This reflects the gradual fulfillment of Lenin's prediction that under socialism all will govern in turn and will soon become accustomed to no one governing—the path to communist public self-administration and the withering away of the state. (*Selected Works*, Vol. 2, page 373.)

Soviets form executive and administrative organs, organs of people's control, and elect standing commissions. The commissions enlist the assistance of volunteers and specialists for the collection and interpretation of data which provides the factual basis for drafting legislation. All administrative, executive and other organs are accountable to the Soviets, including the Councils of Ministers and their subordinate bodies formed by the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Union Republics.

The increasing role of mass non-party organizations in the formulation and execution of policy reflects the growing influence of the public and of public opinion. In the USSR "the public" is not an arbitrarily designated force separated from the working people as in capitalist states; it is the working people. Their influence is expressed in numerous ways, such as in

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elections and referenda, in various meetings of enterprises, institutions and collectives, and in the form of proposals, complaints, criticisms and opinions from individuals and collectives to government agencies and to the information media. Every issue of every one of the 8,000 newspapers in the USSR carries letters from the public. *Pravda*, the CPSU central committee's organ, receives more than 1,000 letters a day. And obviously the submission of all major legislative questions for public discussion implements the policy-making role of public opinion.

Mass organizations, however, are the main channels for the expression of the public's will and opinion. Of these, the most important are the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions,* with its 113.5 million members (40 per cent are women) including 5.5 million collective farmers, organized in 700,000 locals of 25 industrial unions; the Young Communist League (Komsomol) with 35 million members, who helped draft more than 250 government decrees in 1963-73 to improve young people's conditions of work, study and recreation; the public control bodies with a membership of approximately nine million working people who supervise the implementation of policy; the All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers uniting 15 million farmers in developing self-administration of collective farms and raising agricultural output; the 130,700 standing production conferences in the plants, factories and mills, uniting millions of working people in the management of production; the many associations of professional workers and people engaged in artistic production.

The CPSU's policy is one of extending and deepening the influence of these organizations of the public. The drafters of the new Constitution ensured their right to participate in deciding political, social and cultural problems and their right to introduce legislation. Further assistance is extended to them by the CPSU in the selection, training and education of their leaders.

Mass organizations are led, administered and run by their members. All officers and leading bodies are elected. The organizations perform important state functions, and this role predetermines their future role in a communist society. They are important channels through which the state redistributes the national income, two-thirds of it budgeted for meeting the needs of the people and itself a major criterion of genuine democracy. They are a school of self-administration, successors to the role of the state. The continuous improvement and development of their role is both a result and a precondition of progress in constructing the material and technical base of communism and the evolution of socialist social relations into communist ones.

The definitive criterion of democracy is, of course, whether it conduces to the development of freedom for the individual and the all-round development of the human personality. It is wrong to counterpose the interests of individuals to those of society. Individuals are not isolated from society. Individual rights and freedom express relations of individuals to society. Accordingly, they bear the stamp of the social system, have a class content. Freedom under capitalist democracy is freedom to accumulate private property in the means of production with which to subjugate and exploit the working people. Freedom under socialist democracy is freedom from such subjugation and

*For a detailed recent report on the Soviet trade unions, see the article by George Morris in NWR No. 3 (May-June), 1977.

The draft of a new constitution of the USSR was approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in May of this year and presented to the people for nationwide discussion and proposed amendments before its submission to the Supreme Soviet for final action in October.

Publication of the draft invites comparison with its predecessors of 1918, 1924 and 1936. Each of the four constitutions marks a new stage in the progress of the first land of socialism.

The earliest was adopted nine months after the Revolution when the young state, ravaged by four years of imperialist war and beleaguered by the armies of fourteen foreign powers and of counterrevolutionary White Guard generals, retained control only of Central Russia, while the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia and other former Russian territories were under enemy occupation. The constitution for what was then called the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic declared as its goal "the abolition of the exploitation of men by men" and the establishment of a socialist society. It then proceeded to codify the measures already taken toward realization of this noble objective.

It nationalized the land, the banks and foreign trade and provided for "a first step" in nationalizing the means of industrial production and transportation. It guaranteed national self-determination in a land which under the tsars had been a prison of nations, "Leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide . . . whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the Federal Government." It abolished racial and national discrimination, gave equal rights to women, and "sets itself the task of furnishing full and free education" to a population then 75 per cent illiterate.

It established a dictatorship of the proletariat, disenfranchising the propertied classes, giving industrial workers approximately three times the representation of peasants in the central government, and depriving all individuals and groups "of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution." It fixed the voting age at 18 and set up a structure of government vesting "all the central and local power" in the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Peasant Deputies. These were delegate bodies which, at the local level, were elected by meet-

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exploitation through co-ownership of the means of production and the universality of labor as the only source of a livelihood.

In a socialist society, which is committed to the realization of full social equality, it is clearly anti-social for the individual to claim and attempt to secure special freedoms or privileges which are obtainable only at the expense of other members of society or of society as a whole, not to speak of individualistic behavior that harms the development of socialism. Recognition

Constitution

ings of voters at their work places, such as factories, army units and rural villages. Higher bodies, including the central government, were elected by the delegates to the next lower bodies. All delegates were subject to recall.

By 1922, after four years of devastating civil war and foreign intervention, the Revolution was victorious throughout the country as it exists today, except for the Baltic States which federated in 1939 and the territory acquired following World War II. As the enemy was driven out, Soviet Republics were established in the liberated areas. Initially, they entered into a loose federation with the RSFSR but soon found a closer union necessary. This was decided on at a Congress of the constituent republics in 1922 and formalized in 1924 by adoption of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its primary innovation was the creation of a federal structure which provided for a strong central government while guaranteeing each constituent republic the fullest local and cultural autonomy and equal participation in the central government. This was secured by providing for the establishment for each of six Union Republics of a government elected by its citizens and a bicameral Central Executive Committee of the Union in which one chamber was elected on the basis of population while the other gave equal representation to each Union Republic, with the proviso that all action required the concurrence of both chambers.

If the 1924 Constitution marked the victory of the Revolution, its successor, adopted 12 years later, marked the victory of socialism. In little more than a decade, the face of the nation had been transformed. Agriculture was all but completely socialized by the system of collective and state farms. All industry was publicly owned, and output increased seven times. Socially owned wealth had risen from 48 per cent to 95.8 per cent of the country's fixed capital. Unemployment had been done away with by 1931, and illiteracy substantially eradicated.

The 1936 Constitution expressed the essence of this transformation by declaring the USSR to be "a socialist state of workers and peasants" in which capitalist exploitation of man by man had been replaced by the socialist principle, "From each



A view of the Supreme Soviet joint session during the voting on the new Constitution, October 7, 1977.

according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The enormous progress made in industrializing the country and socializing agriculture made it possible for the state to provide its people, and for the 1936 Constitution to guarantee them, the most basic of all human rights—the right to work, to rest, to security in old age and disability, to free medical care, and to free education at every level.

The 1936 Constitution likewise reflected the victory of socialism by democratizing the electoral system. There being no exploiters to disenfranchise, the vote was given to all citizens at the age of 18, with eligibility for public office at 23, excepting only those legally certified as insane. The disproportion between urban and rural representation in the soviets was eliminated. Direct election by secret ballot at all levels of office was provided for. Territorial election districts, each with the same number of inhabitants, replaced the former work-place districts. The Central Executive Committee was replaced by a bicameral Supreme Soviet of the USSR composed of a Soviet of the Union and a Soviet of Nationalities.

In the 40 years since the 1936 Constitution proclaimed the victory of socialism, the Soviet Union has developed into a mature socialist society. Recovering from the incalculable losses of World War II, it has increased the overall volume of industrial production 29 times until it stands at 80 per cent of the US level and has surpassed the latter in steel, coal, oil and other key indicators. In the same period, socialized agriculture has increased output 3.2 times. Per capita real income doubles every

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of and submission to the will and interests of the collective, the democratic principle of majority rule, is the condition of the freedom of the individual.

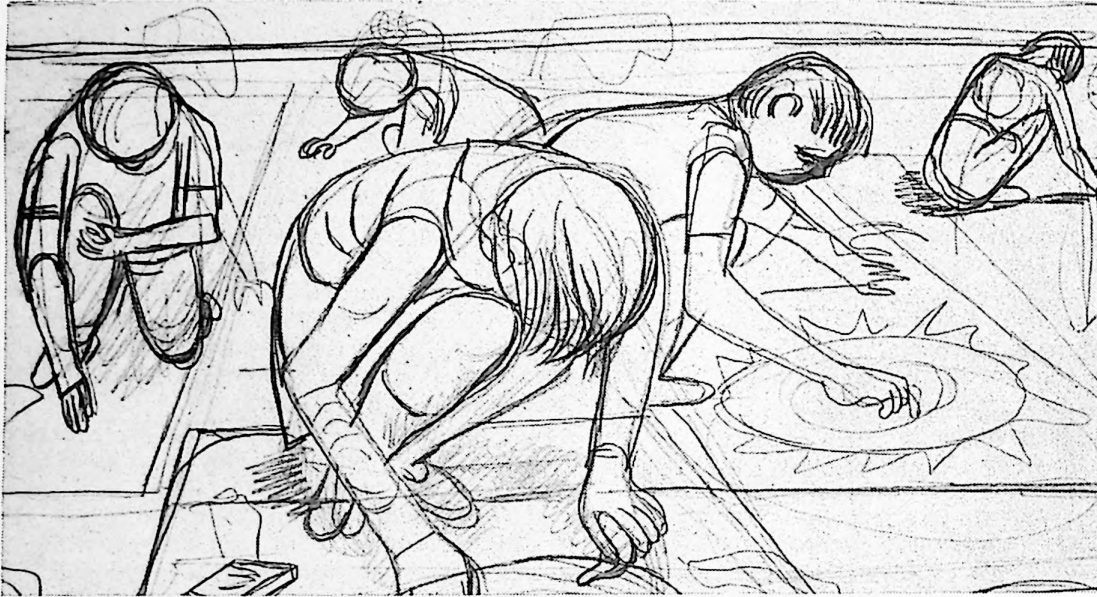
What clearly differentiates socialist democracy from capitalist democracy is its guarantee of the exercise and enjoyment of individual freedoms. What is decisive is not the promise of human freedoms but the guarantee of the means and conditions for exercising and enjoying them. Socialist democracy

promises only such freedoms as its economic, social and ideological development enables it to guarantee.

These are the principles embodied in the rights and duties of Soviet citizens, as defined and elaborated in the fundamental law of the USSR. They are an integral part of the USSR's political system, a Soviet "bill of rights" crowning the progress of socialist democracy during the past 60 years towards the realization of communist self-administration. □

ANTON REFREGIER

Moments of October





The seeds of a great culture are sprouting all over the Soviet Union, rooted in the lives of the people. Its growth is nourished, fed, by the participation of the entire multinational population. Its basis is humanism, the goal that has produced the great periods of man's culture. The future of creative life in the Soviet Union is staggering to my imagination. Its potential is so enormous that I can't grasp it in my thoughts but rather only feel it as one feels a great event, a place of beauty, something superb in man's achievements.

There has never in history been such thorough planning, such concern for man's working and cultural needs, such a desire for the creative life of a new type of human being, infused with humanizing values and the highest ethical concepts. On my numerous visits to the Soviet Union over the past 25 years, I have seen the consistent qualitative growth in the work of the artists and the quantitative growth in appreciation by the population in their direct participation.

My own life has been shaped by October. As an artist, it gave me a point of view, a sense of identification, with the history of human struggle, a deeper understanding of the work of those artists who either intuitively or consciously were on the side of the people. In my work as a mural painter, it gave me a sense of struggle, it gave me a deeper sense of the choice of significant subject matter. It gave me the desire to dedicate my work to the people and to reject the seductive salons of bourgeois culture. It brought me into the major events of my time in the American class struggle—Tom Mooney, Scottsboro, Angela Davis—and into the international arena of the Spanish Civil War and Vietnam. I am richer and stronger because of October and rejoice that I have lived long enough to celebrate its sixtieth birthday.

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New Soviet Constitution

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15 years and is more than five times higher than in 1936. Accompanying the betterment of the material conditions of the people has been a change in their social relations. Soviet society has become increasingly homogeneous as the differences in educational level and mode of life between town and country and between manual and intellectual workers have narrowed. Similarly, the equality of the nations comprising the Soviet Union which the 1936 Constitution guaranteed as a matter of law has now become equality in fact as affirmative action by the central government has raised the economic and cultural level of the formerly underdeveloped republics of Central Asia and elsewhere to a parity with what had been industrially advanced areas of the country.

As a result of these profound changes, the Soviet state is no longer characterized as a dictatorship of the proletariat but has developed into a form described as a state of the whole people.

The change in the international position of the Soviet Union has been no less far-reaching. No longer isolated by capitalist encirclement, it has become a member of a powerful socialist community. At the same time, dozens of new states in Asia and Africa have thrown off the colonial yoke and taken an anti-imperialist course of development with the aid and support of the socialist community of nations. As a result, the world balance of forces has been altered to the point where the prevention of world war has become a realistic possibility.

The draft of the new constitution builds on the foundation laid by its predecessors, taking into account the tremendous advances of the last 40 years in the life of the country and in the international arena. Like them, it is at once a programmatic document which sets forth the principles and goals applicable to the present stage of Soviet society and a codification of the nation's major social advances and political structure.

The draft's preamble characterizes the Soviet Union as a "developed socialist society" having "mature social relations" in which the state, after fulfilling the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "has become a state of the whole people" where "the law of life is the concern of all for the welfare of each and the concern of each for the welfare of all." Unlike any of its forerunners, the preamble then sets its sights on the transition to communism, the highest stage of socialist society. It states:

The supreme purpose of the Soviet state is to build a classless communist society. The principle tasks of the state are: to build the material and technical basis of communism, to perfect socialist social relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the living standard and cultural level of the working people, to ensure the country's security, to help strengthen peace and to promote international cooperation.

In his report on the draft to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, General Secretary Brezhnev who chaired the commission that prepared it, capsulized its new features by stating that, "the main trend of the new elements contained in the draft is towards broadening and deepening socialist democracy." This trend manifests itself on two levels: in the expansion of the basic guarantees of economic and cultural rights of the people embodied in the 1936 Constitution, and in the increasing involvement of the people in the economic management and political administration of the country.

The 1936 Constitution's guarantee of the right to work has been expanded to include the right of people to choose their

profession, trade or occupation "in accord with their vocation, abilities, training, education, and with account of the needs of society." Closely associated this right is the draft's guarantee of the right to free education at all levels, including free textbooks and the provision of scholarships, grants and other benefits to students. Universal secondary education is made compulsory (up from eight years in the 1936 Constitution), and the "extensive development of vocational, secondary specialized and higher education" is ensured.

The article on the right to rest and leisure provides for a general 41 hour work week with shorter hours for onerous occupations, including mining, chemical and textile, and reduced hours of night work, annual paid vacations, weekly days of rest, and "extension of the network of cultural, educational and health-building institutions, and development of sports, physical education and tourism on a mass scale."

The former right to free medical service has been materially extended to guarantee the "right to health protection" which includes "broad preventive measures and measures of environmental improvement; special care for the health of the rising generation," and "development and improvement of safety techniques and sanitation in production."

The right to maintenance in old age, sickness or disability without cost to the worker has been extended to include collective farmers and to cover partial disability and "disability or loss of breadwinner." Currently, legislation provides for pensions ranging from 50 to 75 per cent of earnings at age 60 for men and 55 for women, reduced to 50 and 45 for certain hazardous occupations. Sick benefits are at the rate of 60 per cent of wages for up to five years of service, 80 per cent from five to eight, and 100 per cent after eight.

The draft adds a new and important right—the right to housing at low rent. This guarantee has been made possible by the massive construction program which rehoused the 25 million people left homeless by World War II and went on from there until a solution of the housing problem is now in sight. In the period from 1971 to 1975, some 56 million people had their housing improved, and homebuilding is currently at the rate of 6,000 apartments a day, five times the growth rate of the population. Today, 90 per cent of the people enjoy a separate apartment for each family at rents, stabilized at the 1928 level, of not more than four per cent of average family income, utilities included. Next goal is an apartment with a room for each member of the family and beyond that, with an additional room for the family as a whole.

The draft guarantees equal rights for women, including equal opportunities for education, employment, remuneration and promotion. Unlike the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution which lacks any safeguards, the draft en-



asures "special measures for the protection, material and moral support of mother and child, including paid leaves and other benefits to mothers and expectant mothers, and state aid to unmarried mothers." An additional article, not in the 1936 Constitution, provides for family aid by means of "an extensive network of child care institutions," extending and improving community services and public catering, and by allowances to families with many children.

As in the 1936 Constitution, all Soviet citizens are guaranteed equal rights, irrespective of nationality or race. And restriction of these rights and "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt" is punishable. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is likewise prohibited.

No capitalist state has ever provided its whole people with these, the most fundamental of all human rights, let alone guaranteed them in its constitution. Capitalism, by its very nature, is incapable of doing so. It is an achievement which only socialist society can make possible. In such a society, these rights carry with them correlative duties on the part of the citizen which are enumerated in the draft. Among them are observance of Soviet law and the rules of socialist behavior, conscientious labor in one's "chosen socially useful occupation," the safeguarding of socialist property, respect for the national dignity and the rights of others, the protection of nature, the development of friendship with the peoples of other countries, defense of the motherland and service in its armed forces.

The draft contains guarantees of the freedoms of speech, press and assembly and the right of privacy when these are exercised "in conformity with the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening socialism." The quoted qualification is the Soviet equivalent of the "clear and present danger" limitation on the exercise of First Amendment rights in the United States under which the advocacy of ideas may be restrained or punished if found to threaten the national security or the public peace. The difference is that the limitation is explicitly stated in the Soviet Constitution while, in this country, it has been supplied by a Supreme Court "interpretation" of the unconditional wording of the Amendment.

One may disagree with the extent of Soviet restraints on freedom of expression as excessive and lacking justification in any actual or threatened injury to the fabric of socialist society. But criticism must be tempered by the knowledge that from the moment of its birth, the Soviet Union has been the target of a conspiracy by the capitalist powers to overthrow, dismember or strangle it by every available means, including war, quarantine, "containment," "massive retaliation," "positions of strength," subversion, and discriminatory trade practices, and that these policies have by no means been abandoned today.*

"Our goal," Lenin wrote in 1918, "is the unpaid fulfillment of government duties by every worker. . . . Only in this change

*An appraisal of the state of human rights in the United States is beyond the purview of this article. It should be noted, however, that the most "liberal" Supreme Court decisions in the area of the First Amendment have upheld the freedom of the Klan and the Nazi Party to incite race hatred, while the Court has sanctioned the abridgment of First Amendment rights by such anti-communist laws as the Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley Acts and by witch-hunting congressional committees on the pretext that communists present a "clear and present danger" to the national security.

is the guarantee of the final transition to socialism." The draft constitution confirms and codifies the measures taken for the attainment of this goal.

The composition of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is modified to provide that the Soviet of Nationalities shall be elected by the voters of the constituent republics on the basis of 32 for each of the 15 Union Republics, 11 for each of the 20 Autonomous Republics, five for each of the eight Autonomous Regions and one for each Autonomous Area established by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic of which it is a part. The Soviet of the Union will have the same number of deputies as the Soviet of Nationalities, elected by districts containing equal populations. The two chambers have equal rights, and all legislation requires the concurring votes of both.

The draft reduces the age for eligibility to office at all levels, including the highest, from 23 to 18 (the present voting age). It lengthens the terms of deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and constituent republics from four to five years and to other Soviets from two to two and one-half years. It provides that all deputies shall continue to work at their trades or professions but shall be released for the performance of their public duties and paid their average earnings for the time spent in doing so.

The right to nominate candidates for election as deputies may be exercised by public organizations such as the Communist Party, the trade unions, cooperatives and cultural organizations, as well as by collective farms and other collectives. Nominations are made at public meetings of the voters whom the draft guarantees "free and all-sided discussion of the political, professional and personal qualities of the candidates" before nominations are made. Deputies are subject to recall by their electors who have exercised that right in some 4,000 cases over the past ten years.

A total of 2,200,000 deputies serve in Soviets from the city district or village level to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. They represent more than 100 different nationalities. Workers or collective farmers make up 68 per cent, nearly one-half are women, and one-third are young people. Two-thirds are not members of the Communist Party.

Their duties are not confined to the sittings of the Soviets for the enactment of legislation. For unlike our Congress, state legislatures and city councils, they exercise executive as well as legislative power. In the words of the draft, they "resolve matters related to state, economic, social and cultural development, organize the execution of [their] decisions, and exercise control over the work of state organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations." In performing these functions, they serve on a wide variety of departments, boards and commissions covering every aspect of political and economic affairs within the jurisdiction of the particular Soviet. They are assisted in this work by 30 million volunteer "activists" so that one out of every eight Soviet citizens participates in administering the affairs of government.

Additionally, the draft provides for the formation of "organs of people's control." It is their function to "exercise control over the fulfillment of state plans and assignments, combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism, narrow departmental attitudes, mismanagement, wastefulness, red tape and bureaucracy, and help to improve the work of the state apparatus." Nine million people are already serving on these bodies.

Popular participation in government affairs is further ensured

by four other provisions of the draft. First, every citizen is given the right to submit proposals to governmental bodies for improving their work and to criticize their shortcomings. Officials are obliged to examine these proposals and criticisms, reply to them "and take due action." Second, the draft requires that the

"most important matters of state" shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the people. Third, the draft provides that the right to initiate legislation shall be enjoyed not only by the Soviets and their deputies but by "mass public organizations [such as the trade unions] represented by their all-Union or-

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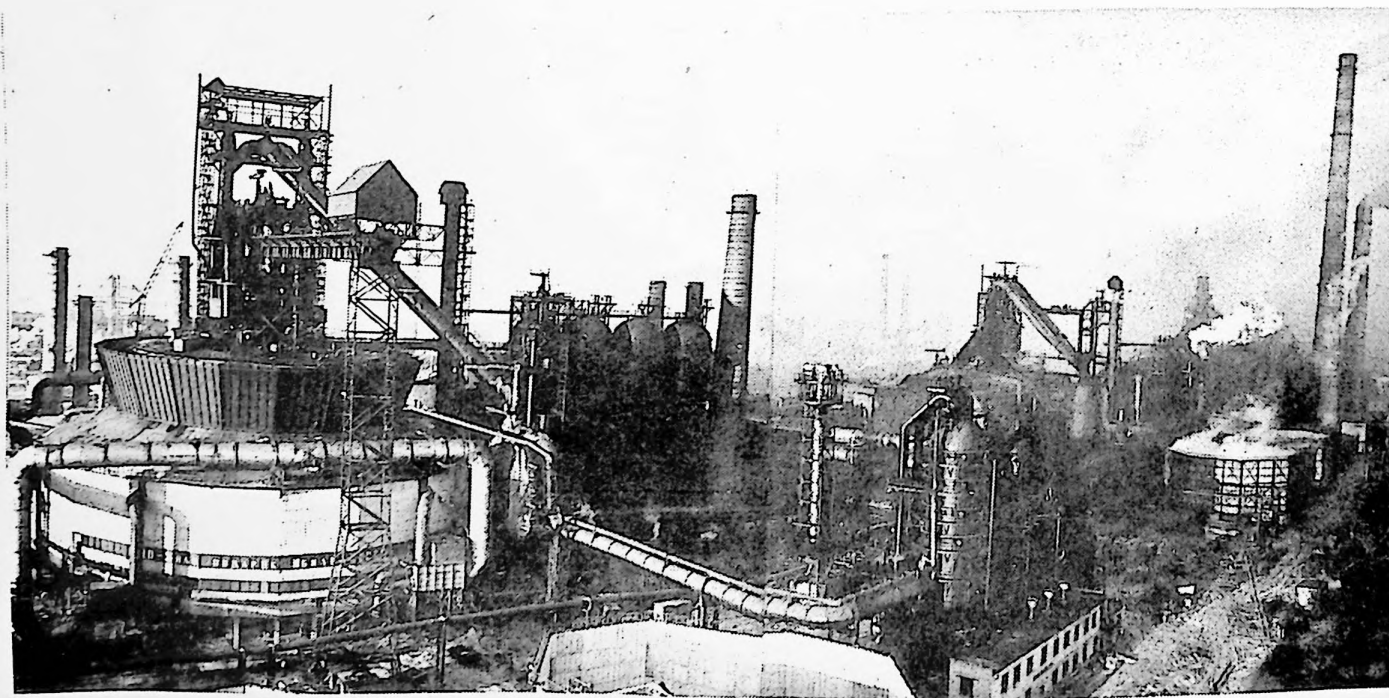
The Soviet Economy After Six Decades

Sixty years ago the Soviet economy was born, with the Bolsheviks' Decree on Land, ending the timeless oppression of the Russian peasantry. The years of "War Communism," 1918-22, saw Soviet power as an embattled fortress, compelled to use brute administrative force and rationing to beat back the famine and dislocation that necessarily accompanied World War and wars of intervention. Later, Lenin's inspired New Economic Policy—widely misunderstood as a "retreat" from socialist construction—was in reality a step toward the first Control Figures of 1925-26, and the first Five-Year Plan (FYP), announced in 1929. The NEP abolished wartime restrictions and allowed small commodity producers to operate, in effect, giving reality to the land reform promulgated by the Revolution. It also produced the first shoots of a socialist planning system, organized under the Council of People's Commis-

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sars, and provided the framework in which the rudiments of planning procedure—especially the method of planning by material and financial balances—were worked out.

Of course, the Soviet *socialist* economy is not 60 years of age. The first FYP, covering the years 1930-34, initiated the growth of a significant Soviet industrial sector, the core of the necessary rapid growth of productive forces and the ultimate source of growth of all other sectors. By the mid-1930s, one can speak of socialist production relations being secured in industry; and of the achievement of a specific form of socialist relations in the countryside, the organization of peasants into collective farms. The precious physical resources, organizational experience, and human skills, built up at enormous cost in a land where 75 per cent of the people had been illiterate and where the initially backward and stunted productive base had been largely destroyed in war, were committed in the sacred struggle to rid the world of Hitler fascism. This struggle cost the USSR over 20,000,000 lives and devastation of all that had been so dearly



gans." Finally, it is made the duty of all deputies to report to their constituents on their own work and that of the Soviets of which they are members. In 1976, report-back meetings of the local Soviets were attended by 130 million voters, the great majority of the voting population.

created. Add to all this the years of diplomatic isolation and economic boycott and encirclement, and subsequently the Cold War with its wasteful arms race. It is fair to say, then, that *socialist* economic development has had barely three, not six, decades in which to prove itself.

Against this background, the record of Soviet economic growth takes on its full meaning. In comparison with 1913, the last prewar year before the Revolution, Soviet national income had increased 17.7 times by 1970, against a population increase of 73.5 per cent. Thus national income per capita went up more than ten-fold. Using the results of the 9th FYP and the targets of the 10th (1976-80), national income will stand at 28.6 times its 1913 level by 1980. Agricultural production had more than tripled by 1970, and will have more than quadrupled by 1980. Gross industrial output, key to modern economic growth, was more than 101 times as big in 1970 as in 1913; by 1980 that index will rise to 197! A rough estimate of living standards can be gained from data on food consumption per capita, 1970 in per cent of 1913: Meat (including poultry), 165.5; milk and milk products, 199.4; eggs, 329; fish, 230; vegetables, 207.5; grain and grain products, 74.5.

Soviet industrial production is now 85-90 per cent of US industrial production, and will clearly exceed the US 1975 level by 1980. (Comparison with the US 1980 level is not possible, because output levels in capitalist economies are simply not predictable.) The USSR now leads the world in the output of oil, pig iron, steel, cement, mineral fertilizers, tractors, cotton and woolen fabrics, leather footwear, sugar, milk and butter, and is closing the gap in many other industries, Soviet growth rates, while somewhat lower than in the past for reasons which merit full discussion elsewhere, maintain their significant lead over all capitalist countries. The singular magnitude of the Soviet achievement can simply no longer be denied.

Still, it must be explained. What does a socialist economy do to create a record of progress like the one summarized above? The answer to this question goes to the heart of the essential difference between capitalism and socialism as forms of socioeconomic organization.

1. *Planning: the metabolism of an intentional society.* The last labor exchanges in the USSR were closed in 1930, for want of customers. Thus, *unemployment*—except for a statistically negligible number of "frictionally" unemployed, those in transit between jobs—does not exist. The administration of an enterprise is prohibited by law (see articles 17, 18 and 91 of the Fundamental Labor Legislation of the USSR) from dismissing a worker from his/her job, without securing consent of the enterprise's trade union committee *in advance*, and then only for specific reasons stipulated. Transfer to another job can only take place with the worker's consent, and with no reduction in wages. Thus the phenomenon known in capitalist countries as *firing* does not exist. Finally, medical care and higher education

(Continued next page)

The draft includes a unique chapter on peace. It provides that "war propaganda shall be prohibited by law," and states:

The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. shall be aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggles of people for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The basis of the relations of the USSR with other states is defined by adopting the text of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference:

Observance of the principle of the mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force, and of the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, equality and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, cooperation between states, scrupulous fulfilment of commitments arising from universally recognized principles and norms of international law, and the international treaties signed by the USSR.

This brief comparative survey of the four Soviet constitutions affords a perspective on the arduous but triumphant road which the Soviet people have travelled in the space of 60 short years, one-third of them disrupted by war and postwar recovery. The achievements of those years establish the immense superiority of a planned socialist society over capitalist exploitation and anarchy. They carry with them the assurance that, given the peace for which the USSR has worked unceasingly since its birth, the Soviet people will march steadily forward to realization of the goal inscribed in their new constitution—a classless communist society.

The new constitution was adopted at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on October 7, 1977. Adoption followed four months of unprecedented nationwide discussion that involved over 140 million people, 1.5 million meetings and what President Brezhnev, in his report to the session, described as "an unending flow of letters from Soviet people." The discussion resulted in the submission to the Constitution Commission of some 400,000 proposals for amendments to the draft. After examining them all, the Commission recommended amendments to 110 of the 173 articles of the draft and the inclusion of one additional article. (The text of the amendments was not available at press time.)

As President Brezhnev's report emphasized:

[T]he discussion of the Draft Constitution has largely gone well beyond the framework of an analysis of the text itself. It has developed into a frank and truly popular conversation on the key aspects of our life which are of stirring concern to all Soviet people. Collectives of working people and individual citizens have made just and — not infrequently — sharp critical remarks on various aspects of the activity of state organs and social organizations, proposing measures for improving the work and eliminating the existing shortcomings. . . .

Millions upon millions of working people in town and country have supported the new Constitution by word and by deed. They compared every line of the Draft with their own practical work and with the work of their labor collectives. They made increased socialist pledges, amended production plans, discovered new reserves for enhancing production efficiency and improving work performance and met their new Constitution with great labor exploits. In short, our people have again show themselves to be full masters of the socialist homeland. □

are free of charge to the recipient, financed out of the general state budget as part of the social consumption fund. Adequate housing at minimal rent is provided by law to all Soviet citizens, a right now embodied in the new Constitution. Thus, there is no *aggravated insecurity* due to loss of dwelling, crippling medical expenses (especially in old age), or bearing the costs of educating one's children.

These remarkable and uncontested facts of Soviet life are usually cited simply to *describe* the quality of life in the USSR—and in that respect one wishes they were fully known to some 200 million Americans. I cite them here for an additional, and deeper, reason. Unemployment and insecurity are not only necessary results of capitalist functioning, in which all things come about as by-products of the unplanned drive for profits on the part of private capitals. They are the very heart of capitalism's coercive principle, in which workers are driven by a fear whose object appears not as the pre-eminence of a propertied ruling class but rather as the impersonal working of economic laws, of "markets." And conversely, the fundamental absence of unemployment and insecurity in the Soviet Union testify to the absence of this coercion, and suggests that the driving force in Soviet life is quite different.

The absence of an insecure quality in the lives of people, often noticed by travelers to the USSR, is directly due to the role of *planning* in Soviet society. Planning is comprehensive, reaching to all levels of organization. It counteracts and replaces spontaneity and chaos, brings social processes under conscious, intentional control, through a massive and constantly functioning democracy.

How does economic planning work? Here are the bare bones of the process, greatly simplified. In July, the State Planning Board of the USSR (Gosplan) issues control figures for the plan that will become operative the following year, after being passed into law by the Supreme Soviet. The Gosplan control figures are broken down by ministries, and by the planning boards of the Union Republics. When the figures reach the enterprises, enterprise personnel—here, as we will see, the trade unions play a major role—draft a detailed enterprise plan. A period of negotiation, in which the enterprises make counter-proposals and the higher bodies revise their aggregate targets to re-establish consistency, lasts through September, when the ministries "lock in" the nine or ten general indicators under their jurisdiction—sales volume, total profit, rate of profit, total wage bill, basic output assortment, etc.—for each of the 50,000 enterprises in the economy. Within this framework the enterprise then adopts its own detailed plan, and breaks that plan down into department and team plans. The enterprise is accountable only for the officially approved indicators, although it registers its own detailed plan with the appropriate higher bodies, so that all other enterprises and interested parties can have access to it. The annual enterprise plan must also be reconciled with the targets of the five-year plan, which have already been broken down to the level of the work team and even the individual workers.

Millions of workers participate in this process, and thereby come to see how their own plan of work fits in with the larger plans, from the team to the brigade to the enterprise and ministry to the economy as a whole. Similarly, one is part of a conscious effort to move in a direction known beforehand; for example, the five-year targets for raising wages and pensions step by step, according to the various categories of labor and regions of the country, are known and indeed were widely discussed before

they were adopted.

The distribution of tasks and income is planned. There are, of course, tradeoffs, and different interests arise; these must be reconciled through the planning process. But the process itself is political and principled. There is no elemental bargaining, no "poker-playing." The plans which result must be effective and consistent, for there is no other means whereby economic activities are coordinated. So when Soviet social theorists speak of the "law of planned, proportional development" in a socialist society, they are not merely issuing propaganda blasts, as is so often assumed. They are referring to a very real objective characteristic of socialism.

Planning, of course, has come a long way since those early five-year plans. Today, more and more attention is given to the long-term "perspective" plans, such as the current one elaborated for 1976-1990. These must come to grips with changing demographic patterns, project major technological shifts, and much else of which H. G. Wells would be proud. The use of mathematical models in planning and electronic data processing and transmission make possible far more interaction among the several levels of planning; a more effective use of that ultimate scarce resource, time; more flexibility at lower levels; and increasingly reliance on methods for choosing optimal (or near-optimal) plans, as opposed to satisfactory (consistent) ones. Much work is being done on improving the structure of prices, and on criteria for investment choice, formation of bonuses, evaluation of labor, whether scientific, production or managerial. The effort in the 10th FYP is to incorporate the 25th CPSU Congress slogan, "Efficiency and Quality," into planning, make it operational.

2. *Participation: the other side of the coin.* The organized activity of millions of workers replaces the spontaneous market process that fills in the details under capitalism. And here the evidence is massive, and non-ignorable.

Among mass organizations in the USSR, the trade unions stand out as the major vehicle for popular working-class participation in plan formation, execution and control. The unions now have 113.5 million members. There are 25 industrial (vertical) trade unions in the country, with about 700,000 primary organizations (locals), and 2.5 million "groups," or smaller organizational units. Trade-union participation in management is guaranteed by law; unions have "statutory status," including the right to initiate legislation. Article 16 of the new Constitution states: "Collectives of working people and public organizations shall participate in the management of enterprises and associations, in deciding matters concerning the organization of labor and everyday life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production as well as for social and cultural requirements and material incentives."

The trade unions direct the work of the 131,000 standing production conferences, whose 5.5 million members hear reports and make recommendations to management, some two million of which are incorporated in collective agreements every year. Of course, as signatory to the collective agreement, which includes the full production and social plan of the enterprise, the trade union has indirect control over the main outlines of management activity. It also exercises control, in the interests of the workers, through safety inspection commissions, labor protection teams, people's control posts (with nine million workers active in them), societies of innovators and inventors, activists in the labor disputes commissions (half of whose mem-

bers must be rank-and-file workers), etc.

The trade unions have *direct* control over a vast and increasingly important area of activity; the planning and administering of the social consumption funds, which will reach 115 billion rubles by 1980, and the budget for state social insurance, 29.8 billion rubles in 1977. ("Social consumption funds" cover education, medical care, pensions, housing, disability and training, child care, sanatoria, homes for the elderly, etc. Payments and benefits received from them average 35 per cent of a worker's money wage.) The trade unions operate 2,150 night sanatoria; more than a thousand health centers and holiday resorts; more than 950 tourist institutions; 22,000 clubs, 23,000 libraries, extensive sports facilities, cultural facilities, Young Pioneer camps for children, etc. All of these facilities rest on the participation of millions of trade-union activists.

The historical and practical character of socialist democracy comes through in one Soviet commentator's remark that "to further improve the activity of the democratic institutions of socialist production, it is important to raise the general educational level and the scientific-technical training of the working people." And conversely: in a society where the negative incentive of the irresponsible power of capital is systematically absent, rising educational levels must become operative in broadening and deepening of the institutions of socialist democracy.

3. *Consumption and production: a true "revised sequence."* Economist John Kenneth Galbraith, in *The New Industrial State*, observed that the giant corporations in the United States were managing and manipulating consumer demand in their own interests, rather than responding to consumer demand. Assuming it had indeed been otherwise in the past, Galbraith called this reversal of direction a "revised sequence."

The term actually can be adopted to describe an important watershed in the advance of a socialist economy, in which the labor activity of all working people is increasingly brought forward without external compulsion. Consumption has always been possible because of production, and only to the extent that goods have been produced; in this sense production determines consumption. There is, however, a basic change at work which is revising the sequence: given that working people in a socialist society cannot be driven by fear of poverty, fear of the unknown, fear of being cut adrift by irresponsible forces out of their control, further gains in productivity and output depend on growing self-motivation of workers, and this is linked to the entire quality of life—the level and quality of consumption, as it affects and is affected by the creativity and social relatedness of the labor process. High levels of consumption are increasingly central to the overcoming of alienation and growth of socialist consciousness, which in turn are the key to the qualitative overhaul of the functioning of socialist collectives—and this is basic to continued growth of production, in a period when the sources of simple extensive growth are disappearing.

The growth in living standards, then, is "*an important premise for the further growth of production and its efficiency*," as Soviet Premier A. N. Kosygin put it at the 25th CPSU Congress. Thus the "law of increasing satisfaction of material and cultural requirements," like the "law of planned, proportional development" mentioned earlier, is indeed a "law," necessary to the functioning and growth of an advanced socialist economy. It is especially important in that it shows the intimate connection between the reward of labor—material incentives—and the

process leading to transformation of labor into life's prime need.

Underlying the gradual transformation in the quality of living standards is the material basis of consumption. Data on food consumption was given above. The picture in durable goods is similar, and striking when compared to the stagnation or deterioration evident in most capitalist countries. In the decade 1960-1970, TV sets in place per unit of population increased by 550 per cent; cameras, 63 per cent; motorcycles, 110 per cent, vacuum cleaners, 287 per cent; sewing machines, 50 per cent; refrigerators, 710 per cent; washing machines, 969 per cent. The scale of housing construction remains vast, unequaled anywhere in the world; in the 10th FYP period, one in every five Soviet citizens will change to new or improved housing. Real per capita income is planned to increase by 21 per cent; allocations out of the social consumption funds by 30 per cent; and services to the population by almost 50 per cent.

All in all, the planned rise in standards of living illustrates the socialist "revised sequence": rising consumption is the key to advancing production. The quality of consumption includes successfully meeting specific demands, and flexibly adapting to changes in demand. Soviet planners are working on the shortcomings in practice in this area. The important point is that, unlike Galbraith's new industrial state, the Soviet economy contains no social force interested in manipulating or managing consumer demand for private profit. There are no "planners' preferences," as distinct from "consumers' preferences"; the dynamic of socialist development ensures that planners can "prefer" only to do what they must do—be good planners.

4. *Stratification: its gradual disappearance.* The capitalist past bequeathed to the Soviet Union, as to all countries building socialism, a bouquet of social strata. There are two main classes: the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. Within the working class, broadly defined as all who work in state enterprises, there are production workers, office and clerical workers, scientific/research personnel and managerial/administrative personnel. Associated with the differences in money incomes resulting from the existence and correct use of material incentives are differences in levels of living.

Just as these differences are based on existing conditions in early socialist construction, so their objective basis gradually weakens, as technological development evens up the conditions of labor for the several categories of workers, and as socialist consciousness evolves accordingly.

Beginning with the distribution of income, the most noteworthy thing is the persistent and uninterrupted tendency toward equalization. By 1968, average money earnings had risen to about 156 per cent of their 1955 level; for minimum earnings, at the lower end of the scale, the corresponding increase was 255-286 per cent. In addition to earnings, the growth of the social consumption funds, rising as a proportion to total income and rising more rapidly than money wages (30 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively, in 1976-80), strengthens the tendency toward equalization of living standards. Raising the relatively lower income levels of collective farmers is an object of policy, and collective farm incomes are to rise by 26 per cent in 1976-80. Collective farmers, since the late 1960s, have had pensions, access to social insurance funds and other benefits accruing to workers, and their social position is drawing steadily closer to that of workers on state farms.

The most rapidly growing part of the working class is the

scientific intelligentsia, whose numbers have increased ten-fold since before the war. At the same time, the educational level of production workers and technicians is constantly rising, both absolutely and in relation to that of the scientific-engineering personnel. Thus, at one plant the proportion of workers with a complete secondary and higher education approached 30 per cent in 1970. As educational opportunities expand, the category of *highly qualified worker*, with professional skills and a professional cultural and technical level, emerges; still a minority, this group is a microcosm of the working class in advanced socialism, which demonstrates an ability to disseminate higher education among the entire working population and merge it with production. By contrast, capitalist societies, maintaining the traditional separation between workers and intellectuals, produce a stratum of "overqualified unemployed."

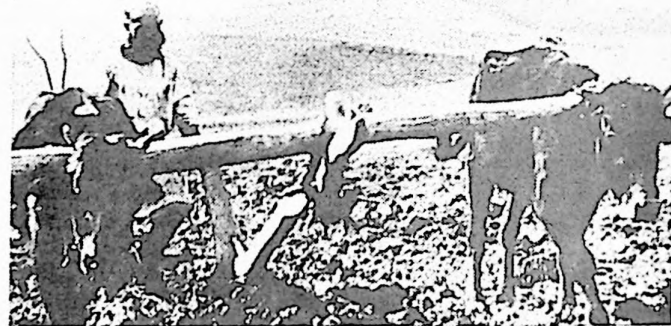
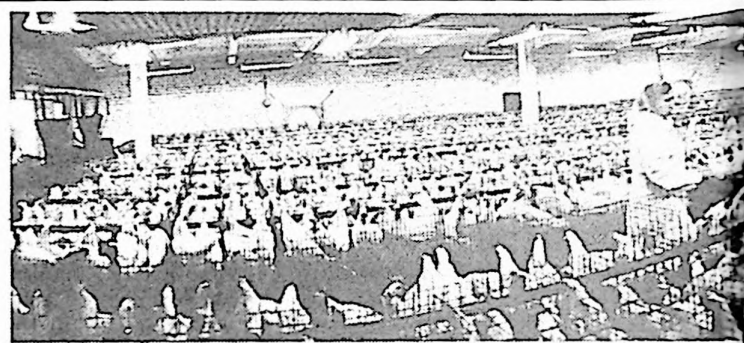
Other data indicate that the foundations for a genuine merging of strata are being laid. One Soviet writer reports that "one in every three marriages is contracted between people belonging to different classes and social groups"; in other words marriages between professionals and factory workers, between production and managerial staff, are increasingly common. The home does not become a vehicle for imposing a stratified conception of society in the minds of children. Soviet cities are homogeneous; there are no managerial neighborhoods vs. "working class districts," no equivalents of Grosse Point, Michigan or inner-city ghettos. School attendance is strictly on a neighborhood basis (with the exception of the special "physics-mathematics" schools for children who show special talent in these areas), and school funding, quality and curriculum are uniform throughout the country. Education is, of course, a powerful force for equalizing the conditions and opportunities of life. A single factual comparison will make clear that this force is operating effectively. Between the census years 1959 and 1970, the proportion of the population with a higher or (complete or incomplete) secondary education rose by 34 per cent. During the same period, the number of *working people* with this level of education increased by about 75 per cent. Taking into account the increase in the labor force, this amounts to an increase of 60-65 per cent in the proportion of the *working people* with at least incomplete secondary education. Higher levels of education are appearing more rapidly among production workers, and especially among those doing primarily physical labor.

Soviet researchers are careful, however, to avoid the conclusion that the merging process is complete, and that distinctions among classes and strata in Soviet society are now purely formal. They stress that the consolidation of the classless character of socialism is a long process, which cannot be artificially accelerated ahead of its material basis in the rising level and character of production, and its socio-political basis in the construction of socialist production relations.

An important part of socialist economic organization, of course, is the nature and role of the administrative and managerial stratum, numbering some 1.5 million people in 1970. It is here, naturally, that the professional critics of Soviet reality—from the likes of Djilas on the right to the Maoists and "capitalist restorationists" on the "left"—look for a new Soviet "ruling class" or "privileged bureaucracy." All available facts belie these claims. Data from numerous studies show that the leading personnel of industrial enterprises overwhelmingly come from families of workers and peasants, and started their working careers as production workers or farmers. The percentages for which this is true—typically 75-90 per cent—

are comparable to those for the leading cadre in the Party and state organizations, and there is no tendency for these percentages to fall over time. For this reason and all those relating to residence, education and income levels given above, the notion that a hereditary privileged stratum exists or is forming is—to be charitable—an illusion.

There is also massive evidence against the claim that office-holding in the USSR is used by office-holders to exercise and consolidate arbitrary personal power—although there are abuses remaining to be eliminated, and weaknesses to be corrected. Space is lacking to cite examples of recall of enterprise managers, and other forms of disciplining management on the initiative of local trade union or public bodies. Less widely known is the rise of *collective management bodies* in the production associations (consolidations of small enterprises into a single, larger production unit) and industrial associations (middle-level management bodies, of which there are now some 3,000), where management councils, or collegiums, are constituted on a representative basis from the lower units. As a Soviet researcher writes: "Practice has confirmed that under today's conditions, even if the professional level of the production board is sufficiently high, the successful fulfillment of



Directly above: The contrast between pre-Soviet and present-day farming.

organizational-managerial tasks at the level of associations is no longer possible without increasing the number of participants in collective decision-making and without recruiting representatives of the working people."

This point can even be formulated as another *law* of advanced socialist economy, akin to planned, proportional development and satisfaction of material/cultural requirements: the progressive drawing together of strata, and unification of managerial and production work as an aspect of the drawing together of mental and manual labor. The objectivity of this law can be seen by stating its negative: the *impossibility* of the managerial function consolidating itself into a form of class power. Capitalist class power, as we have seen, is based on a specific form of social organization, which is inseparable from all of its elements, especially the native of labor-power and capital as commodities whose values are formed in markets. In a society where the managerial stratum exercises the *power of capital*, the deformation of that function—"bureaucracy"—plays an essential role, indeed an indispensable one. In a society where the managerial stratum exercises the power of the working class and allied strata, and where the power of capital is absent, "bureaucratic" deformations are a drag on the production process, i.e.,

are positively *disfunctional*. So it is not accidental that the CPSU 25th Congress raised to a new level the demands on enterprise managers, and the mandate to enterprise collectives, mass organizations and trade unions to increase their control and participation.

So we stand, at a distance of sixty years, and view the remarkable human achievement that is the Soviet economy. We also know that socialism at age 60—unlike a single human being—represents a social formation that is in its infancy, and that the stage of advanced socialism now reached poses new possibilities, and with them new problems; for the social progress of our unique species is a never-ending ascent along a road which becomes wider as it rises. To have pointed the way forward to an economy of equality, security and creativity in the service of the noblest of social ends is surely a sufficient accomplishment for Soviet socialism's first sixty years. □

Sources of data and references for quoted material have been omitted from this article, for reasons of length and style; they will be supplied on request.



LEM HARRIS

The Quality Of Life on Soviet Farms

Soviet agriculture has attained a high level of production. As the first country to develop its farm operations on a socialist basis, there were many who wondered how farmers, who are supposed to be the world's greatest individualists, would react to changing over to collective operations. There is no longer any question; collective agriculture has been operating successfully in eight socialist countries. They have all met the food requirements of their peoples, and shortages, not to mention famine, no longer occur. Of great interest is the change in the quality of life which has accompanied the collectivization of farming.

Some idea of the achievement of Soviet agriculture can be gained by noting the production levels that have been reached:

Soviet *wheat* output has surpassed US levels every year since 1965. 1975 was a year of most unfavorable weather, but even that crop was slightly greater. In 1976 the USSR bounced back with a wheat crop more than double US production. 1977 is about the same as 1976.

LEM HARRIS, specialist in agricultural economics, writes frequently for *NEW WORLD REVIEW* on developments in Soviet agriculture.

Soviet *meat* output has been far behind the US level but has been slowly edging forward. In 1975, it was 76 per cent of the US level.

Milk production in the USSR has also increased. In 1965 it was 29 per cent more than in the US, and in 1975, 73 per cent more. Poultry is far behind the US level. In 1965 it was 14 per cent and in 1975 23 per cent. The *fish* catch was double and is now triple the American.

What have these production achievements meant in terms of diet of the Soviet people? Basically, increased per capita consumption of food and also important improvement in the quality of the average diet. Two items, grain products and potatoes, are being consumed in smaller quantities per capita. But, since 1950, meat including poultry has doubled; so have milk and milk products; eggs have tripled; fish more than doubled; vegetables and legumes are up 49 per cent; fruits and berries (excluding wine-making) more than tripled. This reflects improved dietary standards for all the people.

It should be noted that the decrease in consumption of grain products as food is accompanied by a large increase in the use of grain for livestock feed. At present, around 40 per cent of the

whole grain crop is used for feed. It was to guarantee sufficient supplies for this purpose that sizeable imports of grain were arranged in recent years.

The socialization of agriculture opened the door for another important objective. Many millions of former peasants moved to the industrial centers to meet the expanding employment needs of growing industries. In 1958 there were 25 million collective farm workers; in 1975 there were only 15 million. Yet during that time, gross farm output increased more than one-third.

The above summation of the stage of production attained by Soviet agriculture invites a backward glance at the revolutionary changes that socialism has brought to the countryside. It will be recalled that in 1917, when Soviet power was established, two-thirds of the land, and the best land at that, was owned by the landlords, nobility and clergy. Eighty-two per cent of the Russian population was peasantry, much of it landless and forced to work for a miserable living for the landlords and richer peasants.

One of the first decrees of the Soviet Government was the Decree on Land, providing for dispossession of all the large landholders and immediate distribution of the bulk of it to the peasantry—thus satisfying their centuries-old land hunger. The decree assured the support of the mass of the peasantry for the new regime but created a problem of feeding the cities. For the first time, peasants could retain enough of their own grain to properly meet their own needs. But a great part of the thousands of tons formerly requisitioned by the landowners and sold to the cities stayed in the villages. Years of civil war against counter-revolutionary armies which invaded the young Soviet State, plus serious drought in the valley of the Volga, created a desperate food shortage in the cities and in some farm regions. For the first decade of Soviet Russia, food was in short supply. The situation demanded revolutionary measures.

In 1928, the two basic forms of socialist farming were launched in a big nationwide campaign. The first was the collectivization of individual peasant farming. The whole Communist Party membership in rural areas and many thousands of comrades from industry were mobilized to campaign in the villages to convince peasants to put their land, cattle and implements into newly forming cooperative farms. Vital to the success of the collectives or kolkhozes was the supplying of thousands of tractors and necessary tractor drawn implements to assure deep plowing and timely seeding, cultivating and harvesting of large fields which replaced myriads of former peasant plots. The Soviet government had foreseen this need and was ready with factories turning out thousands of tractors and implements. In 1930 the first Soviet combined harvesters and reapers (combines) appeared on the fields of the new collectives, causing quite a stir.

Model rules of organization were drawn up by the government and adopted by the kolkhozes. They provided that the land of the collective would be theirs in perpetuity; that the members should control the whole farm operation including the financing and distribution of the proceeds of the harvest. An amendment to the original rules provides that all collective farm members must receive regular wages each month and not have to wait as formerly for a distribution of the proceeds of the harvest. Of course, additional payments and bonuses are added after the total income from the year's crop becomes known. In other

respects, the Model Rules remain virtually unchanged. To this day the director of the kolkhoz and the management of all its affairs are subject to the approval of the general membership meeting.

The second socialist measure was the organization of numerous rather large state-operated farms, or sovkhozes. Often specializing in certain crops, these state farms serve multiple purposes: experimental and demonstration methods, the use of the very largest tractors on huge areas to determine the efficiency of large scale operations, and of course the production of massive crops for the needs of the industrial sector.

Workers on the state farms are paid wages, receive social insurance on the same basis as industrial workers, get bonuses for good results, but do not share in the harvest. As in industrial enterprises, management is appointed by the organs of government, but must have the approval of the trade union of farm employees. A director of a state farm could not remain at his post if the members of the trade union voted his removal.

From the very start of collectivization, small individual plots averaging about an acre (or more in certain areas) were assigned to every farm family so that vegetables, fruit and berries, eggs and milk could be produced. Most of the products of these plots are consumed by the households which own them, but there is always a surplus which is sold on the open market. There is a tendency on the more advanced collective farms for members to dispense with their garden plots because they receive ample vegetables, fruit, eggs and milk as additions to their wages.

Today, sixty years after the Bolshevik Revolution and about fifty years since the collectivization of farming and the introduction of improved agronomical methods, emphasis is now more and more on the quality of life in the countryside. The announced goal is to bring to the village all the amenities and cultural advantages of the city. Extending electric power to the rural communities was a first step. At first the state constructed large power generating plants with transmission lines extending to distant villages. The earliest such plant was the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station, generating power from the first big dam on that river.

It happened that in 1930 I visited a village receiving power from that dam. On entering the village I heard strains of Franz Liszt's Clock Symphony wafting thru the village from a loud speaker hooked to the only radio receiver in the village. I learned that a problem with the newly installed electric lights had arisen. Gradually the light bulbs had become dimmer and dimmer. People wondered if the enormous power dam on the Dnieper was failing. An electrical engineer was summoned and quickly found the cause. The trouble was peasant ingenuity. First one and then others twisted wire around a brick, hooked it to the line and were pleased to have a home made electric heater, of course using immense wattage. The homestyle heaters were banned and the town lights brightened. The great power dam was relieved of all responsibility.

Soon groups of collective farms were jointly constructing small generating units and supplying their own power. Telephone lines followed. Then came improved housing—sometimes city-type apartment houses but more recently the trend is to two-family and individual family homes. But whether in an apartment or individual home, a plot is always available for each family's fruit trees, cabbage, cucumber patch and whatever.

A great deal has been accomplished in the villages in carrying out the basic communist principle of bridging the gap between town and countryside and between manual and mental labor. Incomes of collective farm members more and more nearly approach those of city dwellers.

The whole life of the village has been completely transformed. Where in the past the church was the only social center and the main festivities were organized around religious holidays, there are a whole number of social institutions which never existed before the Revolution. Large collective farms, or several smaller ones together, have kindergartens, schools, libraries, movie theaters, hospitals, clinics, sports grounds, palaces of culture. As in the factories, farm workers have the opportunity to take up various amateur cultural or other activities with the help of professionals. Many rural youth return to the farm after vocational or higher education to work professionally in these institutions, or to do technical or scientific work on the farm.

The government has helped the villages greatly in massive irrigation and land improvement projects. Recent years have seen great progress in intensification, specialization and industrialization of agriculture. In many areas interfarm cooperative industrial enterprises have been established where food processing or other light industries connected with agriculture are being undertaken.

To really get the flavor of the new quality of life on the farm, let collective farmers speak for themselves. Recently a correspondent for the Soviet news agency Novosti visited a number of collectives in the Orlov region and wrote up the reactions of the people he interviewed. First, Sergei Ryzhenkov:

"Excluding the two years I served in the army, all the 27 years of my life I have lived at our collective farm in Ilyinsky village. That is where I graduated from our school, that is where I drive our tractor . . .

"Did you notice that I'm always saying 'our' collective farm, 'our' school, 'our' tractor? It has occurred to me that I am using the words 'our' and 'ours' more and more often.

"Certainly, the word 'mine' also occupies a definite place. I say 'my' home, 'my' children. There are other things that I designate as 'mine.' They are my library (about a hundred book titles), my hobby (song-birds), and my motorcycle.

"The collective farm is a wealthy enterprise. It does a great deal to develop production and improve the life of the farmers. For instance, we have built a whole street of excellent houses with all the amenities for the members of the farm. We have a beautiful House of Culture, and a ten-year secondary school. All that is our common property. That is why we come out indignantly against those (it is a pity but we still have them) who are capable of utilizing collective farm property in their own interests."

Andrei and Maria Kozhin are the parents of 12 children.

Andrei: "You ask about our children. Dimitri is the eldest. He is 21 and has a secondary education. After serving in the army he took a job in Orel, our regional center. He is working in a steel mill there. He is going to be married soon.

"Our second son, Vanya, is working as a joiner in Belgorod after finishing eight classes. After he serves in the army, he says he will return to work at the collective farm. He loves the land.

"The rest are in school or preschool."

Maria: "During the difficult early postwar years, we went

through a great deal before we attained our present easy circumstances. For instance this house we are living in. It was not all that easy to build. The collective farm helped us a lot.

"If you are interested in what adds up to make our family budget, I can tell you that Andrei brings in 170 rubles every month. The elder sons contribute their share. As a mother with many children, I receive a state allowance of 48 rubles and the collective farm pays me an additional 45 rubles. In the summer months when the older girls have no classes, we work the best and make an additional 300 rubles or more. The cash income of our family, excluding the older sons, came to 4,600 rubles in 1976.

"Moreover, we get potatoes, vegetables, fruits, berries, and honey from our plot of land. We keep a cow and hens and fatten two to three young pigs every year. Last year we got a bonus of 240 kilograms of sugar from the collective farm.

"Of course other families in our collective farm that have not so many children and more working people are better off materially than we are. But on the other hand, you can't imagine how much we enjoy our little 'home-grown collective farm community'! That is something you cannot measure in rubles and kopeks, can you?

"As for leisure and entertainment, we have television in the house, we buy books, we have a whole library now, we go to the cinema and to the shows staged by our collective farm theater."

Andrei: "Maria and I have no regrets about raising such a big family. The children are no burden. We know that the state will help us raise them and make them useful citizens, whose work will be of benefit to society."

Vasily Klyukovsky is Chairman of the Karl Marx Collective Farm. "A demobilized tankman, I returned to my native Borokovo in 1947, and joined the others in raising the village from ruins. I did my best to make it better and more beautiful than it was before the war.

"We have achieved definite success in the past few years and our work has been highly assessed by the state. The most important thing is to move forward. But that is something we cannot do without peace. I am not only a collective farm chairman but a Communist, a supporter of the policy of my Party and my government.

"As a soldier who has seen all the horrors of war, I am happy that the draft of the new Constitution has a whole chapter devoted to the foreign policy of the USSR and that its main idea is the need to consistently work for peace."

Leonid Kruzikov, machine operator on the Zarya Collective Farm: "A machine operator is an important figure on a collective farm. A lot depends on him. What is more, he makes no less than a fitter or turner in town. My average income is 170 rubles per month. My family and I are well off for that is quite sufficient, though my wife does not work—she stays home with the baby. We get more from our orchard and kitchen garden than we can eat, so we sell the surplus to the village consumer cooperative.

"I am living now in my father's house, so we pay no rent. My wife, Tamara, and I have definitely decided we are going to build a house of our own. The collective farm will help us with building materials and manpower.

"Leading repairman Anatoly Volosatov and fork-lift truck driver Alexei Varnakov are my good friends and they have both promised to lend a hand when I start building.

"I have other interests like reading. Besides the papers *Selskaya Zhizn* (Country Life) and *Orlovskaya Pravda*, I also

subscribe to the magazines *Teknika Molodyozhni* (Young Technicians) and *Smena* (Change), a socio-political and literary monthly.

"My overalls are issued by the collective farm, just like factories issue them to their workers. In short there is practically no difference between me, a collective farm machine operator

and an industrial worker in town.

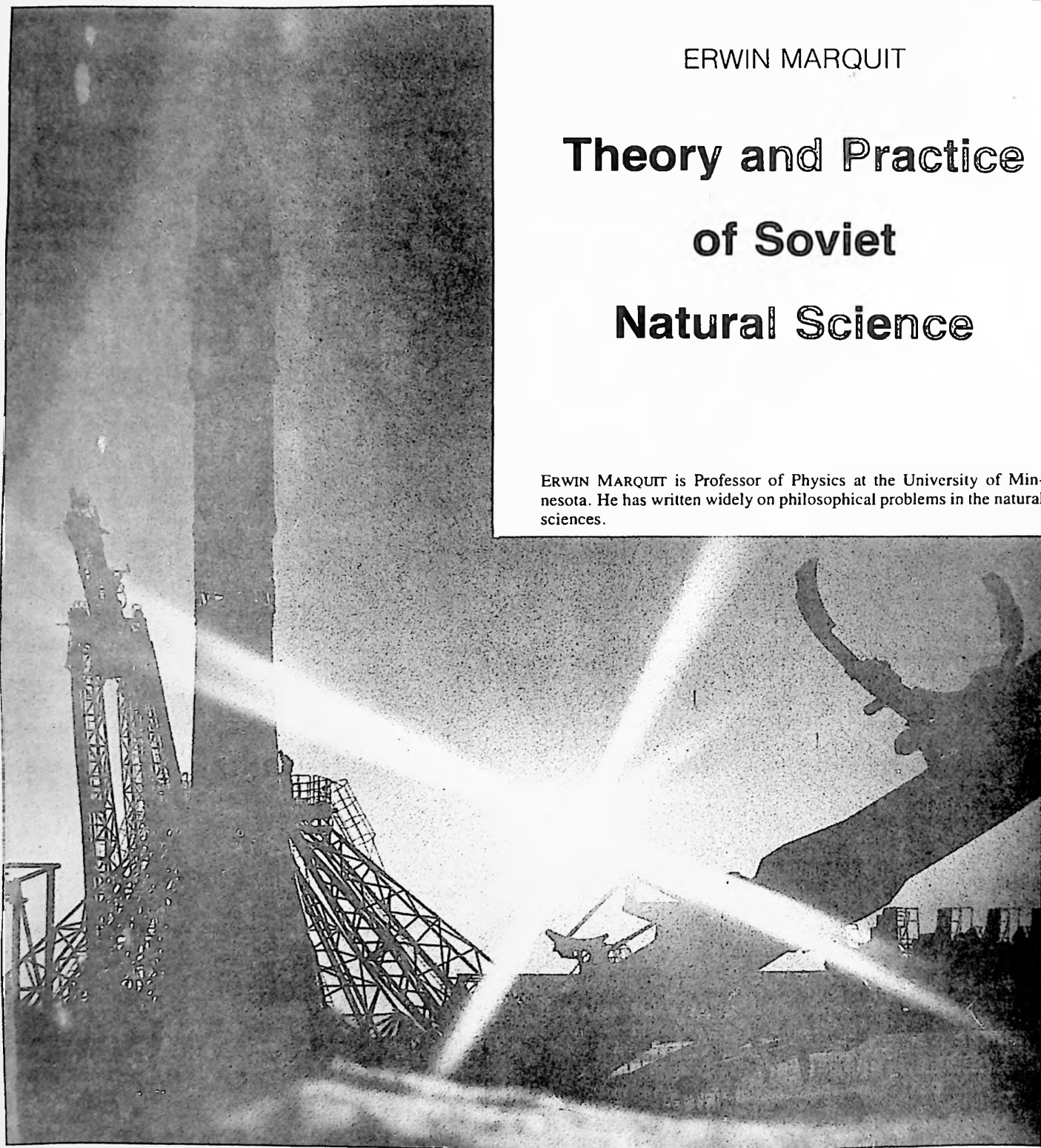
"I work out of doors under the open sky and I love it. I am a co-owner of all the collective farm property. After all it is a cooperative enterprise, isn't it? My income depends on how the farm grows and how its harvests and income increase.

"So am I a farmer or industrial worker?" □

ERWIN MARQUIT

Theory and Practice of Soviet Natural Science

ERWIN MARQUIT is Professor of Physics at the University of Minnesota. He has written widely on philosophical problems in the natural sciences.



The launching of Sputnik I or the landing of the lunar vehicle or the space probe on Venus would surely rank as the most outstanding Soviet achievement in the 60 years since the October Revolution. The Soviet space experiments clearly showed how the social forces released by the October Revolution were able in only 60 years to transform a huge country known for its backwardness, poverty, and illiteracy into a modern, dynamically developing society. The joint Soyuz-Apollo flight also symbolized the recognition by major US government leaders that the time had come to abandon the illusion of attaining technological superiority over the Soviet Union in space and to consider the alternative of international scientific and technological cooperation in this field.

Soviet progress in the development of controlled thermonuclear reactions has given rise to the hope of developing actual thermonuclear reactors in the 1980s. The newly developed Tokamak-10 "kindled" a temperature of six million degrees, which was sufficient to sustain briefly a controlled thermonuclear reaction in the hot plasma. This work is also important for international cooperation and peace as the Soviet Union is sharing its progress with the United States, where the main efforts on controlled thermonuclear reactions are also based on the Soviet tokamaks. By the end of the century, it is not unlikely that the radiation-free thermonuclear processes will replace nuclear fission for new electric power stations. Apart from the tokamaks, the Soviet Union is also leading in the application of superpowerful lasers and electron beams as alternate means of "igniting" thermonuclear reactions.

The Soviet Union has also built the largest experimental magnetohydrodynamic power station in the world. By means of magnetohydrodynamics, thermal energy is transformed directly into electric energy, thus making unnecessary the use of turbine-driven generators which convert only a small fraction of the thermal into electric energy. The United States and the Soviet Union are cooperating on this research and part of the equipment was built by US scientists.

The Soviet space program, the thermonuclear research and other energy research programs require more than just groups of outstanding scientists as is usually the case in most experiments. These programs are of such a magnitude that they involve entire areas of Soviet technology and science. It will therefore be worthwhile reviewing how scientific research, which formerly was left to a tiny group of individuals from the privileged classes of tsarist Russia, could be turned into a nationwide effort.

Democratization of Soviet Science

The October Revolution opened the path that has already led the Soviet people from illiteracy to universal secondary education. The Soviet Union was the first country in the world to make scientific careers possible for children of workers and peasants. All tuition was abolished. The state introduced an extensive system of financial support to meet the students' daily needs. (Surveys I have conducted in my own classes, which are attended by science and engineering majors at the University of Minnesota, show that about two-thirds of the students have to work to support themselves, wholly or in part.) For a large number of formerly oppressed nationalities, democratization of science in the Soviet Union meant policies of affirmative action in education and science consciously designed to eliminate the consequences of centuries of national oppression. Written languages were created for peoples who did not have them. Democratization also meant the opening of scientific careers to wom-

en, so that today the Soviet Union has more women engineers than the United States has engineers altogether.

Soviet progress during the past sixty years has not only essentially reduced the lag in research technology relative to the most developed capitalist countries, but has even allowed Soviet science to pass the United States in many areas. The most important area in which the Soviet Union has still to catch up, and it is now making rapid progress in this direction, is in the general availability of high-speed electronics for computing and experimental research. Although these microelectronic components are available, they are in short supply in face of the demand for them by Soviet researchers.

Due to tremendous progress in developing the technological basis for scientific research, the Soviet Union can maintain a program of theoretical and experimental research which embraces many more researchers than the United States. Most of the leading Soviet scientific journals are now translated into English from cover to cover by various US agencies and scientific institutions.

Interestingly enough, it has been the widespread acceptance of the dialectical materialist outlook with its principle of universal interconnection of things that has led to the recognition of the necessity of approaching problems from the broadest possible perspectives and therefore with the greatest possible tolerance. In his book, *Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union*, the non-Marxist US science historian, Loren R. Graham, writes:

In terms of universality and degree of development, the dialectical materialist explanation of nature has no competitors among modern systems of thought. Indeed, one would have to jump centuries, to the Aristotelian scheme of a natural order or to Cartesian mechanical philosophy, to find a system based on nature that could rival dialectical materialism in the refinement and the wholeness of its fabric. . . . Soviet scientists as a group have, in fact, faced more openly the implications of their philosophic assumptions than have scientists in those countries—such as the United States and Great Britain—where the fashion is to maintain that philosophy has nothing to do with science.

In the United States it is only at the risk of one's career that a natural scientist dares to step out of the bounds of a government-sponsored research program, where the methodology of research is all laid out and approved in advance by political appointees. Full employment in the Soviet Union, which exists for scientists, as for all Soviet citizens, is a crucial factor, along with stable research budgets, in providing guarantees of academic freedom. Under conditions of full employment and stable funding, a researcher need not fear loss of job for striking out in uncharted directions. In the US Einstein used to warn young scientists who asked to work under him at Princeton University that they would be endangering their careers to do so, since despite his fame, Einstein's approach was unconventional and unfashionable and he was concerned that any one who had worked under him would have difficulties in finding a position in the highly competitive job market of US academia.

Major Achievements of Soviet Natural Science

Perhaps the first singularly outstanding research to be initiated after the Revolution was that of the biochemist Aleksandr I. Oparin, who in 1924 published an essay, "The Origin of Life." Oparin attempted to account for the natural formation of organic, but nonliving, compounds from which nonliving matter could evolve. He further developed his theory over the next

40 years, increasingly relying on the methods of dialectical materialism for its elaboration. Oparin considered living matter as a new level of matter, emerging from, but not identical to, nonliving matter, and therefore not reducible to chemistry.

In 1976, the noted evolutionist, Sidney W. Fox, incorporated key elements of Oparin's approach in projecting the formation of the first cell as "an act of sudden self-assembly" from organic molecules. "The theoretical meaning of the Oparin thesis that teaches us to look for the roots of phenomena in the earlier stages of evolution has been pervasive," he writes.

Perhaps the best-known Soviet physical scientist was Lev D. Landau, whose work spanned a number of areas of physics. His principal contributions to physics were in the field of condensed matter (liquids and solids), in particular, his theory of superfluidity of helium. The term *superfluid* is applied to fluids without viscosity, that is, fluids that can easily flow through fine slits and capillaries which almost completely prevent the flow of all other fluids. Superfluidity was discovered by another Soviet physicist, Peter L. Kapitsa. Landau's theoretical approach also bore a certain similarity to Oparin's dialectical methodology. Unlike others who looked at the motion of liquid helium as motion associated with states of single atoms, Landau looked upon the whole liquid as a single state in motion, just as Oparin looked upon the entire cell as a single life process.

Landau's work on superfluidity was carried over into the related field of superconductivity, a state of matter in which electrical currents can flow without resistance or loss of energy. The technological importance of superconductivity stems from electrical resistance: the thickness of a copper wire has to correspond to the current carried by it in order to prevent the build-up of heat. The use of superconductors could bring about tremendous economies in the cost of long-distance power transmission, electrical machinery, and public transportation. Unfortunately, superconductivity (and superfluidity) occur only at very low temperatures, close to absolute zero, which makes practical application difficult. Landau's work provided the theoretical basis for studies on the development of materials which can become superconducting at higher temperatures. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1962.

Landau was seriously injured in an automobile accident and was in a coma for several months. The entire scientific world followed his progress as he emerged from the coma and slowly recovered. But he was never able to resume his work on its former scale. The most frequent question asked Soviet scientists at international conferences or by scientists visiting the Soviet Union from the time of the accident to his death in 1968 was "How is Landau?"

Another field of particular importance to Soviet science is high-energy physics, or, as it is sometimes called, elementary-particle physics. This field has played a special role in relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. During the worst years of the Cold War, high-energy physics was almost the only major scientific field in which contacts between scientists of the socialist and capitalist countries could be maintained, despite the general embargo placed by the United States on exchanges between US and Soviet scientific information. For example, in the 1950s, the US government would not allow US publishers to accept from socialist countries subscriptions to scientific journals that could be ordered by any resident of a nonsocialist country. Nevertheless, high-energy physicists would meet at

international conferences and even take part in limited joint experiments on cosmic rays and share experimental materials from high-energy accelerators. Many of the initial steps towards detente found expression through the initiation of cooperation in this field. One reason for the high priority assigned by the USSR to research in high-energy physics, one of the most costly research fields, may well have been its role in opening the door to relations of cooperation and peace. Indeed, it is one of the first fields in which teams of scientists from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries worked together with teams from the United States and other capitalist countries, sharing both ideas and equipment. International conferences in high-energy physics are now held every two years with cities in the United States, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union being chosen in succession as the sites for the conferences.

Soviet scientists, in particular V. I. Veksler, originated important design principles for high-energy accelerators in the 1930s at a time when the Soviet Union did not have the technological capacity to undertake their construction. Recently, the late Academician Gersh Budker of the Institute of Nuclear Physics at Akademgorodok, the famous Science City near Novosibirsk in Western Siberia, astounded the scientific community when he announced that his institute would be "mass producing" small accelerators to produce electron-positron colliding beams for use in research in chemistry, biology and solid-state physics.

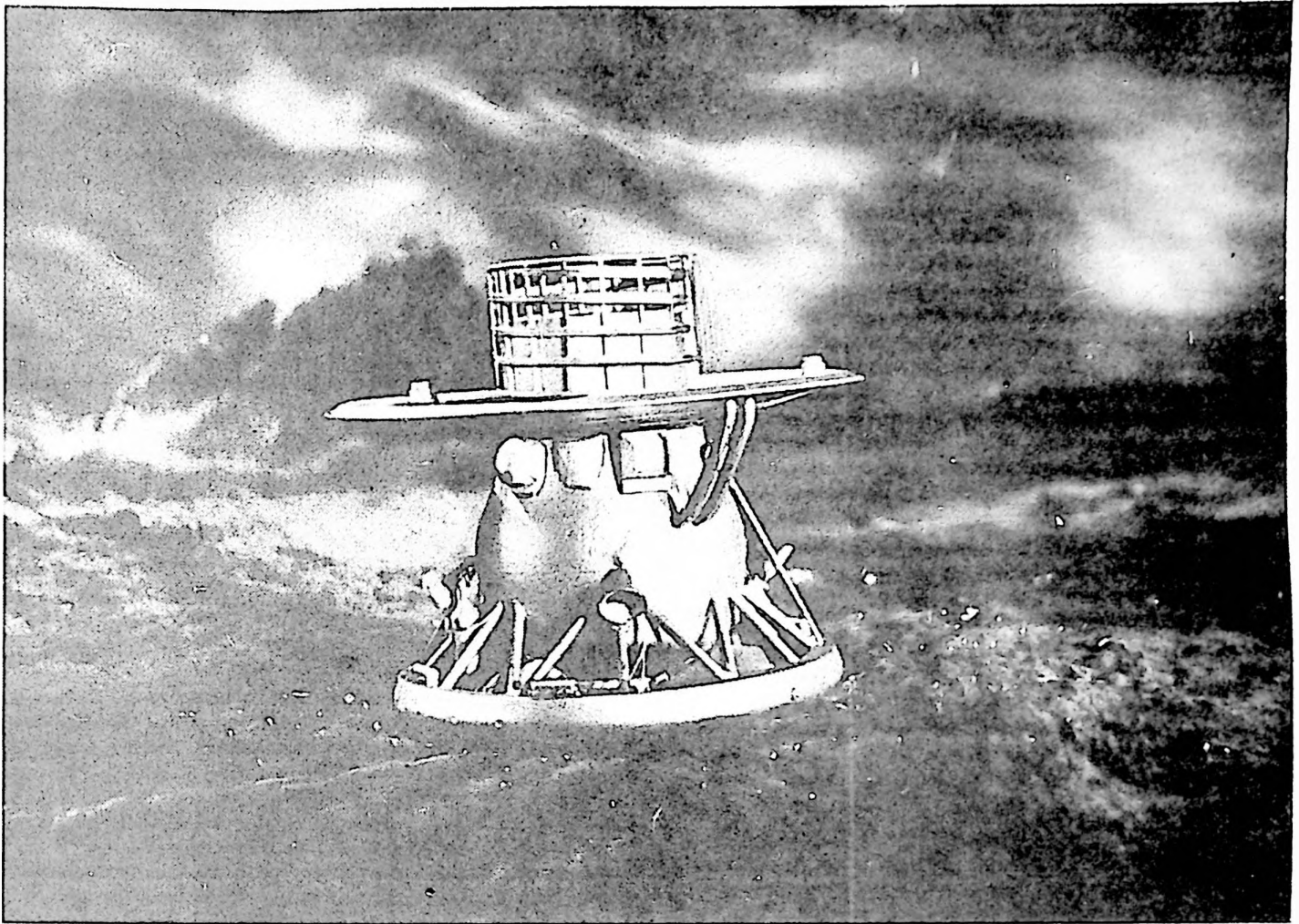
Another field in which the Soviet Union has won worldwide respect is that of chemical catalysts—the use of chemical substances of one kind to accelerate chemical reactions involving other substances. The Catalysis Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences headed by Academician Georgi Borekov receives a steady stream of visitors from all over the world. Catalysis is used in metal and oil refining and in the production of chemicals. Despite the long-known importance of catalysis, the science of catalysis has been largely based on trial-and-error methods. The Catalysis Institute, also located at Science City, has now laid out the theoretical foundations of forecasting catalytic action by means of mathematical simulation with the aid of computers. In connection with the great technological importance of chemical catalysis for other socialist countries, an International Coordinating Center for member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has been set up in the Novosibirsk institute.

There are many, many fields which we have not mentioned, including mathematics, geology, geophysics, metallurgy, astronomy, and astrophysics. Despite the exciting achievements in these areas, I would like to use the remaining space allocated for this review to discuss in broader terms the relationship between scientific research and economic and social development in the Soviet Union.

Science and Economic-Social Development

The Soviet lead in energy research is clearly connected with the difference between the two social systems.

In the Soviet Union, the growth of any industry is carried out under the principle of planned and proportionate development of the economy. The growth rate of Soviet electric energy production is roughly the same as the growth rate of industrial production as a whole, now averaging 5-6 per cent a year, and therefore no energy crisis awaits the Soviet economy. Research allocations are made on the basis of the long-term needs of the economy. An article in the February 1977 issue of the journal



A model of the Venera 9 descent module. On page 48: The "Soyuz-24" spaceship on the launching pad at the Baikanur Cosmodrome.

Spectrum, published by the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers in the United States, discusses research on ultra-high voltage for electric power transmission. In explaining the Soviet lead in this field, the article states that "the principal difference between Russia and the US is political. In the USSR, funding of R&D [research and development], energy resource exploitation, and power generation and transmission is government sponsored and controlled; in the US it is largely privately financed, with some small assistance or funding from the US government."

The advantage of a centrally planned economy is best illustrated precisely in the electric power industry. Soviet scientists have the task of solving the problem of creating one electrical grid for the entire Soviet Union, so that as the peak-load region travels with the sun across the country, the productive capacity in one region can be used to meet the needs of any other region. The socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe are to be connected into this grid so that an area that extends over 12 time zones (literally, halfway around the surface of the Earth) can meet its energy needs with a minimum investment of resources.

There is a long history of the priority nature of electric energy production in the Soviet Union. The first economic plan prepared in the young Soviet republic was the report of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia in 1920. Electrifi-

cation was the key to ending the backwardness of Russia. Even today, the continued expansion of electric power is vital to the creation of a communist society in which all arduous and monotonous labor will be done by machine, so that human beings can employ their full talents in creative activity. "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the country," declared Lenin. The problem of electrification was not just a technological one. It was a problem of education and culture, which would absorb the attention of many scientific workers.

In the sixty years that have passed since the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin's projections for a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations have become a reality. The continuing rapid pace of development made possible by a socialist planned economy places the Soviet Union in the first position in the world when it comes to new construction of all kinds. To sustain this growth, the Soviet Union employs a force of engineers three times as great as the United States. No other country has as many research workers of all kinds. The development of education and culture are an inseparable part of this growth of science and technology, so that the percentage of the Soviet population engaged in the creative arts is greater than any capitalist country. In these respects, the Soviet Union has set high standards for the future course of all society. □

I came to Moscow in March 1969 after witnessing and reporting on the ghetto outbursts. These rebellions of the "insulted and injured" had blazoned a message across the length and breadth of our country: *Life in our great cities can never be livable until it is livable for all—including the discriminated minorities.* I returned home on December 15, 1974 after a near-six-year stay in the USSR. It was a painful homecoming. Not only because the crisis of our cities had immeasurably deepened. Not only because the streets of my childhood and youth resembled bombed-out areas. What made it so painful was that it was all so unnecessary and irrational. I had just come from a land which had overcome the heritage of tsarism and had sustained losses in World War II we can't even imagine: 20 million dead, 25 million homeless, 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages destroyed. I saw how it had used its three decades of peace to build cities without crisis, cities of brotherhood.

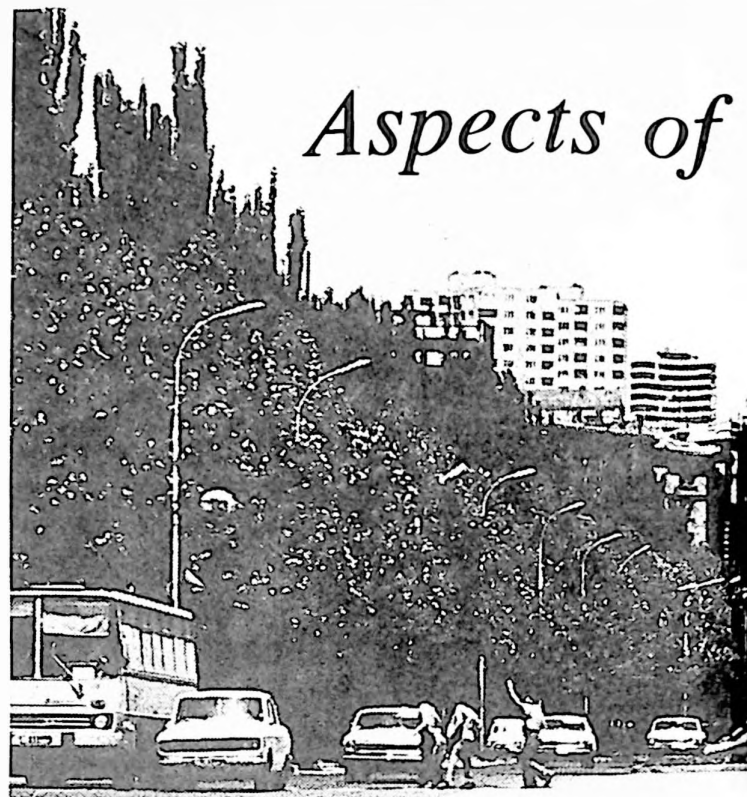
On all sides I was urged to readapt myself. But six years of living in a truly human world had "spoiled" me. Never again will I be able to "adapt" myself to our inhuman way of life. Indeed, in the six years of my absence life had become much more irrational and inhuman. New York teetered on the brink of bankruptcy and other cities were in similar straits. Once again, as in the 1930s, Americans were walking the streets in search of non-existent jobs. In the ghettos a new depression was piled on one that had never ended. Only this time it brought an uninvited guest to sit at their hungry table—inflation.

Notwithstanding all the studies, our Bourbons in Washington, our state capitols and city halls had learned nothing from the ghetto rebellions. A few more Black faces appeared on television and window-dressed the banks and offices of big business, but this was little comfort to the 40-60 per cent of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano youth who walked the streets. The President of the US told New York to "drop dead." New York responded by passing on this invitation to thousands of teachers, hospital, park and sanitation workers, and placing itself in receivership to a consortium of bankers and financiers euphemistically called the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac).

The new occupant in the White House has busied himself with more "serious" matters than devastated ghettos—the "human rights" of a people who have discovered how to live a life without unemployment and inflation, without ghettos and racism, without landlords and doctor bills, without cities of crisis and fear and without the most deadly fear of all—fear of tomorrow. "Human Rights" and the neutron bomb—this is the cold war "normalcy" we are asked to adapt ourselves to.

For 60 years there has existed a way of life that is far more rational and human than our crisis-ridden existence. Anti-Sovietism is above all, responsible for our "not knowing" what more than one-third of the world has come not only to know, but to experience. The fight against anti-Sovietism is not just a struggle against the slanders heaped upon the long-maligned Soviet people. It is a fight for our own right to know. We have a right to know whether there is another way of life, without rat-ridden ghettos, without "hot summers," without slumlords, without doctor bills, without unemployment and inflation, without cities in crisis, without cities of fear. *Is there a more human way of life?*

MIKE DAVIDOW, well-known progressive and labor journalist, was for six years the Moscow correspondent of the *Daily World*. Among his books about the USSR: *Cities Without Crisis; Life Without Landlords;* and *People's Theater: From the Box Office to the Stage.*



MIKE DAVIDOW

The Right to the

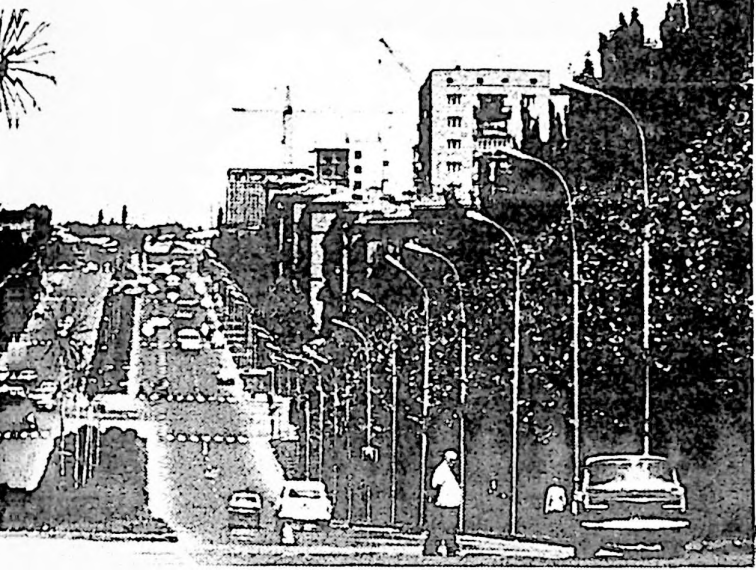
Today, six decades after a courageous people dared to blaze the uncharted trail to that new world, the answer more than ever is:

There is! The immortal John Reed saw it in the midst of the devastation, abysmal poverty and illiteracy of war-torn, backward Russia in the birthpangs of the Great October (as did our own Jessica Smith). Lincoln Steffens saw "the future and it works" in the land of the First Five-Year Plan. But, it was understandable why this vision was denied the mass of Americans. For many years, Soviet everyday life lagged considerably behind that of the "richest country of the world." The "richest country" never inherited its poverty, backwardness and illiteracy and a multitude of other social ills. The "richest country" in the world never suffered two devastating wars on its soil besides intervention and civil war.

But today the picture is quite different—this notwithstanding many still existing difficulties in the USSR. It is no secret that in the quantity, variety and quality of many consumer goods as well as services, the US is clearly ahead (though even here the gap is steadily being narrowed. But today—60 years and nine-and-a-half five year plans after the October Revolution—Soviet life in those aspects that are most meaningful to average Americans, especially workers and minority groups, is already far superior to life in the United States.

From its very inception, Soviet life was in essence superior because it introduced a new quality of life, *life without exploita-*

Soviet Life



Most Human Life

tion or exploiters. Today that quality of life exists in a mature form in a country of advanced socialism. It is this new stage in the development of socialism that must be grasped if the superiority of Soviet life over ours is to be understood. Never have so many Americans questioned the *quality* of life in our free enterprise world. Never have they demanded a higher quality of life. This in itself is a new and significant development. *Quantity*, whether in gadgets or automobiles (always quite limited for millions of ordinary Americans, especially of minority groups) is no longer the sole or even the main yardstick.

In our six years in the Soviet Union, I applied the yardstick of quality to life in the two worlds. And I have done so in the three years since our return to the US. Let me briefly contrast the two worlds on some of the essential elements that make up the quality of life.

The security of one's home: In the Soviet Union, one of our greatest joys was what every American dreams of: life without landlords! It was expressed in our nominal rent, 18 rubles 32 kopeks a month (about \$24). We returned to find that never was the American home more insecure and that the American Dream of a cottage in the suburbs had become a nightmare. Never were landlords more truly lords of the land! We began a frantic search for a landlord we could afford (only by cutting down on other necessities). And such are the powers of adjustment that we came to consider ourselves "fortunate" when we found a three-room apartment for only \$232 a month! Never have so many Americans been so repeatedly engaged in such search. It

has introduced a new instability into our increasingly unstable lives. Nowhere more so than in the ghettos where for \$200-\$300 a month tenants get slumlords, rats, roaches and deteriorating buildings in the midst of decay.

Article 44, Section 7 of the new Soviet Constitution guarantees *as a right* decent housing at low rent for every Soviet citizen. We would call it practically free rent since it is no more than four per cent of income. *No society before has ever dared to guarantee such a right.* Few countries faced the kind of a housing crisis the Soviet Union knew. Aside from the pitiful heritage bequeathed by tsarism and capitalism, the Nazi invasion left 25 million homeless. The Soviet Union still faces serious problems, especially in relation to providing housing for young families but today it can write that guarantee into its constitution because for many successive years it has built 11 million housing units a year.

The right to protection of one's health: Or consider medical care. Article 42, section 7 states that Soviet citizens have the right to protection of their health free of charge. For six years we came to accept free comprehensive medical care as "normal"! But we were brought down to our "free enterprise earth" with a rude jolt. On January 8, 1976 Gail and I suffered a near-fatal accident. A tenant in our building left her car running in the garage under our apartment. We were overcome by carbon monoxide. Fortunately, we were taken to the hospital in time but it was necessary for me to stay overnight in the coronary intensive care unit. We went home and tried to forget the nightmarish experience. But not so, our hospital! Shortly after I received a bill for \$661! And it was itemized—\$44! for room and board! Serious sickness is not only a health hazard, it is a financial disaster in our society.

Talking versus working democracy: In our society democracy is largely a battle of words. No country has so studied and publicly reported on its ills with so little results as ours. The rebellions in the Black ghettos of the 1960s resulted in token actions but numerous wordy studies. Yet, the situation in the ghettos is worse than ever as the outbursts of the July 13 blackout in New York made clear. I found the contrasting situation in the USSR particularly refreshing. I must confess that coming from a *talking* democracy it took time to get used to a *working* democracy. For me, the most significant thing about the inspiring new Soviet Constitution is that it *registers Soviet reality. It is a living demonstration of the unity between words and deeds.* The essence of Soviet democracy which is in such stark contrast with our own version is contained in the following simple statement in Article 102, Section 14: "Deputies shall exercise their power without discontinuing work in their trade or professions." What a world is contained in those simple words! One of the most thrilling sights in the Soviet Union to me was not the giant hydroelectric power stations but the little pin emblems in the lapels of the men and women construction workers denoting them as deputies to the Supreme Soviet. More than half of the Soviet Senators, Congressmen and Congresswomen are workers and farmers directly engaged in production. Most of the others are workers in science, arts and literature. There is not a *single* worker in our Senate and only six in Congress (who have long since ceased being workers) but there are 215 corporation lawyers and 81 bankers and businessmen in the House and 65 and 13 respectively in the Senate.

On July 27, 1967 a Presidential commission investigating the causes for the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s attributed them in large measure to the taunting contradiction between words and

deeds. It declared: "The expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories have led to frustration, hostility and cynicism in the face of the persistent gap between promise and fulfillment." And it warned: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one white—separate and unequal" (emphasis added).

Prophecy is being fulfilled because even the palliatives provided in the wake of the ghetto rebellion are being discarded. Affirmative action is under sharp attack. Hardest hit in the economy wave are the ghettos where schools, hospitals, libraries are being closed, remedial and bilingual classes curtailed. The material for future and perhaps even more explosive outbursts is being piled high. It is therefore, nothing less than willful and self-defeating blindness for us to ignore the eminently successful experience of the Soviet Union in solving the problem of nations and nationalities. Few countries faced it in a more complex or more sharp form than did the land which was known under the tsars as the prison of nations, the country where 100 peoples now live in brotherhood and harmony.

Perhaps one of the most difficult adjustments we had to make on our return home was to adapt ourselves to *coexistence with fear*. One of the most pleasant aspects of Soviet life is that its cities are cities without fear. Not that crime has been totally wiped out. That is not the case—the elimination of crime is a complicated and a prolonged social process. But organized crime has been done away with and the streets and parks truly belong to the Soviet people. There is much talk today of "life style." Well, the massive and brutal character of crime in our country, especially in our cities, has indeed, changed the life style of millions of Americans. "Night life" for millions has ceased to exist. With the approach of darkness, they not only go and remain indoors but behind tightly locked doors. For large numbers of the elderly living in high crime areas, fear dominates the streets during daylight too. Shopping for them is a daily risk.

If I were to be asked: What about the quality of Soviet life that is particularly in stark contrast to ours, I would say: *the absence of fear!* The absence of fear in the streets, of fear of the loss of one's job, of fear of the high cost of illness, of fear of the high cost of education, of fear of racism and police brutality. In a word, *the absence of fear of today and tomorrow. And the absence of fear in the streets is only possible because the other fears have been eliminated.*

The Soviet militia (police) would be the first to tell you that the elimination of crime is hardly just a matter for the police. Soviet cities are cities without fear because they are cities without unemployment, without slums and slumlords, without ghettos, without drug pushers, without incessant glorification of violence, without pornography. The fight against crime is not only a fight against the economic ills which are its basic source. It is a fight against the moral decay eating away at the very fiber of our country. The struggle against moral decay is a fight for the very *spiritual health of our country*. Never have so many felt the inhumanness and soullessness of life in the USA today. Never have so many yearned for an alternative, a more human way of life. After all, isn't the history of humanity the story of the struggle for a truly *human way of life*? Isn't it time, 60 years after the great October Socialist Revolution, that we took a good objective look at the country which pioneered in creating a *new quality of life* that has eliminated the fears, tensions and decay, making life in the richest country in the world more and more unbearable for increasing numbers of Americans? Isn't it time for us to demand the Right to the Most Human Life? □

SARA HARRIS

A School in Moscow:

I knew practically nothing about the Soviet school system when, four years ago, my seven-year-old American-Russian son, Andre, entered the first grade. Therefore, I was almost as excited as he was when, as is traditional in the Soviet Union, our whole family escorted him to school on September first. Little Dmitri carried his big brother's briefcase, but Andre wouldn't entrust anyone with the fresh asters he had for the teacher. teacher.

The children, overly scrubbed and starched, were already gathering by class in the football field behind the school when we got there. Their parents, many with cameras, were hurrying to get front-row standing-room on the rise surrounding the field. The principal opened the ceremony with some welcoming remarks to the children. These were followed by a representative of the parents' committee. Then the microphone was handed to a tall man in his late 30s who was introduced as a worker in the local furniture factory. In a slightly hesitating manner, he explained that his factory had "adopted" School No. 103. If there was any special handiwork that needed to be done, such as custom cabinets for the science labs or construction work for the "Mariners Club," his factory would help out. Then, to the applause of the upperclassmen, he announced that during the summer they had built four new ping-pong tables for the gym. (Our school is noted in the neighborhood for its ping-pong club.) The first-graders were then asked to step forward and the entire student body joined in welcoming them.

When the brief ceremony was over, the top student of the school was given the honor of ringing the first bell of the new school year. Then, class by class followed her past the rows of sentimental parents into the school building, with the tenth-graders chaperoning the first-graders at the head of the line.

It is no wonder that much is made of the first day of school, particularly for the first-graders. School is taken very seriously. It is, indeed, a lot of responsibility and hard work. The amount of information that Soviet children are exposed to in their ten years of schooling is proof of that. The required program includes, besides all the more common subjects, botany, zoology, anatomy, economic and physical geography of the world, mechanical drawing, astronomy, four years of chemistry, five years of physics (which covers the basics of nuclear physics), plus heavy emphasis on history, literature, a foreign language, etc.

But just listing the subjects gives you no idea of their depth. Let's glance at some of the textbooks: The fourth grade "reader" is a collection of short stories, poems and excerpts from some of the world's great authors: Tolstoy, Pushkin, Turgenyev, Hans Christian Andersen, to name a few.

Ancient History for the fifth grade has a substantial chapter on

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As We Live It

primitive man and each of the ancient cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China, as well as an extensive study of the ancient Greek and Roman empires.

Botany, which is studied for three semesters of the fifth and sixth grades, has a detailed chapter on each segment of a plant: root, stalk, leaf, etc. What I remember studying in my high school biology classes (basic plant types, parts of a flower, pollination, etc.) are covered here in the introduction! The chapter on mushrooms is particularly enlightening. Now I know why the Soviets are so brave about eating the fungi they find in the woods. And the experiments that are suggested to do in your mother's kitchen! (What will happen when Andre takes chemistry?) No wonder some protective grandparents claim that childhood ends with the first grade.

The significant thing—at least for people who have been taught to think that there are students who can learn and those who can't—is that this program, which is basic in every school in the country, regardless of which republic or distant rural area it might be, is not meant for the “whiz-kids” but is geared to the most average schoolchild.* I remember the stares of amazement we got when an American teacher friend of mine asked some Soviet educators what they do for those students who haven't learned to read by the third or fourth grade. I am impressed by how much average children can produce when properly challenged and how excited they get by well-presented subjects. Andre was so inspired by the fifth grade atlases for history and geography a friend introduced him to, that he has since bought

*Nor are the “whiz-kids” ignored. There is a series of electives added to the program for those who wish further to deepen their knowledge, as well as a number of schools that specialize in a foreign language, mathematics or a science.

up all the atlases for both of those subjects through the tenth grade. His favorite pastime now is to ask me questions such as the import-export ratio of Australia, or when and where was the Second Punic War, and undoubtedly catch me on the answers. My high school education hardly puts me at an equal advantage.

Another thing I have observed is that not once has a child in my hearing, including my own son, complained of boredom in school. There's just no time for that.

Andre, in the fourth grade now, has four lessons of 45 minutes each (the upperclassmen have five or six), with a ten minute break between each. After two lessons, the children have a “second breakfast” in the cafeteria which consists usually of a hot dish: cereal, eggs, franks or some such, a beverage and bread. By 12:15 Andre is through school for the day.

I know what you're thinking: “That doesn't give a mother much free time.” Actually it's not that bad. Andre can have a full dinner in school after classes. (The food is always cooked fresh including the soup, nothing canned.) Since my husband has his big meal at work and Dmitri has his in nursery school, it has the additional advantage of allowing me not to cook dinner each day. (I'm one of those “I hate to cook” mothers.)

If I am working or just busy and want my child “off the street” (although homework is pretty good at doing that for a couple of hours each day), I can send him to the “extended day” program which is free except for the price of dinner (40 cents). A teacher is hired specifically to take the children from after school till 6 p.m. During this time they eat, play outdoors, do their homework with her supervision and also raise the roof, I am told. Sometimes the teacher takes them to a movie or they watch educational programs on TV. To a great extent, the success of this program depends on the individual teacher. There has been criticism in the Soviet press lately about extended day programs that are poorly organized and mirror the classroom atmosphere with not enough emphasis on games, sports and cultural activities. However, I am still going to send Andre to this program this year, not to keep him off the street, but to keep him *on* it: if he's left on his own he'll curl up with a book the minute he gets home and never see the daylight.



I am discovering that school in this country is far more than a place of learning. This spring Andre became a "Young Pioneer." I have to smile when I see how solemnly he ties his red tie each morning before school. Being a "Pioneer" is both an honor and a responsibility. The last time I went to school I witnessed the following scene: Two first-graders were shoving each other with their briefcases in the hallway during a break. A girl, passing them and just a few grades older, but wearing a red tie, put down her briefcase, separated the two aggressors, sent them off to their respective classrooms, picked up her briefcase and matter-of-factly went about her business.

Let me tell you about the "subbotnik." Andre and his classmates had been wearing their red ties for all of two weeks. This was their first big project as "Young Pioneers." Their "link" of ten children decided to hold a "subbotnik"—a voluntary work project held usually on Saturday or *subбота*. This was an individual decision as the major "subbotnik" held throughout the country every spring was to be a week later. But, full of pioneer spirit, these children couldn't wait all of seven days to volunteer their services. (One little girl left her own birthday party long enough to attend!) Being early April, the group decided to clean up one of the yards around an apartment house. Parents supplied the children with rakes and they went to work on the old leaves, broken branches and papers that had been buried under five months of snow. They had a jolly time gathering the trash into a big pile and then started to burn it as they had seen the grownups do. At this point an old woman who had been observing this whole operation, lost her patience, "You darn kids have been here too long, trampling on everything, making noise and trouble . . ." and she chased them off the yard they had worked hard and so enthusiastically to clean.

The insult was deep. What could they do? "Let's write a complaint to our newspaper!" (Here, you must understand the character of the Soviet press. All newspapers, from *Pioneer Pravda*, a biweekly newspaper for school children, up to *Pravda* itself, the official paper of the Soviet Communist Party, serve the function of examining and pressuring to relieve complaints from readers. These can relate to any kind of problem, economic, social, moral, even very personal problems.) Carefully, so the parents wouldn't know, or so they thought, the Pioneers of Link No. 2, third grade class "a," School No. 103, of Moscow, sent a letter to the editors of *Pioneer Pravda*, a national newspaper, describing their "subbotnik" and its unhappy conclusion. Whether or not the children received a direct reply from *Pioneer Pravda* I haven't heard. But I am sure they have begun to recognize both their rights and social duties as "Young Pioneers."

As an American mother, I was particularly concerned about the question of conformity in the Soviet schools. I had heard a lot, from Western sources, about how one of the worst offenses is to be "different." Here was my poor son, condemned to non-conformity from birth by his American heritage. What would happen to him?

At one of the first parents' meetings he was indeed singled out, not for his international heritage, it is true, but for his universal languor. "Nothing phases this boy," the teacher said, "Five minutes after the bell I see him wandering casually toward the school building. If a handgrenade were to explode next to him, I doubt that he would move any faster." Then she added, "But don't try to change him. With the hectic pace that

DAVID B. KIMMELMAN, M.D.

Health Care in the

If someone in the USSR, anywhere in the USSR, suddenly feels ill, a relative, friend or passerby will dial "03" and a well-equipped ambulance with a physician will arrive within 10 or 15 minutes. In large cities like Moscow, it could be within five minutes. (The Moscow Central ambulance station has over 1,500 ambulances, and there are 25 sub-stations in outlying Moscow districts besides.)

According to the symptoms at the call, there might be a "special purpose" ambulance, with a *sub*-specialist, e.g., an orthopedist if a fracture is suspected; an obstetrician; or a specialist in reanimation in case of sudden death. In the USSR emergency medicine is a specialty just like others, and it has sub-specialties; ambulances, hospitals or clinics are specially equipped particularly for these sub-specialties.

Of course the medical care required is followed through to recovery, either as in- or out-patient care. There is no cost to the patient. If he or she is a worker, the workplace is notified if necessary to get a substitute. The worker is compensated for loss of pay, and the job is held until recovery.

Any pertinent medical information is put on the patient's health record, which, incidentally, will follow him wherever he goes. If the diagnosis indicates a work-related condition, the workplace doctors and epidemiologists are immediately alerted. Is there a hazard for other workers? How prevalent is the condition? What steps are needed to prevent new cases?

If the job turns out dangerous for the health of that worker (i.e., allergy) the state is responsible for training for another, safer job, at no cost, and with continued pay. These rights are guaranteed and enforced by the trade union.

It is difficult to compare all this with what would happen in the US to a person suddenly ill. Whom to call? An ambulance might take a very long time and it has no doctor. How much will it all cost? What about no show at the job? Will the boss hold the job if the condition is serious? Will a record of any health condition be held against the worker?

In the US, there is no national health service. It is the only

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life takes on these days, I envy him his calmness. Let him remain that way." I respect Lydia Nikoliovna. Never, in the three years of being Andre's primary school teacher, did she change that basic attitude toward him although there was many a time he tested her patience.

As far as I'm concerned, the best way to guard against conformity is to give all your young citizens an extensive, well-rounded education which will provide them with the tools necessary to think independently and to critically evaluate their

USSR

major nation without one. Although such service is far superior in the socialist countries, those capitalist countries with a national health service have a marked improvement in delivery and availability of health care. In spite of our advanced technology, the US without a system of health care delivery is like a crippled giant, unable to fulfill its potential.

Of course a national health service will not be handed out. It must be fought for. To win such concessions from the monopolies requires struggle primarily by the working class in our country. The Soviet health system affords an outstanding example of what a working class state can do for its people, and is an inspiration for that struggle.

The Soviet health system is one of the marvels produced by mankind on this planet. The "mankind" is socialist, its workers owning the means of production, and perhaps that is why the good health of its people is considered of prime importance, regardless of their economic circumstances.

While we are decreasing hospital beds, the USSR is building hospitals and bed capacity. Our emergency services are getting scarcer, while in the USSR they are trying to break their own records for speed of response to calls. An extra day of hospitalization is called wasteful here; a safety measure there. Fumes at work go unheeded deliberately here; they are sought and eliminated there. With high productivity in US coal mines goes black lung, while in the USSR good health of the miner takes precedence over risky conditions.

In the USSR "Fundamentals of Health Legislation," the aims of health care are stated as follows: "To insure the harmonious physical and mental development of citizens, their health, high working ability, and many years of active life; to preserve health and reduce incidence of disease; to further reduce disablement and mortality; and to eradicate factors and conditions harmful to the health of its citizens."

The Draft of the new Constitution of the USSR guarantees the *right to health protection*. Article 42 states: "This right shall be ensured by free competent medical care rendered by state health institutions, development and improvement of safety techniques and sanitation in production, extension of the network of medical and health-building institutions; by broad preventive measures; and measures of environmental improvement; special care for the health of the rising generation; prohibition of child labor; furtherance of scientific research directed to preventing and reducing the incidence of disease; and to ensuring a long

daily experiences. This is, as far as I can tell, exactly what Andre's very average, neighborhood school is doing for him.

I guess, more important than my evaluation of Andre's school, is his own attitude toward it. I'm sure you will find this very hard to believe, but it actually happened. May 30 was the last day of classes for this school year. The teacher had warned that they would have three rather than the usual four lessons. As we had an appointment to make, I waited for Andre after school. But he didn't appear. My first reaction was, "He probably got



active life for citizens."

Other guaranteed human rights relating directly or indirectly to health in the new Constitution are the right to rest and leisure, the right to work, the right to maintenance in old age, sickness and partial or complete disability, and the rights to housing, education, freedom of creative work, access to achievement of culture, etc. All specify how each right is ensured.

These human rights, absent in the US for all except the privileged, must be an important contribution to mental health, freedom from diseases of stress, humane, civilized attitudes to one another and to peoples of other nations. We need only to picture the universal existence of these rights in this country to imagine the effects on health. The Soviet constitution further guarantees complete equality regardless of race, sex, nationality or attitude toward religion, and makes "advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt" punishable by law. Think how racism, anti-semitism and media violence would be abated by such laws! Why is our media silent on these rights?

The basic principles of the Soviet health system are: 1) complete socialization, with full state responsibility; 2) accessible and free health services; 3) disease and injury prevention and prophylaxis; 4) democratic approach. This means widespread

his report card today and it's bad!" Finally, I went to school to look for him. It turned out that the teacher had dismissed the class after the third lesson but only a few pupils left. The rest decided to run the fourth lesson themselves. By schedule, it was to be a discussion of books they had read at home that week. So the children, often with considerable humor, started discussing books and stories. The class became so enthusiastic that finally the janitor had to chase them out of the classroom. And this, on the last day of school! □

public participation and use of information to guarantee good health. Public health committees exist in all soviets, factories, schools, residential areas. The USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent societies play an active role in propagandizing for good health habits.

The presence of standing health committees in the Supreme Soviet, and all region, town and district soviets, also assures that the work of the Ministry of Health is scrutinized by people's representatives.

As can be imagined, the scope of the health system is enormous. It includes: 1) hospitals, general and special; out-patient clinics; dispensaries; children's polyclinics; women's centers; sanatoria; rest homes; preventive care and epidemiological stations. 2) Ministries of Health of the USSR and of the Union Republics; the Academy of Medical Sciences consisting of highly talented leaders in the field of health, and its 40 associated research institutes staffed by thousands of researchers. In addition, each Union Republic has its own research institutions. 3) Specialized secondary educational and advanced training schools. This includes nursing, pharmacy, laboratory work and many special technical subjects (X-ray, electronic medicine, etc.). 4) The Ministry of Medical Industry. Completely integrated into the general activities of the health system, it is responsible for the manufacture of drugs, bacterial and virus vaccines, antitoxins and other sera, and medical and surgical instruments and equipment.

In the training of physicians, present emphasis is on quality and increased specialization. Of 830,000 M.D.s at the end of 1975 (about one doctor for 307 people—the highest ratio in the world), 210,000 graduated from postgraduate medical schools between 1971 and 1975. The USSR is now producing new specialists directly from its 82 medical schools. At present more than one doctor out of every four in the world is a Soviet M.D.!

The Health Ministry also trains many medical and paramedical personnel from the developing countries at the USSR's expense.

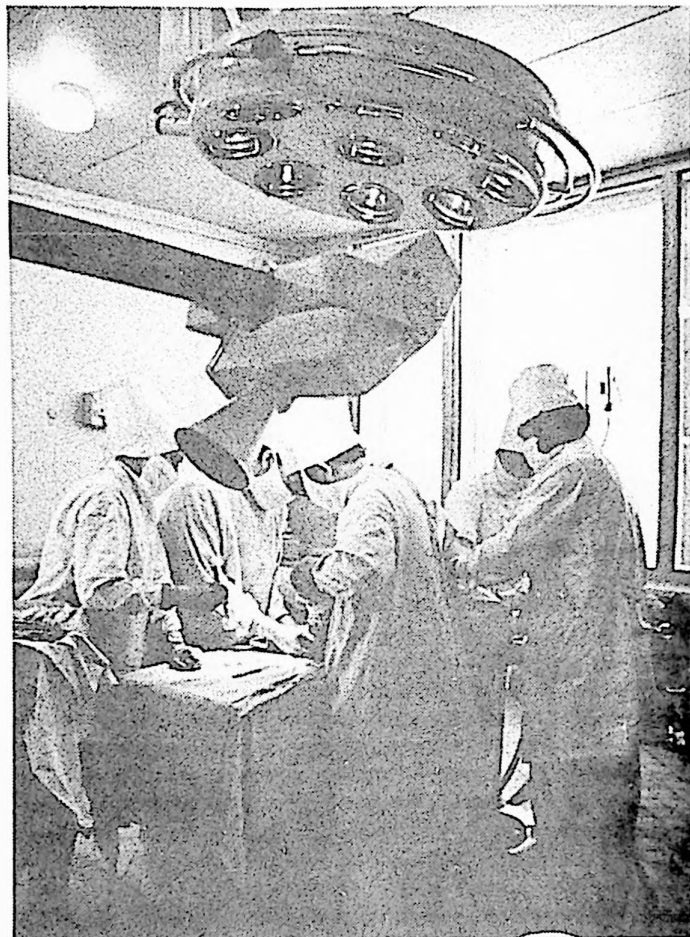
When I was first in the Soviet Union, I was struck time and again, in conversations with Soviet doctors, by their intense interest in their work, how to perfect it, to diagnose and treat more effectively, to learn from colleagues. Interest remained constant and sincere. This may seem an ordinary observation; yet it would apply unevenly in the US.

I came to realize this attitude existed in every socialist country I visited, and not only among doctors, but also among paramedical personnel, and in fact all people in the field of health sciences. They are not worried about personal extraneous concerns like making a living and can concentrate on their tasks. Their attitudes reflect a striving for constant improvement in their work.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of occupational health and safety. The vast worker protection network, in a certain sense, typifies the entire Soviet health system.

The Soviet Ministry of Health shares responsibility for enforcing labor protection. It hires 20,000 safety and health inspectors, who have the power to impose penalties, close factories, and even jail plant managers or industrial ministry officials who do not comply with legal safety standards. Under the Ministry is the Institute of Industrial Hygiene and Occupational Diseases. It does the main research for safety standards and procedures, acceptable concentrations of various potentially dangerous sub-

stances; and coordinates its work with 15 other specialty institutes in various regions—for example, in Tashkent hazards associated with cotton and textile production; in Baku oil-related hazards. These institutes, especially the central one in Moscow, study the physiology of various kinds of labor in order to prevent incapacity resulting from the overuse of certain muscles and the underuse of others, as an example of the kind of research aimed at the future years of certain workers. They may develop special exercises. Special hazard areas are carefully



studied and conclusions drawn as to what kinds of labor need special protection. Regular meetings make safety recommendations to the Ministry, from which standards are set.

Sharing responsibility for labor protection with the Health Ministry is the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), representing 113.5 million workers in 25 unions. It employs an additional 5,500 full-time health and safety inspectors who share enforcement powers with the Health Ministry. The AUCCTU also carries out programs in particular fields, such as noise, ventilation, fumes, microwaves, mines, etc. Institutes under the Central Council, financed entirely by the trade unions, test protective equipment and set standards of workplace safety. They employ scientists, hygienists, physicians and other experts. They coordinate the labor protection departments of each of the affiliated unions.

An example is the labor medicine program of the Metallurgical Workers Union on coke ovens in the steel industry, which are cancer causing and otherwise dangerous. They worked with the Health Ministry and the Steel Ministry and succeeded in

greatly reducing hazards through development of the "dry quenching" process. Their methods are known but considered too extravagant here, although European and Japanese workers won the Soviet system of coke oven protection for their mills.

It is interesting to compare the "maximum safe airborne concentrations of substances," called TLVs (threshold limit values) in the US and the comparable figures in the USSR, called MAC (maximum allowable concentrations). TLVs do not protect workers with increased susceptibility, but are meant as an average safe value. On the other hand, MACs are set at a value which will protect every worker from any deviation from normal. Any exposure that might cause any change is forbidden. In fact, in the USSR MACs are only temporary because the optimum value is considered to be zero.

A few examples: TLVs (US) for ammonia, carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide are, respectively, 35, 55, and 13 mg/cubic meter. The MACs (USSR) for the same are, 0.2, 3, and 0.5. These comparisons are not especially selected. They explain why work is so much safer in the USSR.



As mentioned earlier, the Soviet draft Constitution guarantees the right to rest and leisure. In April 1919, Lenin signed the decree on "Health Resort Areas of National Importance" in which property was to be set aside for medical treatment of the working population and their families. Today there are 14,000 institutions for holiday use, tourism, spa and sanatorium treatment, which can accommodate two million people at a time.

1975, 45 million workers and their families had such vacations. Also, 10 million school children vacationed at trade-union administered Pioneer camps. But in the 1976-1980 five year period much new construction is taking place to expand quality and quantity. Holiday centers are being built in conjunction with large factories and enterprises, making for greater convenience especially in cases of needed health care. The costs of vacations are generally less than the equivalent of two weeks pay, a large amount of the vacation expense being borne by the trade union. Health care is closely associated with vacations, and made a part of them, and includes routine examinations, the use of various therapies and spas, diets, calisthenics and the special facilities of the particular region.

A few words about mother and child care. These are connected because the health of fetus and infant is dependent on the well-being of the mother. The USSR has a network of women's health care centers which guarantee availability of proper care. Soviet law frees pregnant women from night work after four months pregnancy; forbids overtime and business trips. Nursing mothers have time with pay for nursing in creches, and/or workday shortened by one hour. Paid maternity leave of 56 days before and 56 days after birth is the law. Mothers may also take unpaid leave until the baby is one year old; and return to the old job at full pay including any raises gained by the union in that time. A mother is given sick-leave at full pay if her child is ill for up to seven days. Beyond that, necessary care is given by the children's hospitals.

There are now 100,000 pediatricians in the USSR, and 500,000 hospital beds for children. Over 56 million children have annual physical exams.

Health research in the USSR is under the direction of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and carried out by the affiliated research institutes. Some 75 to 80 "problems" are set up for study by "problem committees" and submitted to the Academy presidium for approval. Programs are drafted and submitted to the Ministry of Health also for approval. Results of research are supplied countrywide.

In line with Soviet policy of assistance to developing nations, the USSR has trained many doctors and other health personnel from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In addition, the USSR has built hospitals and other facilities in India, Ethiopia, Egypt, Yemen, Algeria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Burma, Nepal, Kenya, Somalia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Pakistan, Nigeria and many other countries.

The USSR cooperates in research with some 56 countries as of 1975. Some of the most exciting and promising work in the field of heart disease, cancer, influenza and diabetes is taking place in conjunction with US doctors and health workers. The earliest agreement, signed in 1972, was that on cancer. Work so far has included exploration of ways to stimulate the body's immunological system to fight leukemia. In influenza studies, researchers have joined forces to find new virus strains and develop new vaccines. The tremendous work in the health field done by the USSR is after all for the benefit of all peoples, and it hurts all peoples when the beneficial discoveries and means of health care cannot be utilized because of suspicion and mistrust. Detente, in an atmosphere of cooperation and trust, will allow the people of the whole world to share in the health triumphs of the USSR on its 60th birthday. □



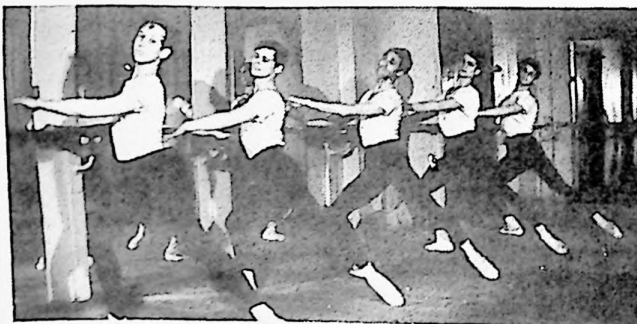
The October Revolution of 1917 made the creation of a culture in which all members of society would be involved and from which all would benefit a practical possibility. The idea was no less revolutionary than the events that engendered it. It set up a new focus of attraction in intellectual life. Liberal ideas once patted to and fro in drawing rooms acquired an unpredictable spin and rebound. Vast areas of human activity previously wrapped in shadow were heaved into the sunlight.

The development of Soviet culture in the early years owes much to Anatoly Lunacharsky, literary critic, playwright, translator and professional revolutionary who became Commissar for Education in 1918. He had seen the inside of many tsarist prisons and known long years in exile in the West. His experience, erudition and tireless ability as a writer and impromptu public speaker made him the ideal man to mold and apply Party policy in the arts and education. His articles and studies available to us (they fill eight volumes) provide a vivid picture of the times.

In 1925, for instance, he wrote a slim booklet called *Why We Are Preserving the Bolshoi Theater*. The purpose was not so much to mark the theater's centenary as to make sure that 1925 did not sound its death knell. Fifty years later, when the Bolshoi celebrated its 150th anniversary, it did so amid world acclaim. Not only had it been the Soviet Union's most successful ambassador of the arts, enormously enriching world ballet and opera. It had also been a delighter and educator of millions who, but for the revolution, might never have seen an opera or ballet in their lives. Its schools had trained thousands of dancers and singers and its influence had been carried far and wide across all the Soviet republics.

And yet, in 1925 its very existence was in question. Though he was a commissar, Lunacharsky was not writing from strength when he argued with those who said "send your big hurdy-

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ROBERT

The Making of a

gurdy to the devil; it's always playing the same tunes and costs too much."

The main trouble, of course, was money. The very size and splendor of the theater symbolized the class for whom it had previously performed. But the young Soviet republic was desperately poor and vast projects in education cried out for priority. But with his usual thoroughness and candor Lunacharsky detailed the arguments. The Russian ballet was the only full-scale ballet company still extant in Europe. The orchestra, perhaps one of the best in the world, was far too good to disband. And anyhow the building would probably cost more to keep up empty than in operation.

The theater did not take quite the course that he had expected, and it was some years before the talents of Prokofiev, Khachaturyan, Ulanova, Grigorovich, Plisetskaya, Shchedrin and many others made it the source of culture and enlightenment that it is today.

The decision to preserve the cultural heritage was based on Lenin's insistence that anyone who wanted to become a Communist should "enrich his memory with all the treasures created by mankind." Lenin had also predicted (as early as 1905) that the new literature would be a "free literature because the idea of





waifs and strays of the civil war. His book about this, describing the colony where hundreds of apparently hopeless cases were recovered for useful and sometimes brilliant service to the community (the Moscow symphony conductor Konstantin Ivanov, for instance), is well described in its title, *A Pedagogical Poem*.

Throughout the thirties Sholokhov's two great novels became a *cause célèbre* of an entirely new kind in the literary world. Never before had so many workers and peasants written letters to an author. There had never been such a general feeling of involvement. Some of the letter-writers were naive, of course, imploring Sholokhov to turn his hero back on to the right path. Sholokhov had to face formidable criticism from such professional critics as Sergey Dynamov, who accused him of naturalism in description and romanticizing the old Cossack ways. At one point he was even suspected of counterrevolutionary activities.

As Lunacharsky had hoped, the revolution was already beginning to produce its own generation of intellectuals, brought up in the spirit and ideals of the young socialist republic. Men and women were transforming themselves in the process of transforming their world. The trade unions play a new and important role in this process. Besides their many other functions they form the link between production and the higher forms of culture. This is a very direct, physical link, providing additional facilities where the workers can enjoy and practice the arts. The trade unions also provide the means whereby the working people, inspired by their contact with the arts, find new outlets for their creative abilities. The *subbotniks* of the early days (and today), the Stakhanovite production drives of the thirties, the present-day movement of rationalizers of production and the Work and Live in a Communist Way movement have all functioned largely through the trade unions. Such cultural centers as Railwaymen's House and the Metro Workers Palace of Culture and scores of similar centers in every city have properly equipped theaters and concert halls and also provide facilities where workers can try out their inventions and practice skills not directly connected with their job.

One of the most unjust charges brought against the new

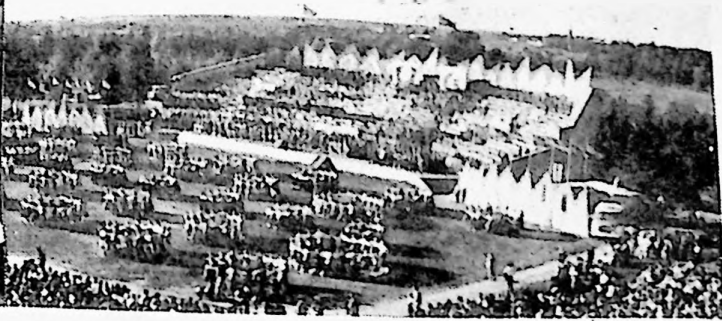
DAGLISH

People's Culture

socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks."

New theaters were springing up all over Moscow and Leningrad. Libraries were being opened. Private premises handed over to the public. The Moscow Art Theater acquired a new theater studio that afterwards became the famous Vakhtangov Theater. Lunacharsky, however, was constantly worried about the "purchasing power" of the new audiences. So whenever he spotted a good production he would urge the Theater Center, the commissariats or trade unions to make every effort to fill that theater with workers or Red Army men.

The revolution had not swept away all social ills overnight and the civil war and the march of the imperialist armies into Russia to crush the revolution in its cradle had made some of them considerably worse. Industry was at a standstill, the countryside had been ravaged, typhus was an ever-present danger, hordes of homeless children roamed the cities. In the fight against these potential disasters the artists and teachers found the inspiration and experience that helped them to build a truly popular culture. The educator Makarenko pioneered the task of rehabilitating the



culture is that it is chauvinistic. In fact it is internationally minded. From the very start, in 1918, when Gorky set up the World Literature Publishing House, hundreds of intellectuals were drawn into the work of translating from all the world's major languages. Today over 150 million copies of books by American authors have been published in scores of languages of the peoples of the USSR and the current rate of translations from English into Russian is far higher than that of Soviet books into English. Admittedly, it is not easy to find copies in the bookshops because the work of Robert Frost, Updike, Faulkner, Thornton Wilder, Hemingway and dozens of others are snapped up as soon as they appear. But this is surely to be taken as evidence of the universal interest and official encouragement, for the editions are rarely less than 50,000.

But the revolution did more than open the floodgates of world literature and culture for the masses of the former tsarist empire. It initiated an entirely new policy towards the non-Russian peoples, especially those who had no written language, like the peoples of the Far North, the Chukchi and the Nentsi. Today these peoples have their own writers and artists. Yakutsk, capital of Yakutia, where winter temperatures average 40°C below zero, has theaters, cinemas and its own University.

Sixty years ago the notion of Uzbeks, Tatars, Russians, Georgians and Ukrainians living on equal and friendly terms was but a concept in the minds of progressive thinkers. It took a complete redistribution of wealth throughout the former Russian Empire and a deliberate policy of investment in the underdeveloped parts to lay the foundation of this friendship in the USSR. The wise policy of raising the economic level of the outlying regions to that of the metropolis involved sacrifices at the center.

The far-sighted policy adopted at the outset, a policy that recognized every person's basic affection for his homeland and the need to provide conditions in which people of every nationality could live in and develop the country of their birth, has also burgeoned in the cultural field. A stream of original and increasingly thoughtful art now flows from the national republics to the Russian heartland, enriching and quickening the artistic circulation of the whole organism. A play by Chinghiz Aitmatov of Kirghizia is currently running in Moscow, and recently opened in London. No poetry almanac is complete without a contribution from Rasul Gamzatov of Daghestan. The young poet Olzhas Suleimenov with firm roots in his own Eastern soil and a mind that has obviously ranged over all Russian poetry and much of the West's has a catalytic effect much like that of the Russian Andrey Voznesensky. In a recent, admittedly much criticized, essay he showed that he has some highly original ideas about the influence of the Turkic languages on Russian.

As the *lingua franca*, Russian has played an important part in this intertraffic. It has never been imposed. Everyone has the right to be taught in his own language. But I have heard of situations in Byelorussia, for instance, where a young Byelorussian tractor-driver being interviewed by the local radio has replied in the Russian that comes more naturally to him while the interviewer, sticking conscientiously to regulations, asks his questions in Byelorussian. Such assimilation is bound to take place in some areas, but where the national language is vigorous and not so closely related to Russian, in Estonia or Georgia, for instance, translation into Russian is essential and enormously increases the audience and readership of writers from the small-

er ethnic groups. Some of these, brought up in a two-language culture, acquire fluency in both. Fazil Iskander, for instance, an Abkhazian, writes in Russian and delights his readers with a humor that has a distinctly Caucasian flavor. In other fields, too, this reciprocal enrichment is becoming more and more evident, particularly the cinema, where Kirghiz, Georgian and Byelorussian films are often outstanding.

Soviet culture received a severe setback in the years of distrust and tension immediately preceding the second world war. As the icy shadows of fascism lengthened across Europe in the thirties, the anxiety of some critics to see success and perfection blossoming everywhere resulted in grave injustices being done to many innocent experimenters in the arts. It also produced the theory of the "conflictless" novel that did so much damage after the war. But these difficulties were overcome, though with much pain and soul-searching. In 1937, one year after his opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* had been sharply criticized in *Pravda*, Shostakovich produced his breathtaking Fifth Symphony, which has retained its place in world repertoire ever since. And he went on composing all through the war, reaching heroic heights in the Leningrad Symphony, looking back for an instant in the post-war Tenth and then plunging into the new period in collaboration with the poet Yevtushenko. He turned again to poetry, Lorca's, in his Fourteenth Symphony, which though he followed it with other works, soon proved to be his requiem. Music often says things in greater depth than any words and Shostakovich's work is perhaps the greatest single expression of the Soviet people's movement towards their goal—the intense, continual effort, the disappointed hopes, a gritty humor, great tumescent moments of renewed hope and struggle and the final joy of overcoming, which is never final because there is always a new vista and a new problem ahead.

One of the new problems the people's culture faced in the sixties was, paradoxically, the technology of the postwar era. Television, which had seemed at first such a boon to the propagandist, was found also to have the effect of drawing people out of the orbit of social activity. The consumerism that was becoming increasingly possible as prosperity increased also tended to wean people away from the former, more austere social interests—the public lecture hall, the reading room, training for sports, and so on. As a survey conducted in 1972 showed, in some areas far more workers were watching sport on television than taking part in it. New life-styles were emerging and art had to adapt itself to meet current needs or risk being only half heard and half seen. A young generation that had known none of the rigors of the early years was eager for fresh approaches.

Yekaterina Furtseva, then Minister of Culture, urged the television studios to give more time to amateur dance groups and singers, to all sorts of contests and games. Television programs, plays and serials were devised that would be likely to stimulate more active participation in the arts and public life. Actors and musicians were called in for get-togethers on screen to discuss their work. All this had its effect. The ever popular guitar acquired a new status and in the hands of such exponents as the poet and novelist Bulat Okudzhava and the actor Vladimir Vysotsky, almost a new social role. Certainly they have hundreds of imitators among workers and students, who sing ballads of their own composition, from high passion and romantic longing to social satire. A parallel process took place in the theaters and cinema and productions with a distinctive theatrical or cinematic style aroused intense interest (Lyubimov's

Taganka Theater and the films of Andrey Tarkovsky).

Amateur activities had always been encouraged and with more funds available they had an added boost in the sixties and seventies. All industrial and agricultural enterprises have a wide range of amateur cultural activities in which all workers can participate. So have the Pioneer Palaces for children. Now, more than 23 million people participate in amateur artistic activities of one sort or another, and amateur artists give more than two million concerts and performances a year.

Several new theaters have sprung up in Moscow, one of them a children's theater run almost entirely by children. The Children's Theater with professional actors and producers had been pioneered in 1918 with lasting success. But this is a new departure. The children not only act and produce, they look after the building, keep the accounts and sell the tickets. The interesting thing is the scope for participation that is given at an early age.

The musical schools, and those in other arts, where children get a serious musical or other artistic training as well as general education, also encourage early participation in the arts. Here one might say the tendency is towards professionalism. Of course, there always will be a gap between the professional and amateur in art, but in a people's culture the dividing line is not so fixed. On the one hand, there is not the same risk attached to trying to become a professional artist (fear of unemployment or missing the boat in another profession); on the other, there are bigger opportunities for training, both through the schools and in after-work activities at the People's Theaters and so on, which also have their professional teachers. Somewhere in between come the remarkable organizations for special groups, such as the Theater of the Deaf. Run by the Society for the Deaf, this theater has everything—a fine modern building with a full-size auditorium and a specially equipped stage, specialist teachers and producers, musicians, the deaf actors themselves and their speaking counterparts who stand in the wings and vocalize for them. All this is professional, of course, and the theater sells tickets to members of the public, who can enjoy an unusual evening in the company of the deaf members of the audience, watching *Prometheus Unbound* or even *The Three Musketeers*, for there are voices and music as well as gestures, lip-movements and dancing. And the object of it all is to bring an opportunity of full participation in social life for people with even this grave disability.

But none of these organizational factors would have had much effect if there had not been a middle and younger generation of writers and producers with something very important to say about the life around them. The postwar war literature was the first to take a new plunge into the psychological. This is the distinctive feature of Vassil Bykov, Yuri Bondarev and Grigori Baklanov, not to mention the later work (The Living and the Dead trilogy) of the veteran Konstantin Simonov, already famous for his wartime reporting and poetry. But it was also necessary to search human motives in the present, to uncover the hidden springs of loyalty and betrayal in apparently humdrum events, in acquiring a new flat, for instance, or defending a thesis. Viktor Rozov, the playwright and Granin the novelist, had pioneered this approach in the fifties. Yuri Trifonov, starting a little later, has revealed a Chekhovian ability to tear away the veils of human vanity and self-esteem and his knack of linking the revolutionary past with the present often has a chastening effect.

Perhaps the most typical and yet outstanding representative of the new culture was Vassily Shukshin, the young man from

the Siberian backwoods, truck-driver, sailor and odd-job man, who became first an actor, then a writer of short-stories and finally the Soviet Union's most popular actor-director. His death from heart-failure while on location filming a Sholokhov novel was an event of national mourning. Shukshin knew as no one else the heart and soul of the rank-and-file Soviet workers in town and country, and especially those who moved between the city and the village. His love of oddball characters, his humor and his quick sense of protest at arrogance and indifference sparked immediate sympathy in the reader and his collected short stories will, I am sure, be read by many succeeding generations. His intense humanity has already been taken up by such young writers as Valentin Rasputin. One of their great concerns is the environment and all that this implies in human terms. And in this they seem to have the backing of the Communist Party, which realizes that a true love of nature and attention to every detail of human welfare cannot be instilled by legislation alone. Those who read Rasputin's *Farewell, Matyora*, the story of one tragic incident in the building of the Angara Dam, will notice a striking contrast between it and the early "production" novels but they will also feel a connecting thread if they remember the stages in the development of this truly popular culture.

In this survey, which touches upon only a few of the salient features and personalities of a crowded and constantly changing scene, I have attempted to show some of the problems that faced the young republic of workers and peasants and the astonishing achievements by which they have been solved. Sometimes the cost was great, but it has always seemed wrong to me, even at moments of startling revelations, to regard Soviet culture as something static, much less to pick on its failures and setbacks and hold them up as evidence that man is forever in the grip of original sin and can no more escape it than lift himself by his own bootlaces. Those who do so, however revealing they may sound at first, usually end up as quite ordinary reactionaries who would prefer to see the people back where they belonged in the days of Russian Orthodoxy, on their knees in front of an ikon.



In the main hall of the Children's Theater, Leningrad.

The Soviet people, however, will go on with their work of building a truly great popular culture that will continue to astonish the world, the more so because so many people in the West are kept in ignorance of what is really being achieved. For those who believe that the only true art must be pure and

uncommitted I hope that what little I have been able to say here will perhaps have suggested how mistaken it would have been for artists to turn aside from the new life, and how infinitely more inspiring it was to step forward and grapple with its problems. □

DANIEL ROSENBERG

The Revolution and Youth: A Heritage, a Challenge

The degree to which a society answers young people's special concerns is a gauge of that society's democratic content. Youth's rights, above all their rights to earn, learn, and live are a criterion for testing social progress. These rights are also basic human rights. In this regard much has been said in the past year about "human rights" in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The occasion of the 60th Anniversary is a good time to look at Soviet youth's rights, responsibilities and attitudes; considering the amount of material on Soviet "violations" of human rights written in our country such an examination is highly appropriate.

For youth everywhere the present and future revolve around the most important human right: the right to work. The significance for youth of this guaranteed right is striking. US youth's unemployment rate soars (reaching 86 per cent for Black youth and 74 per cent for white youth in New York City, aged 16-19), seriously endangering the hopes and ambitions of millions of young people. Job prospects and joblessness affect one's entire outlook, influence youth's approach in general and the development of the personality in particular.

Soviet society has full youth employment. Young people may begin work at 16 (15 in rare cases approved by the union), with a 24-hour week for the youngest workers (15-16) and a 36-hour week for 16-18 year olds. They are paid at the same rate as co-workers in the same category working a full day. Soviet law bars youth from night work, arduous labor, and dangerous working conditions.

Every Soviet enterprise and factory gives special on-the-job training, with pay, to young workers. The older workers assist them in mastering skills. Enterprises often have history museums; veterans or "mentors" acquaint newcomers with working class spirit. Young workers are welcomed, for example, into the Promsoyuz Plant in Azerbaidzhan with an honorary "Labor Mandate" signed by the veteran workers.

Because free education guarantees the right to learn, Soviet youth are able to more *securely* outline the course of their futures. The Soviet schools and trade unions, assisted by the Young Communist League (Komsomol), provide youth with the raw material for a sense of direction, and of confidence.

Youth who prefer not to go on to higher education receive job counseling and placement in accordance with their interests.

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Graduates of higher institutions of learning are located in jobs in their specialties though not necessarily near their home-towns.

Although plants themselves recruit young workers, employment offices provide extensive lists of job openings in various trades in every Soviet community. The press and media also report job openings.

The factories are centers of youth activity. Over 70 per cent of the work force at the Second Moscow Watch Production Plant which I visited recently, is under 30. The Komsomol branch takes the initiative in organizing clubs, cultural and sports activities, and other offerings particularly suited to young people. The plant has a yacht and a yacht club; also a chorus, a photo club, a stadium, and drama groups.

The profits from the Minsk Tractor Works go toward the building of new apartments, sports facilities, and the plant polyclinic's medical equipment.

Furthermore young people receive personal guidance in selecting fields of interest and careers through factory and office "patronage" over particular schools. An enterprise and its trade union "adopt" a local school and help out with supplies, equipment, and vocational training.

With the aid of the Komsomol and the trade unions, enterprises ensure the opportunity to study while on the job. The number of workers going to school is three to six times greater in the USSR than in the USA. Shorter work weeks, guaranteed paid (full) leaves at exam time, evening and correspondence courses, free child care, complete technical training and seminars on the basics of economics and production management enable the young worker to learn and grow on the job. The young worker always has plenty of interesting things to do, whether he or she is on the assembly line, in the classroom, or cruising on a yacht.

Young people's interests are politically represented at every level of government. Concretely, youth under 30 constitute nearly 20 per cent of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and higher percentages of the lower Soviets. Kiev's local Soviets include 930 young deputies. The head of the local Soviet of a small town outside Kiev told me that 85 per cent of its deputies are under 30; 50 per cent of them are women. Komsomol members sit on the boards of top national bodies: the Ministries of Public Education, Culture, Higher and Specialized Education and the Committees for State TV and Radio, and for Physical Culture and Sport.

All Soviets have Youth Commissions; young deputies form the largest bloc of commission members. From the Chairwoman of the Executive Committee of the Kiev City Soviet I learned

that its Youth Commission has 29 deputies: 12 youth (11 in the Komsomol), plus workers, professors and social scientists. The tasks of the Youth Commission, she said, are to improve youth's conditions of work and leisure; to improve student life; to build youth clubs and restaurants; and to organize cultural performances and sports competitions. The Commission meets with Soviet youth and organizations, often directly at a plant or school where a particular question has come up. Jobs Committees, which aid young people in determining and pursuing their careers, can be found within both local and higher Soviets. The Youth Commissions provide job counseling and help to locate young people in their first jobs.

Soviet youth's response to challenge is nowhere better revealed than in its participation in the country's mammoth construction projects.

Among all the Komsomol's major construction "Priority Projects" there is none so dramatic as the building of the Baikal-Amur Railroad (BAM). This is *the* project of the decade. BAM will cover 2,000 miles, allowing exploitation of rich Siberian mineral deposits, for example copper ore in Udokan and coal in Chitkondinskoye and Apsatskoye. Towns are rising along the route (*towns of young workers*, where 25 is the average age), ultimately 60 towns in all, each with a projected population of 100,000. BAM means even newer and broader horizons for the Soviet East. The multinational Soviet youth's decisive contribution helps, through economic development, the formerly specially oppressed peoples of such regions as Yakutia.

BAM and the Trans-Siberian Railroad will lead to the Pacific. The Baikal-Amur Railroad passes through permafrost regions with temperatures as low as -60°C (-76°F), through areas of seismic activity ranging 7-8 on the Richter Scale. BAM crosses mountains in seven locations, some as high as five kilometers (three miles).

The Komsomol wages a special campaign for the construction of this railroad. I spoke with the Central Committee Secretary, Leonid Frylov, who coordinates the overall drive. He told me that since April 1974 (when a 600-person brigade commenced work) over 30,000 youth from every Soviet republic have been to the construction sites. Three-quarters are below the age of 28. There are Komsomol branches all along the track, for more than half the young people are members. Thirty-five per cent of the workers are women. As the track is laid, towns, with hospitals, apartments, clubs, kindergartens, day care centers, and schools are built.

The youth building Tynda, a new town, are presently constructing apartment houses, a palace of culture, a stadium, and a Pioneer Palace. The "priority project" workers on BAM also include young architects.

The Komsomol initiates seminars on BAM all over the USSR. Komsomol radio stations and mass media feature stories on BAM. Youth of other socialist countries also work on the project: there are now several hundred young Hungarian and Bulgarian workers there.

Vladimir Yanishevsky, a member of the Komsomol Central Committee who worked on BAM, notes that he and many of his co-workers now consider the Siberian construction site as home. "How did this happen?" he asks. "Probably because we began from nothing. We ourselves cut down the pines and built the houses we now live in."

As they work, the youth of BAM grow and change in a basic way. Victor Lakomov, a deputy to the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet and a veteran railroad worker, viewed the wave of young workers with a little skepticism at first; but after a time, he reports, "these young people turned into adults before our eyes. I am convinced that there's no better school, no better preparation for life, than our construction project."

Projects such as BAM help inspire in youth a sense of respect for work, collectivity, an appreciation of the many nationalities constituting the Soviet people and an understanding of their own worth.

The Komsomol plays an essentially educational role. It acts independently of, and fraternally with, the Communist Party, uniting youth of over 100 Soviet nationalities. With membership voluntary (65 per cent of the youth are in it) it now counts 36 million members ranging in age from 14 to 28. The Komsomol makes a fundamental contribution in the realm of labor, particularly in the mobilization of millions of young workers in the most challenging construction exploits, whose completion is vital to the nation. Through this, it is instrumental as well in the personal development and realization of the potential of each young participant.

Branch meetings (branches range from ten members in rural areas to 42,000 members in Moscow) are at maximum two hours in length and special steps are taken to make them attractive.

The Komsomol provides many outlets for youth's self-expression, creative writing, etc. Youth newspapers, magazines and publishing houses abound in every city. The Komsomol of the Ukraine sponsors 25 radio and 15 television stations providing broad possibilities for young people to gain experience in the broadcasting and cultural fields.

International solidarity is an important element in the thinking of Soviet youth. National and racial equality at home, in a union of 100 Soviet peoples, has given root to Soviet youth's respect and sympathy for the peoples of all countries.

The present generation of Soviet young people has grown up under peaceful skies. They are part of the Soviet Union's "peace offensive," part of the world peace movement. Only a generation removed from the struggle against Hitler fascism, Soviet youth understand the significance of the struggles for disarmament and detente. Virtually every young Soviet has signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, and young workers, students, professionals, athletes and cultural artists have campaigned actively for it.

A component of the world anti-imperialist youth movement, affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students and other bodies, Soviet youth's solidarity activities now focus on Chile and Southern Africa. Soviet youth are involved in campaigns of material support, boycott and raising solidarity funds. Local branches of the Komsomol have telephoned to Santiago, Chile to demand of the Junta the whereabouts of the so-called "disappeared," including Jose Weibal of the Communist youth and Carlos Lorca of the Socialist youth.

The Komsomol in Moscow actively promotes international solidarity work, its First Secretary told me. It has helped to involve its 1,250,000 members in subbotniks (days of voluntary labor) raising money to assist the Chile anti-fascist movement; 150,000 Moscow YCL'ers sent birthday greetings to Luis Cor-

valán, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party last year. "For us," said the head of the Moscow YCL, "Chile in 1977 is like Spain in 1937."

Soviet youth in every city and republic have expressed their indignation at Jimmy Carter's provocative "human rights" campaign. A young Leningrad electrical worker told me that the workers in her plant know a great deal about the USA, see US films, exhibitions, read US journals in the plant library.

The Soviet youth, led by their Komsomol, play an important role in the annual International Day of Solidarity with Youth Fighting Racism in the USA, designated as April 4 (the anniversary of the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr.) by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Komsomol helped initiate the Federation's historic global activities in support of the struggle against youth unemployment in the developed capitalist countries, and has pledged to organize solidarity rallies throughout the Soviet Union.

Finally, in this jubilee year, Soviet youth are engaged in truly

gargantuan preparations for the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held next summer in Havana, Cuba.

With the October Revolution a generation of youth arose, distinct from all preceding generations of youth. They were Soviet youth: the young people who saw and helped build socialism first; who came to realize their hopes and ambitions in a way and to an extent previously unknown; who came into adulthood free from the burdens of class, national and racial oppression, in a land where affirmative action and equality are law and the rights of youth are as natural as human nature.

Now advanced socialism, a new stage, has been reached, and Soviet youth assume responsibilities commensurate with this development. Raised in the spirit of brotherhood and peace, concern and collectivity, respect for work and for working people, Soviet youth reflect the ongoing dynamism of the USSR at the 60th anniversary of the socialist revolution. □

MIKE JAY

Sports in the USSR

The achievements of Soviet athletes have amazed the world ever since the USSR burst onto the Olympic scene in 1952 at Helsinki. That year the men and women athletes of the USSR finished second to the mighty United States squad in the unofficial team standings. The US team wound up with a total of 76 medals: 40 gold, 19 silver and 17 bronze. The Soviet athletes returned home with 71 medals: 22 gold, 30 silver and 19 bronze.

Few outside of the USSR expected the Soviet athletes to fare so well. In 1952 the Soviet people were still struggling to overcome the devastation caused by World War II, not to mention the economic backwardness inherited from tsarist Russia less than 35 years earlier.

But the Soviet performance in the 1952 Olympics was no fluke. In 1956 the USSR athletes improved their record at the Melbourne Olympics and they continued to increase their medals total at Rome in 1960 and Tokyo in 1964. At the 20th Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, the USSR athletes scored a convincing victory, bringing home 99 medals, including an unprecedented 50 gold. (The US was second with 94 medals, 33 of which were gold.)

In 1976 at Montreal the Soviet athletes were again triumphant, amassing a total of 125 medals: 47 gold, 43 silver and 35 bronze. The US was second in total medals with 94, but dropped to third in the number of gold medals with 34. The socialist German Democratic Republic, with a population of only 17 million, was second in gold medals with 40.

A similar picture exists with regard to the Winter Olympics. The USSR finished first at Innsbruck in 1976 with 27 medals (13 gold, six silver and seven bronze) and the US was third with 10 (three gold, three silver and four bronze).

During the 1950s and 60s the international successes of the Soviet athletes were often explained away in the West by cold war terminology: secret drugs, forced training, etc. Such explanations still persist (usually as excuses for defeat), but with

increasingly less acceptance. More and more the athletes and sports fans in Western countries look with admiration and respect at the achievements of athletes from socialist countries.

The international achievements of Soviet athletes are the end result of a system which has emphasized the primacy of mass participation since its inception in 1917. "In our country, physical culture means sport for the whole people," Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin wrote in 1938. "Millions participate in the physical culture movement. And it is obvious that talented athletes will sooner be found among those millions than among thousands, and that it is easier to find talented athletes among thousands than among hundreds."

In the Soviet Union, as in all socialist countries, physical culture and sport are seen as playing a major role in the harmonious development of a person. The right of citizens to engage in sports and recreation activities is guaranteed by law.

The amateur sports movement embraces all those who join sports clubs and engage in different sports at their place of work or study—at factories, construction sites, offices, educational establishments, collective and state farms. (This is in addition to daily collective exercise breaks which take place at most workplaces.) Any wage or salary earner or any member of his/her family has the right to join the sports club of his organization. The entrance fee and the membership dues of any Soviet sports club are 30 kopeks a year (about 40 cents). Members do not have to pay for the use of equipment and facilities or for the services of coaches. Altogether the Soviet Union has 37 sports societies with a total membership of about 50 million, or roughly one fifth of the population.

In Soviet society there are no private individuals or organizations who make a profit from sports. Soviet athletes are not paid for taking part in sports events. Each athlete has his own profession or trade which provides him with means of a livelihood. There are no professional sports in the USSR; rather, sport is a

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pastime or hobby.

However, during training periods and competitions Soviet athletes continue to draw their regular salaries or stipends. Their fares to and from competitions inside the USSR and abroad are also paid for.

The most popular sports practiced in the USSR today, can be found among the 66 which are pursued nationwide. More than six million people take part in track and field events, 5.5 million participate in organized volleyball, 4.5 million practice skiing and four million play soccer. Fast gaining in popularity in recent years, particularly among families, is "tourism," which in the USSR embraces such activities as hiking, backpacking, camping, etc.

Other sports which have gained a following include karting, auto racing, flying, parachuting etc.

There are no "elite" sports in the Soviet Union. Sports such as yachting, skiing and equestrian events, which are expensive to take up in the capitalist countries, are open to all, at nominal expense. The contrast is evident at international competitions, especially in the equestrian events, where it is not uncommon for the sons and daughters of Soviet workers to test their skills against members of the royal families of Western Europe and England.

There is a unified system of sports classification in the USSR, covering 50 sports. Special ratings based on achievement levels have been introduced in most sports: Third, Second and First rating (both for youth and adults), Candidate Master of Sports of the USSR, Master of Sports of the USSR and Master of Sports of the USSR, International Class.

Requirements for getting a rating are high, and they are constantly being upgraded as better results are achieved. For example, to receive the Master of Sports rating in the 100-meter sprint a male athlete has to run it in 10.3 seconds. For the International Class rating he has to run it in 10 seconds flat, which is the European record.

Soviet athletes who win titles as Olympic, World and European Champions are awarded the honorary title of Merited Master of Sports of the USSR. Today there are some 2,000 Merited Masters of Sports in the USSR.

Soviet scientists are members of the International Council of Sport and Physical Education and of the International Federation of Sportive Medicine. Soviet doctors are widely credited with playing a pioneering role in the field of sports medicine, which is just coming into its own as a specialty in Western countries such as the US.

Each year the amount of money allocated for sports and physical culture, including construction of facilities, increases. Funds are provided from the state budget, trade union funds, deductions from the profits of enterprises and organizations and profits from gate receipts of athletic events, which are not subject to taxation. New facilities are constantly being constructed, particularly in the countryside where they are needed most. Today, construction is under way for the 1980 Moscow Olympics, the first ever to be held in a socialist country.

The annual state allocations for the building of sports facilities have reached 120 million rubles. Large sums are also allocated for this purpose by enterprises and sports societies.

In all the USSR has more than 3,000 stadiums seating 1,500 people and more, more than 100,000 soccer fields, some 400,000 sports grounds, more than 59,000 gyms, more than

1,200 swimming pools, and many other facilities.

Schoolchildren who excel in sports may attend special sports schools to develop their athletic skills. Today there are more than 260 such schools in the USSR. These schools feature extended periods of physical education classes and specialized coaching, but the students must also meet the same academic standards as their counterparts in regular schools. This provision is strictly enforced and helps to prevent the development of one-sided individuals with no interests outside of their sports specialties. Children attend the sports schools only with the consent of their parents.

The socialist goal of full equality for women is reflected in the achievements of Soviet women athletes and in the widespread participation of women in the mass sports and physical culture movements. In fact, while women's athletic scholarships and the expansion of women's sports programs at US colleges are relatively new phenomena, women students make up a majority in physical education in the USSR: in the 1971-72 academic year, 56 per cent of the students of health, physical culture and sport in higher education, and 87 per cent in special secondary education, were women. (In the USSR, of course, there are no athletic scholarships, as all education is free.)

Today the men and women athletes of the USSR maintain regular contact with athletes in 87 countries. Each year they take part in some 2,000 sports events. International sports contacts help to promote friendship and understanding between peoples. During the 1960s, for example, when the US and USSR first began exchanges in track and field, the friendly competitions between high jumpers John Thomas and Valery Brumel and long jumpers Phil Shinnick and Igor Ter-Ovanesyan helped to ease cold war tensions.

It would be naive to suggest that the development of sports and physical culture in the USSR has proceeded smoothly and free of difficulties since 1917. Soviet sport has had its share of problems, conflict and even an occasional scandal. Over the years, there have been changes and modifications in emphasis and organization.

While shortcomings and problems continue to exist, it is impossible to make a study of Soviet sports without reaching a positive assessment. "Whatever the interpretation of past events or the perspectives for future development, there can certainly, however, be no doubt about the absolute positive material gains of the population of the old Russian Empire in the sphere of recreation since 1917," James Riordan, a British Sovietologist, grudgingly concedes at the conclusion of his book, *Sport in the USSR*. "It is also in many ways better off in this respect than the public in many Western countries. Most of the urban population can today pursue the sport of their choice, using facilities largely free of charge through their trade union sports society.

"The Soviet Union could hardly have become what it is today—the world's leading all-round competitive sporting power—without a genuinely wide base—virtually universal access to the means of practicing sports. Lastly, there has been, too, an undeniable consistent aspiration and effort in the USSR to make sport culturally uplifting, aesthetically satisfying and morally reputable which, given all necessary qualifications, has set a tone of altruism and devotion in its sport in which there is much which cannot but be admired." □

Have the people of the Soviet Union succeeded in their struggle to create "a new person"? I believe so. Not completely, of course; for such creation is never fully finished. But they are far enough along the way so that we can see a distinctive kind of personality emerging in large numbers and clearly differentiated from the kinds living in class societies past and present.

I want to examine briefly four ingredients in their success: collectivism, equality, the affirmation of human life, and the

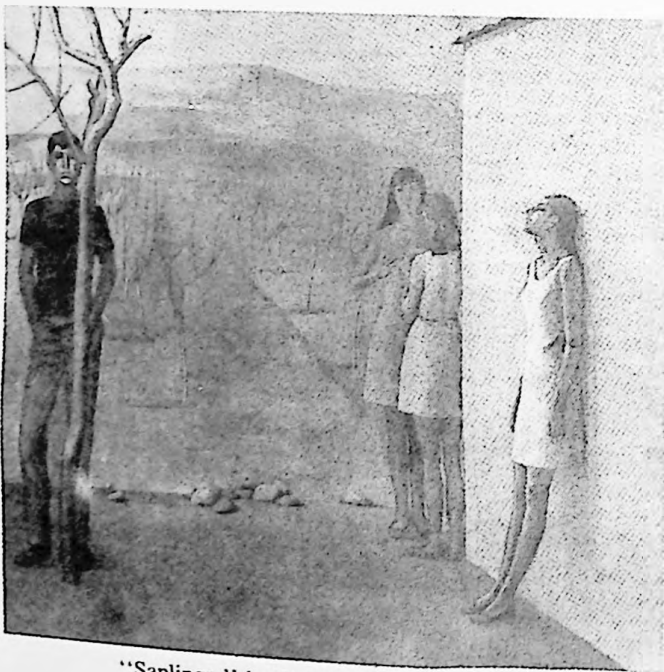
Perspectives

HOWARD L. PARSONS

The New Person in the Soviet Union: Sixty Years of Progress Toward Human Fulfillment

full development of human potentialities. In this examination I have necessarily passed over the complexities of a 60-year history and the problems yet to be solved. That there are such problems the Soviet people, the CPSU, and the leaders are well aware.

Collectivism. From the earliest age in the Soviet Union, "mine is ours; ours is mine" is the rule. Blocks are built so that children *must* engage the help of others in order to move them. Children are nurtured not only by their parents; relatives, teachers, older children, and strangers in general look after them (so that strictly speaking the "stranger" is usually the unknown friend). Urie Bronfenbrenner, in his *Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.*, reports the following incident:



"Saplings," by S. Muradyan. Oil, 1970.

Our youngest son—then four—was walking briskly a pace or two ahead of us when from the opposite direction there came a company of teenage boys. The first one no sooner spied Stevie than he opened his arms wide and, calling "Ai Malysh!" [Hey, little one!], scooped him up, hugged him, kissed him resoundingly, and passed him on to the rest of the company, who did likewise, and then began a merry children's dance, as they caressed him with words and gestures.

In addition to his or her nurtured and responsible role in the close-knit Soviet family, every schoolchild participates in a series of collectives to which he is responsible: his row of double-seated desks, his classroom, and his school organization as a whole (*druzhina*). Each classroom functions as a unit of the Octobrists (ages 7 to 9) and the Pioneers (ages 10 to 15). The Komsomol (Young Communist League), consisting of more than half of those eligible from age 16 to 28, includes both high school youth and graduates. To participate in such collectives is for the child and youth to be and to become quite a different person from one who lives in the individualistic society of capitalism. It is to grow up into a truly *socialized* person.

Every adult, moreover, continues to participate in collectives, with their corresponding rights and duties. Work, expected and required of all able-bodied Soviet citizens, is the principal way in which the Soviet adult person contributes to and receives from others. From his membership in a collective at his place of work, every adult derives housing rights, travel rights, recreational opportunities, insurance, educational advantages, nursery school privileges for children, and other benefits. Besides the one or more families to which the Soviet adult belongs, he participates in many other collective activities—political groups, recreational and library clubs, artistic societies, etc.

Unlike the worker in capitalist society, the Soviet worker does not work principally to "make money" and thereby to survive and help his family to survive. He works principally to express his own life, to cooperate with others, to provide his

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On the Future

share of wealth for the collective good, and to receive in turn as he has worked. This reciprocity is possible because the classless Soviet society has long since wiped away the antagonism of worker and worker, of worker and owner, and of citizen and government which characterizes capitalist society. The workers' sense that this factory, this farm, belongs to *them* induces a feeling of willing engagement and a sense of meaningful activity in life: the worker feels that his work counts, that it makes a difference, that it is his own contribution to the collective good, material and moral, to which he belongs. The alienation endemic to workers under capitalism is gone.

The fraternal spirit that imbues the family and working unit extends throughout the nation and into international relations. The Soviet Union is a multinational state uniting a rich diversity of ethnic, racial, cultural, and linguistic traditions. This in itself is a signal achievement in a century in which the disease of racism has reached a peak in fascist states like Nazi Germany and in the imperialism of the US. The Soviet fraternal attitude reaches beyond the borders of the Soviet Union to embrace the peoples of many other nations throughout the world.

Soviet society demands of each individual person the development, exertion, and contribution of his abilities to the social fund of goods, services, and gifts of character. This places a large burden on each personality, calling him or her to do his share for the good of the whole. From the outside this looks like a heavy weight for individual conscience to bear. The stated objectives of education, for example, the rules for the various youth organizations, and the code of the builders of communism are very demanding. But from an early age children receive from people generally repeated encouragement for doing their duties and self-discipline in responding to the demands of the collective becomes second nature.

Soviet society generates in its children and adults a great deal of security, both economic and psychological, as well as a great outward and inward sense of peace. When I first arrived in the Soviet Union in 1964 I experienced a very strong impression of a people sure of themselves and their station on this earth, a people busy, serious, and happy, a people certain they had a firm hold on their life and their future, a people who knew they could do and would do what they set out to do, a people whose deep sense of security with themselves gave them the strength to reach out to other people and nations for the collective security in the world that their government had striven for so patiently for so many decades. During my subsequent half dozen visits to the Soviet Union this impression of security has recurred with the same vividness.

In the past half-century crime has declined by 71.5 per cent while the population has increased by 117 million. A society that has reduced this rate to one of the lowest levels in the

modern world, has no organized crime, no profit-making crime (as in the sale of arms, drugs, bets), and no profiteering by individuals and the media by the depiction of crime (via TV, radio, newspaper, journal, fiction, science, cinema, comics, etc.), that has banished prostitution and pornography, and has eradicated the social crimes of racism and illiteracy, must surely be creating "the new person" in large numbers.

Unlike our own, this society is unified and inspired by a single pervasive philosophy—communism, taught implicitly and explicitly. Every secondary school student in his or her last year must study a full course of economics, philosophy, and scientific communism and must pass an examination in dialectical and historical materialism. As one Soviet philosopher, Professor Yuri Konstantinovich Melvil, said, "In the Soviet Union philosophy is essential to education; each person must understand *what* he does and *why* he does it."

To understand in the full sense is to be *scientific*. Communism is scientific communism, both theoretical and applied. What is science? Broadly speaking, it is good sense in living—the application of observation, reflection (logic, disciplined imagination), and practice in making and carrying out decisions.

The method of human rationality is the dialectical method of intersubjective theory and practice—*i.e.*, discussion, argument, criticism and self-criticism, brainstorming, mutual challenge and check and double-check of ideas; and repetition and variation of experiment by different persons, confirmation, disconfirmation, and revision of theory. This, of course, is the method that the various sciences from fire-making to nuclear physics fashioned in their laborious evolution through human history. What is novel about it in the Soviet Union is the extent of its adoption among the general population, its widespread institutionalization, and above all the employment of the collective scientific method in determining the ideals, plans, and decisions of the whole society. Before 1917 no other society on earth did this or seriously considered doing it. And between



1917 and 1977 no other society has done it so extensively in space and time.

Equality. The sense of equality among the Soviet people is widespread. One can observe this in the homes, factories, offices, shops, streets, buses, and trains, where people speak to each other and defend their rights as equals. The sense of rank and status so common in countries like England and France is absent in the Soviet Union.

Once, about one o'clock in the morning, a group of us were returning home from a party in Moscow and found Vernadsky Prospekt, a very wide avenue, standing in our way. Crossing it on foot at that point was forbidden; underpasses were provided for pedestrians. But the nearest underpass was at some distance, so desiring to save time and energy, and seeing at that time very little traffic, we crossed over on foot. A young policeman stopped us. In the conversation that ensued, the persons I was with were not deferential nor was the policeman overbearing. The relation was immediately serious, but friendly. My friends stated without hesitation what they were about, the policeman issued a firm reminder and warning, and that was the end of it.

Much has been made of how Soviet "bureaucracy" crushes individuality and equality. Of course every government or institution of any size requires bureaus with routinized procedures of administration (*i.e.*, a bureaucracy); and every bureaucracy is infected with some inefficiency, rigidity, looseness, personal whim and arbitrariness, "influence," and unfairness. I have not found the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union worse in these respects than those in capitalist countries. And there one finds resistance to and criticism of inefficient bureaucracy. The criticism is of bureaucracy and not of socialism, and it is made from a sense of loyalty to Soviet society and socialism. The Soviet people view bureaucracy as "our" problem, and scientists interpret it as a stage in the evolution of the management of social affairs that will be superseded as automation takes over such management.

The Affirmation of Human Life. The Soviet conviction in progress is grounded in their own 60-year historical experience as well as in their observation of and solidarity with struggles of workers and peasants in many countries. To win the civil war and the war of intervention (losing 8,000,000 people); to combat famine; to construct, from a poorly developed capitalist base, the foundation for a modern society in industry, agriculture, and other spheres of applied science and technology; to beat back the forces of fascism in the Great Patriotic War; to reconstruct the country which had lost over 20,000,000 people and one-third its industrial base—all that was almost superhuman. No people have had to struggle against so much and for so much in such a short time. Only an indomitable love of life—of their own persons, their families, their soil, their communities, their Socialist Motherland—would impel them to do so. While bourgeois nations elicited patriotic heroism from their soldiers and citizens in the war against fascism, the heroism of the Soviet people in that war reached a scale without parallel in human history.

Not only in their collective exertion to build a better material world do the Soviet people express their love of life. They express it also in their sports and recreation, in their appetite for travel and new experiences, and perhaps most of all in their hearty personal relations with one another and with people of other countries. Scientists, taxi drivers, elevator operators,

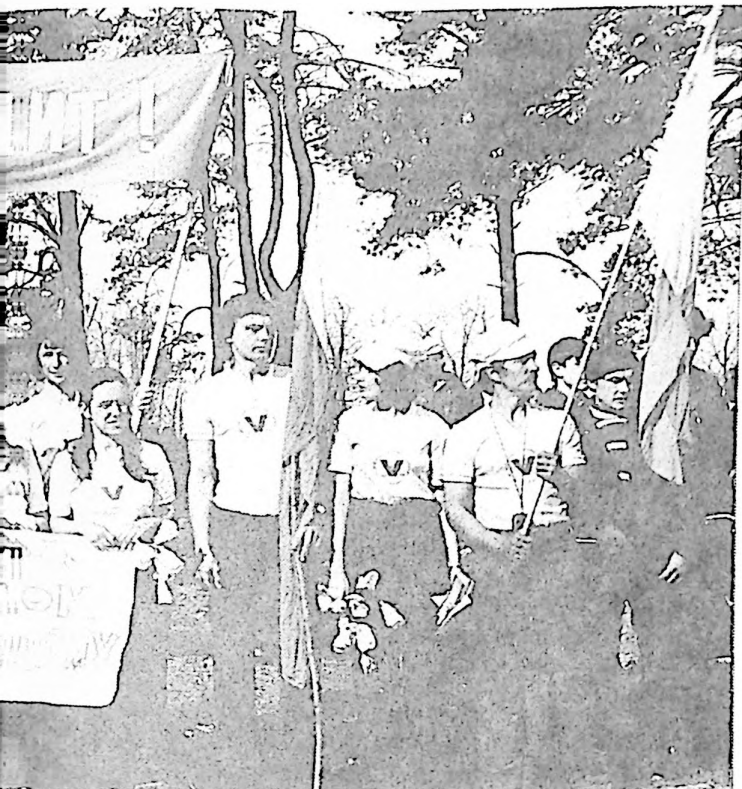


Soviet young people demonstrate against the Chilean junta. The large

hotel floor supervisors—they all love to converse, to find out about strangers and their families, to tell them about their families. They are the kind who make good neighbors—ready to give a hand in trouble, lending a sympathetic ear, tender and protective toward children. (A babe-in-arms in an elevator or shop is likely to create a minor sensation, as women of all ages cluster and buzz around to have a look, and, most of all, to hold it and play with it.) As much as any people, perhaps more, they love a good party, where food and drink, stories and jokes, talk and toasts, singing and dancing, bring people together in a union of feeling that complements and celebrates the union of common endeavor.

The Soviet love of people is carried out in acts that objectively help people to live and to fulfill themselves. I have already referred to the large network of collective institutions at home

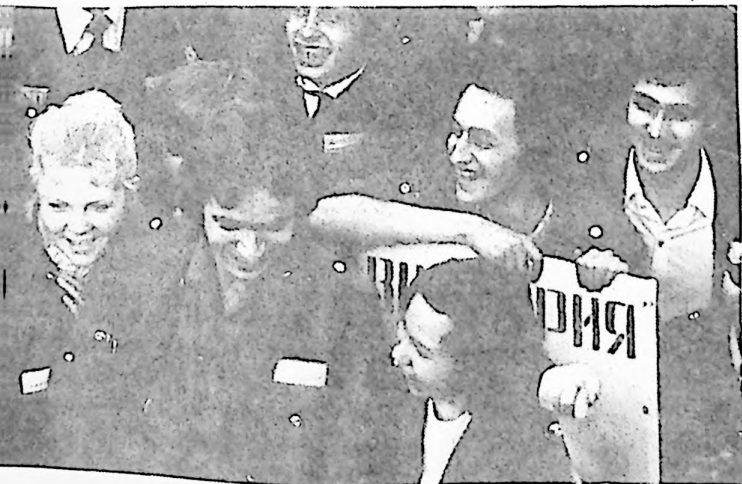




banner reads: "The people of Chile will be victorious!"

that do this. In foreign relations, we observe comparable objective activity in material and moral aid to national liberation movements and in the 60-year-old political movement for peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and detente. I recently thanked a prominent Soviet sociologist for organizing an international symposium on philosophy and social progress and for the expenditure of time and money on it. He spontaneously replied: "What is money compared to the cause of peace and the saving of mankind?"

The love of life and the longing for peace among the Soviet people reflects a new level of material and moral development in human history. Normally all peoples love life and long for peace. But when social and individual existence rise to the point where the great mass of people in a nation experience day by day in their family living, in their work, and in their national life as a



whole the joy of collective work and fulfillment, that love and longing rise to a qualitatively new level. "The new person" exists in such large numbers in the Soviet Union that, taken together, they compose a powerful new social force among the 150 nations on our planet. That is a force that demands peace as a necessary condition for the life of all people, and that demands human life and its fulfillment as the final reason and value of why we are here.

The Full Development of Human Potentialities. Socialist society proceeds by concentrating on constructing an economy that will satisfy all survival needs—the needs for food, water, clothing, shelter, sanitation, medical care, safety, etc.—and at the same time assembling institutions that will provide resources and opportunities for people to fulfill distinctively human needs. These latter are the needs for interpersonal relations enjoyed for their own sake (friendship, love), for rest and relaxation, for esthetic creation and experience, for cognition, for play, for dreaming and meditation, for sensuous enjoyment, for selfless surrender, for gaiety. As work becomes more efficient through improved tools and machines, these needs with their corresponding values can be cultivated.

The first step to developed culture, after the care and the feeding of the body, is literacy. The Soviet people, between the two world wars, "accomplished more to raise the literacy of an entire nation than had ever before been achieved in all recorded history" (Carroll Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, *The Story of Education*, p. 179). Literacy opens the door to endless corridors of developed culture, the enrichment of consciousness, community with others, and scientific practice, the mark of developed humanity. That is the way of our true human fulfillment—of our true human history, as Marx called it.

Fulfillment includes not only the satisfaction of all our generic human needs. It is also the fulfillment of these needs in the aggregate and in unison, so as to realize what we call the unique human personality or character. That is the meaning of the communist principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

What happens to talents in the Soviet Union? Have a look. The arts—music, painting, sculpture, theater, dance, literature, architecture; the sciences, theoretical and applied; engineering; philosophy; athletics; military sciences; chess; space exploration; circuses; puppet theater; etc.—virtually all fields testify to the development of talent in such numbers and depth that makes it outstanding. What is notable in the Soviet Union is the scale on which talent is identified and educated. Soviet society is a planned society; hence the development of talent is planned.

In this 60-year-old collective movement toward equality of opportunity and fulfillment, in this affirmation of human life for all, the Soviet people have begun to create simultaneously a new person, a new society, and a new world. As we in all nations work unitedly to consolidate and make irreversible the process of peaceful coexistence and detente; as we eliminate nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction; as we reduce arms and military budgets; as we bring about general and complete disarmament and the renunciation of the use of force in international relations—then we will open the way to create and witness in the next 60 years a still more beautiful flowering of "the new person," not only in the Soviet Union but as well throughout the whole world. □

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